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“Jean Monnet” European Centre of Excellence

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Cross-Border Cooperation in EU Member States: Theoretical Studies and Best Practices

Edited by

Ioan HORGA, Iryna STORONYANSKA & Klára CZIMRE

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Cătălina ILIESCU & Edina MÉSZÁROS



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Cross-Border Cooperation in EU Member States: Theoretical Studies and Best Practices

Edited by **Ioan HORGA, Iryna STORONYANSKA & Klára CZIMRE**

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Cross-Border Cooperation in EU Member States: Theoretical Studies and Best Practices

*Ioan HORGA**

Contemporary border studies reflect continuity and change in scientific thought as well as innumerable contributions to the conceptualization of social space and its workings. The field of border studies has opened up possibilities for questioning the rationales behind everyday border-making by understanding borders as institutions, processes and symbols. The concept of border politics raises a series of interesting questions regarding the power relations involved in the making of borders; this manifests itself, for example, in tensions between the local constitution and external determination of borders in society. The EU's border politics is a complex array of programmes, policies, and imaginaries of political community in which borders are used as resources for different specific aims. Cross-border cooperation is a prominent instrument of the EU's border politics.

The last decade made Europeans, and especially the people from Central and Eastern Europe, be on an important dilemma. On the one hand, they expect to see a mature reality in terms of borders—the suppression of any border controls, the development of cross-border cooperation poles according to the western model, the development of integrated border areas and not based on socio-economic differences on each side of the border. On the other hand, they have the feeling that are in front of a resurrection of the *hardware* instead of *software* at all EU internal borders, an alienation from the cross-border enthusiasm of the previous decade; the emergence of new borders as a result of successive crises carried out after 2008.

There are a number of general elements that explain this situation. First of all, a number of elements come from the kind of model adopted by the Central and Eastern European states on their way to accession. According to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, three models have occurred in this process: the external incentives model, the social learning model and the lesson-drawing model¹ which gave a certain perception on borders and cross-border cooperation, different according to the model of influence.

Secondly, a major impact in this process was the *old governance* survival-hierarchical and vertical process of command, control, and steering by the state—which made that the local or regional initiative possibilities be restrictive—either by a self-censorship behaviour, or as a result of some recentralization tendencies² present in the Central Europe space, in the version of illiberalism or authority of a sovereign³. In our

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¹ Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, “Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, no. (August 2004): 669–687.

² Ioan Horga, “De la décentralisation à la recentralisation en Europe centrale et orientale. Le cas de la Roumanie,” *Pôle Sud* 46, no. 46 (2017): 63–79.

³ Ioan Horga and Eduard Ionuț Feier, “Challenges for the Eastern Partnership in the Context of Sovereign Tendencies of the EU Member States from Central and Eastern Europe,” in *The*

opinion, a symptom of blockage of cross-border cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe is that the European initiative: *European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation* (EGTC)⁴ was not successful.

EGTC is a specific instrument of *new governance* – horizontal co-ordination and co-operation, negotiated in decentralized settings between public and private actors. The role of the EGTC is to organize and administer cross-border, transnational or interregional cooperation measures with or without financial support from the EU.

Thirdly, once the economic-financial crisis led to the forming of several types of borders between the Member States. First, it is about a general crisis of the European social-model. This general crisis appears to be the first border between the states that were strongly anchored in the preservation of the European social-model⁵ and those who amended it with neo-liberal measures. Although these borders have the meaning of splitting, they marked the general perspective on border as well.

The reduction of the activity of the Western Europe during the economic crisis or its orientation compared to the world states with emerging economies will have devastating effects in Central and Eastern Europe, which marked a process of internalizing of this unbalance.

Finally, the security crisis from the last 10 years seems to have reopened the frontiers in Europe, between the Old and the New Europe, between the North and the South.

These economic and security developments at the level of the European Union, which fuelled the feeling that the new EU Member States are second-tier countries, to which is added the affirmation of Russia that the European Union through its relations with the Eastern Partnership state as threatens the future of this great power, make Russia come back to the power play in Central and Eastern Europe. The lack of a coherent European security and common defence policy coupled with the national interests of some Member States created the conditions for Russia to return to the CEEC scene and to resume the importance of the border topic in CEECs⁶.

We believe in the some way as Christophe Sohn said in Central and Eastern Europe we assist more and more to the development of two models of the borders. One is ‘*geo-economic*’, based on the mobilization of the border as a differential benefit and aims to generate value out of asymmetric cross-border interactions. Such a process of functional integration implies the perpetuation of the border as a source of revenue. The second model, called ‘*territorial project*’, emphasizes the border resources that involve a

European Union and the Eastern Partnership: The Security Challenges, ed. Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, Găga Gabrichidze, Ioan Horga et al. (Chişinău: Print Caro, 2018), 13–34.

⁴ Constantin-Vasile Țoca and Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu, “The European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (GTCE), Instrument of Cross-Border Cooperation. Case Study Romania, Hungary,” in “The Geopolitics of the European Frontiers,” ed. Dorin I. Dolghi, Alexandru Ilieş, Savvas Katsikides, and István Süli-Zakar, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 10 (Autumn 2010): 89–102.

⁵ Philip B. Whyman, Mark J. Baimbridge, Andrew Mullen, 2012. *The Political Economy of the European Social Model* (London: Routledge, 2012), 217.

⁶ Dorin I. Dolghi, “Rethinking Interest and Preferences within the EU-Russia Relations in the Context of Ukrainian Crisis,” in “The Security Dimension of European Frontier vs the Legitimacy of Political Priorities of EU and EU Members States National Preferences,” ed. Dorin I. Dolghi and Octavian Țăcu, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 18 (Autumn 2014): 18.

convergence of both sides of a border, either through a process of hybridization or via the symbolic recognition borders entail⁷.

Such an endeavour is also the volume *Cross-Border Cooperation in EU Member States: Theoretical Studies and Best Practices*, present here, that reunites the papers sustained by the participants at the Roundtable Debate, organized at Oradea at 7 to 9 May 2019, in the Jean Monnet project «Boosting Local Economic Growth in Border Regions in the Process of EU Integration: Best Practices of Eastern Partnership (EaP) Countries», (№599948-EPP-1-2018-1-UA-EPPJMO-SUPPA), coordinated by SI «Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishnyj of National Academy of Science of Ukraine» for the period 2018-2021. The participants to this event and the authors of the papers comes from partners institutions: University of Oradea, Institute for Euroregional Studies (ISER) -Jean Monnet European Center of Excellence, Romania; University of Debrecen, Hungary; Centre of Excellence at SGH Warsaw School of Economics (CEWSE), Poland; Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine; ECSA-Moldova (“E-Institute”).

Roundtable Debate intended to and we hope that the present volume succeeded to capitalize, communicate and multiply knowledge on EU experience of cross-border cooperation instruments’ development and their influence on social and economic growth of border local communities.

This volume could offer reasonable and practical support the end-users in a changing society and international relations in the region situated at the Eastern frontier of the UE. The added value of these multinational research findings increases knowledge on boosting local economic growth in border regions by promoting European values and standards at educational and socio-economic levels. It makes the beneficiaries aware of EU subjects that are extremely necessary for EaP societies. It consolidates and deepens understanding of the EU at national and regional level. The papers disseminate also EU issues within the framework of a multinational information and communication platform.

The volume is structured in four sections: European theoretical studies in the sphere of cross-border cooperation development; Methodologies of evaluation in cross-border cooperation; Existing challenges of cross-border cooperation development in the EU member states; Problems of cross-border cooperation development along the EU external borders.

The chapter *European Theoretical Studies in the Sphere of Cross-Border Cooperation Development* is opening with the work *European Studies Research in the Sphere of Border and Cross-Border Cooperation Development with Special Overview at the EU’s Eastern Borders with Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine*, signed by Ioan Horga, in which the author is looking for answers to the questions: which was the path towards European Studies approach of the CBC? Is there in the field of European Studies a sufficient background to talk about a specific CBC approach? The role of research in the field of CBC at the Eastern border of EU in the development of European Studies?

The author show that the Central and Eastern Europe accumulations in the field of European Studies were made, as opposed to those in Western Europe, almost simultaneously with those in the monodisciplinary fields or at a relatively short distance of several years. A convergent explosion of research on border and cross-border cooperation between the monodisciplinary and interdisciplinary fields of European Studies could be

⁷ Christophe Sohn, “Modelling Cross-Border Integration: The Role of Borders as a Resource,” *Geopolitics* 19, no. 3 (2014): 587–608.

observed. The issue of European borders and cross-border cooperation has gained scope in the context of the beginning of the negotiations for the accession of CEEC to the European Union. From the perspective of European Studies, this issue, at least until the accession of these states, was more of a multidisciplinary aspect (especially the researches of the History of European Integration, European Economy, Political Science and European Public Administration etc.), in which each field advances its own set of knowledge tools.

The experience of the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which became member states in the EU after 2004–2007, in the field of border studies and cross-border cooperation from the perspective of European Studies, play a stimulating role in the development of competences, institutes and specific mentalities in the states located at the Eastern side of the EU border. The academic environment in the states located to the east of the EU border has taken from their neighbours methods, practices and knowledge that they have adapted to the socio-economic environment of the region; also the same environment is caught up in research projects with specialists in border issues from established schools in Western Europe.

As a result of this East-West symbiosis, a mechanism of osmotic transfer of rules, values and knowledge has been put in place, which produces important mutations in the direction of the integration of the academic environment from these East-European states into the European education and knowledge space in general and the one concerning the role of Cross-Border Cooperation, in particular.

Klára Czimre, in *Shifting Focuses in European CBC Modelling: Theories Influenced by Space and Time* argues that if geography is taken as a base discipline in the study of borders—with the relevance of all other disciplines respected as well—it can be established that cross-border researches do not constitute a new discipline but it is an approach applied by the disciplines. The study of borders, border regions, cross-border regions, models and categorisation methods confirmed that the reinterpretation of borders has a very strong time and space factor which proved to be significant both in scientific and actual political terms.

She argues also all disciplines and approaches agree that the meanings of border, boundary, frontier, border region and cross-border region and their implementation have changed over many millennia. Of course, it also involved deviations from their social reality and what the various actors (individuals or states) thought they should represent. Therefore, when creating models and approaches, it is of primary importance to take into consideration the various ways of the interpretation of the phenomenon of borders, boundaries and frontiers.

The paper *Cross-Border Cooperation Projects under INTERREG in the EU-15 Member States in 2000–2020* of Aleksandra Borowicz and Marta Pachocka present the main areas of financial support under cross-border projects within the framework of INTERREG in the EU-15 Member States in 2000–2020. The paper consists of two main parts, the first of which introduces the issue of cross-border cooperation in Europe with a special focus on the INTERREG programme, followed by an analysis of INTERREG Cross-Border Cooperation projects implemented in the EU-15 in the analysed period. The authors conclude, the number of projects implemented by some EU-15 countries as lead partners can be partially explained by the size of their economy and the number of regions eligible for INTERREG cross-border funding.

The chapter *Methodologies of Evaluation in Cross-Border Cooperation* reunites works that promote especially the punctual analyses.

For instance Agnieszka Kłos in paper *The Development of the Lower Silesia Region on the Example of the Implementation of Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes between Poland and Saxony 2007–2013* present the opportunities for cooperation and joint initiatives for economic and social growth in the borderland areas on the example of the implemented Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland-Saxony 2007–2013, all in the context of the notion of sustainable development. The paper outlines the problem areas where joint project co-financed from the ERDF funds, the objectives of the Programme and an assessment of the support received by beneficiaries from the Lower Silesia and Saxony regions. In addition, it also presents the current (i.e. 2014–2020) objectives that promote sustainable development of the aforementioned area and aim to strengthen economic and social cohesion.

The analysis of the transregional Programme adopted for the 2007–2013 financial perspective and the analysis of types of completed projects clearly indicate that both regions seek potential for economic and social development and scout for gaps in regional development in an attempt to fill them. In the current 2014–2020 financial perspective the INTERREG Poland-Saxony Cooperation Program is also implemented, under which projects concerning natural and cultural heritage, regional mobility, cross-border education as well as partnership cooperation and institutional potential are being supported.

Chapter three, *Existing Challenges of Cross-Border Cooperation Development in the EU Member States* brings in discussion the contribution of different actors to the cross-border cooperation and the challenges deriving from this action.

The work of Constantin-Vasile Țoca, *University of Oradea and University of Debrecen. Pole of Knowledge in Cross-Border Cooperation (1990–2018)* tries to highlight the academic creative power focused on cross-border cooperation between the two university centres, the main dimensions that have been achieved, the active participation of researchers from across the European continent, the added value of the research proposed, and not least the emphasis of the two university centres as a hub of knowledge in cross-border cooperation, with the period of our research extending from 1990 and ending in 2018.

Corina Turșie, in *A la recherche de récits d'identité du lieu dans une logique transfrontalière. Etude de cas sur les Capitales Européennes de la Culture pour l'année 2021*, analyse the identity remnants and tries to make the inventory the projects having a cross-border dimension presented in the file for application of Timișoara and Novi Sad with the purpose to conclude on the interest for cross border cooperation by the intermediation of culture, both as mean of European integration of proximity.

The work *University of Oradea, Actor in Cross-Border Cooperation at the Romanian–Hungarian Border (2000–2018)*, elaborated by Florentina Chirodea and Cosmin Chiriac starts by looking at data from specialized literature, in order to establish the theoretical framework on the evolution of the role played by universities in the global context created by the four industrial revolutions. Next, we shall identify the role and degree of involvement of the University of Oradea in the development of cross-border cooperation between Romania and Hungary, one of the mechanisms.

Most of the 53 projects implemented between 2000–2018 aimed at improving the social and economic cohesion in the border region, the didactic capacities and the expertise of the academic environment being channelled towards finding solutions in punctual problems targeting the majority of the important items regarding regional wellbeing (education, health, environment, alternative energies, labour market,

technology, communications, lei sure time). A substantial part of the actions resulted in research activities, the results obtained being transferred to the target groups through workshops, conferences or communications sessions.

Anatoliy Kruglasov in *Cross-Border Cooperation Stigmatised: Why Upper Prut Euroregion Activity Goes Down Still* underlines that the fundamental problem penetrating the Upper Prut Euroregion activity is that from the very beginning of its foundation till now it is by nature elitist project, inspired to a certain degree by some out-dated geopolitical approaches and political calculations. That design to a great degree excludes both institutionally and functionally ordinary people expectations and demands. They should be the key beneficiaries and the very end of CBC but they hardly are able of partaking in related initiatives and activity from the very beginning until present time. Permanently lacking actual representation in the Euroregion institutes of NGO's, being alienated off the agenda-setting and policy-making process, Civil society does support CBC there partly and optionally.

In the work *Features of the Formation and Functioning of Value Added Chains in the EU-Ukraine Cross-Border Area*, Khrystyna Prytula and Olena Pasternak deals with various scientific approaches to the evaluation of the participation in Global Value Chains (GVCs). The classification of GVCs is proposed. The place of Ukraine in the world according to separate indicators of the World Competitiveness Index, which concern the participation of countries in GVCs, is outlined. The research of foreign economic activity of the largest enterprises of the border regions of Ukraine has been carried out.

Special attention is paid to their cooperation with Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Belarus and Moldova. The role of clusters, including cross-border ones, in GVCs has been outlined. Recommendations for activating the participation of cross-border regions of Ukraine in GVCs are proposed.

Mirela Mărcuț, in the work *Smart Cities – Opportunities for Cross-Border Cooperation* explores the relationship between the smart city model and cross-border cooperation in an attempt to find new ground to tackle digital challenges that exist within the European Union. First, the article offers theoretical and institutional views on smart cities in order to decipher the main markers that can be explored within CBC programs. Then, the practical part regards tracing the markers of smart cities in the priorities of Romanian-Hungarian and Romanian-Bulgarian cross-border cooperation programs.

The Article of Vasile Cucerescu, *Moldovan Framework of Cross-Border Cooperation: Legal and Historical Approaches*, focuses on Moldovan experience of cross-border cooperation from legal and historical perspectives. Cross-border cooperation initiatives refer to the European Union, Romania and Ukraine.

The research investigation examines legal instruments of cross-border cooperation between Moldova and its neighbours, cross-border cooperation programmes and the impact of cross-border cooperation projects towards sustainable development in adjacent areas by helping to reduce differences in standards and by addressing common specific challenges across Moldovan state border. The results and impact of cross-border cooperation are scrutinized through the prism of goals' achievement and de facto engagement leading to learned lessons by actors and revised design for improvement strategy.

The last chapter, entitled *Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation Development along the EU External Borders* brings into discussion specific aspects of the process of cross-border cooperation at the Eastern frontier of EU. Thus, we have to mention for the very beginning the work written by Nataliya Nechayeva-Yuriychuk, *Problems of Cross-*

Border Cooperation Development along the EU External Borders, in which it is analysed the problem of cross-border cooperation in a constantly changing world. The events which occurred in Ukraine in 2013–2014 had a huge influence on political polarization. New format of “political game” which was suggested by Russian Federation by Crimea annexation led to the new reality where Ukraine is in the centre of geopolitics; and a number of events which are occurring within the EU are connected with it. The problem of security, especially in information sphere, is actualized nowadays. And only coordinated efforts can help to avoid a global crises.

Magdalena Proczek in the *Carpathian Euroregion. The Specific Character of the Euroregion and the Financing of Its Activities, Based on the Example of Poland as a Party* considers that the Carpathian Euroregion as an example of socio-economic cross-border cooperation, in particular the characterisation of its genesis, objectives and tasks, institutions and specific nature. Since the Carpathian Euroregion Interregional Union, it is not an organisation in the meaning of international law and has no legal personality, but is only a form of political cooperation, it performs its tasks formally through the activities of national structures. Despite 26 years of activity of the Euroregion, only the Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian sides have a legal structure enabling cooperation and therefore its effects are visible on the Polish and Slovak sides, as well as on the Polish and Ukrainian sides of the Euroregion.

They are essentially only bilateral in nature, and are usually socially, less often economically oriented. The financing of projects with the participation of the Polish side is possible due to the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland, which makes financial resources, mainly from the EU budget, available to local entities for the implementation of micro-projects for the development of tourism, ecology, culture, science and education.

In conclusion, we consider that the volume *Cross-Border Cooperation in EU Member States: Theoretical Studies and Best Practices*, represents an important contribution of some researchers from the lower part of the Eastern frontier of EU to the general reflection on the status of research in the fields of frontiers and cross-border cooperation and to the particularities of research in the geographical areal above mentioned, which we believe it will arise the interest of the ones concerned in the theme of the frontiers’ studies and of the cross-border cooperation.

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I. European Theoretical Studies in the Sphere of Cross-Border Cooperation Development

Ioan HORGA (Oradea) ◀▶ European Studies Research in the Sphere of Border and Cross-Border Cooperation Development with Special Overview at the EU's Eastern Borders with Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine

Klára CZIMRE (Debrecen) ◀▶ Shifting Focuses in European CBC Modelling: Theories Influenced by Space and Time

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European Studies Research in the Sphere of Border and Cross-Border Cooperation Development with Special Overview at the EU's Eastern Borders with Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine

Ioan HORGA *

Abstract. *This paper we will try to give answers to the following questions: which was the path towards European Studies approach of the CBC? Is there in the field of European Studies a sufficient background to talk about a specific CBC approach? Which is the role of research in the field of CBC at the Eastern border of EU in the development of European Studies?*

Keywords: *European Studies, Cross-Border Cooperation studies, Border Studies, EU' Eastern Borders, Central and Eastern European Countries, EU's Neighbourhood Countries*

The issue Borders and Cross-Border Cooperation, although closely linked to the process of European integration, has been the subject of study and research in the field of the European Studies only in the last two decades. It seems paradoxical that, although the problems of borders and CBC were born at the same time with the emergence of the first organizations of the process of European construction – The Coal and Steel Organization, the European Economic Community – because it had to answer to the problems of fluidizing the commercial, financial and human mobility, it was the research object of some areas of study clearly outlined from the theoretical point of view, especially of political geography. In fact, to date, the most important theorists of the problems of border and CBC are the geographers.

In a study from the beginning of the 2000, Henk van Houtum¹, speaking about the role of European Geographical research in the Borders and Regional Borders Area considered that these focused in particular on the flow approach, cross-border cooperation approach and the people approach².

Although it would be desirable to pay importance in this study to the issue of flows and population at the Eastern border of European Union, considering the space allocated and the need to respond to the proposed title, we will focus only to the problem of how the CBC is reflected at this border within the framework of European Studies. In approaching the Cross-Border Cooperation we will start from the definition given to this activity by the European Association of Border Regions, according to which “CBC involves direct neighbourly cooperation in all areas of life between regional and local

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¹ Henk van Houtum, “An Overview of European Regional Research on Border and Regional Borders,” *Journal of Borderland Studies* XV, no. 1 (2000): 56–83.

² *Ibid.*, 59.

authorities along the border and involving all actors”³. Taking into account the aspects mentioned above, in this paper we will try to give answers to the following questions: which was the path towards European Studies approach of the CBC? Is there in the field of European Studies a sufficient background to talk about a specific CBC approach? Which is the role of research in the field of CBC at the Eastern border of EU in the development of European Studies?

1. The Evolution of Borders and CBC approaches towards an integration into the specific research area of European Studies

Before getting into the issues of evolution of Borders and CBC approaches towards the specific research area of European Studies research, we have to discuss a little bit about the way in which the reflection about border issues has been structured, from the perspective bordering-debordering and rebordering, considering a Brownian type of movement that implies the content of the three concepts.

First of all, Bordering – is a social construction of relationships between actors and institutions in the borderland. It can be defined as the everyday construction of borders, for example through political discourses and institutions, media representations, school textbooks, stereotypes and everyday forms of transnationalism⁴.

Secondly, Debordering – indicate that not only States but citizens, communities and regions have chosen to open new avenues of communication with their neighbours across national boundaries⁵.

Finally, Rebordering – indicate the legitimacy to close geographical frontiers, as well as a ‘national’ common interest which requires to support an unequal international distribution of power⁶.

It is also necessary to discuss as well about the way in which the reflection on the cross-border cooperation has been structured which, we must say, has an evolution closely related to the two moments that the border issues are passing through. On the one hand, reflections about CBC meant not only the transition from every day problems of a local nature to points of international law, but also a range from bottom-up initiatives to top-down EU strategies sustained by initiatives and funding programmes.

On the other side, CBC Studies have been for a long time not only part of contemporary border studies, but also continuity and change in scientific thought as well as innumerable contributions to the conceptualization of social space and its workings. Cross-border co-operation highlighted how borderlands situations are exploited, in which way they were using borders as a resource for economic and cultural exchange and how they were building political coalitions for regional development purposes⁷.

³ “Institutional Aspects of Cross-Border Cooperation,” March 1999, accessed May 13, 2019, https://www.aebr.eu/files/publications/inst_asp_99.en.pdf.

⁴ Anssi Paasi, “Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows,” *Geopolitics* 3, no. 1 (1998): 69–88.

⁵ James W. Scott, “Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe,” in *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*, ed. Filippo Celata and Raffaella Coletti (Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 2015), 27–44.

⁶ Liliana Suárez, “The Mediterranean Rebordering: An Anthropological Perspective from Southern Spain,” *Quaderns de l’Institut Català d’Antropologia* 11 (1997).

⁷ Gabriel Popescu, “The Conflicting Logics of Cross-Border Reterritorialization: Geopolitics of Euroregions in Eastern Europe,” *Political Geography* 27, no. 4 (2008): 418–438; Gabriel Popescu, *Bordering and Ordering the Twenty-First Century: Understanding Borders* (Plymouth Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012).

In the table below are transposed several of the important steps in the process of evolution of the cross-border cooperation and the type of theoretical studies that approached them:

Years	CBC Events	Type of Theoretical Studies and Best Practices
1950's	On Scandinavian, Dutch/German and French/German/Swiss borders was developed CBC initiatives	Historical, Geographical, Socio-Economics Approaches
1970's	The European Spatial Planning Ministerial Conference (CEMAT) of Council of Europe promote the first strategy in the CBC	Political Approaches
1980	<i>Madrid Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation</i>	Provide Law model inter-state agreements (International/European Law Approaches)
1990	The European Commission launched the Community Initiative INTERREG, which can be used by public authorities to apply for European funding	Multidisciplinary Approaches in CBC
1994–2000	Establishment of the Phare CBC	Affirmation of European Studies
2000–2006	EU Enlargement	Affirmation of European Studies in CBC as Interdisciplinary Studies
2006	Launching of the European Neighbourhood Policy	European Studies in CBC as Multidisciplinary Perspectives (EU Political and Administrative Studies in CBC; EU Economic Studies in CBC; EU Law Studies in CBC, EU Historical Studies in CBC)
2010–2015	Succession of crises (economical-financial, Ukraine, refugees, etc.)	New European Studies in CBC (EU Regional Comparative Studies, EU Diplomatic and Security Studies in CBC, EU Intercultural Dialogue Studies in CBC; EU Communication Studies in CBC)

From the analysis of the table above we notice three periods in the evolution of the reflection on borders and Cross Border Cooperation.

The first period is from the sixties to the fall of the Iron Curtain, called CBC in the “Single European Market”⁸ or a CBC in “Europe without Frontiers”⁹. This period is dominated by the approaches of the geographers¹⁰.

With the First European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning, in Bonn from 9–11 of September, 1970, when was put on government responsibility in the field of global spatial planning of national territory and on the

⁸ van Houtum, 63.

⁹ Liam O’Down and Thomas Wilson, “Frontiers of Sovereignty in the New Europe,” in *Borders, Nations and States: Frontiers of Sovereignty in the New Europe*, ed. Liam O’Down and Thomas Wilson (Aldershot: Avebury, 1996), 1–18.

¹⁰ van Houtum, 63.

European dimension of spatial planning¹¹, we begin to have in the reflection market upon CBC, approaches that come from the sphere of the political sciences¹², although the geographers' reflection in this matter overlaps or even substitutes sometimes this new approach, by affirming the field of political geography. In the conference papers it is considered that "One of the essential political tasks," planning should be done via the development of less advanced areas, the economic integration of natural areas divided by borders¹³.

The adoption of *Madrid Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation*, aimed at encouraging and facilitating the conclusion of cross-border agreements between local and regional authorities within the scope of their respective powers. Such agreements cover regional development, environmental protection, the improvement of public services etc., and may include the setting up of transfrontier associations or consortia of local authorities¹⁴. Through this, the issue of cross-border cooperation has been transposed into legal and constitutional systems of the Council of Europe and has to be adopted by all the member states. Due to the fact that a CBC Law model inter-state agreements regarding CBC was promoted, this area comes under the influence of International/European Law, although this was done a little bit later¹⁵.

With the launch of the INTERREG Community Initiative in the early 1990, the public authorities could apply for European funding to support cross-border cooperation projects, which ensures the consistency and coherence of cross-border cooperation activities.

We are witnessing an exponential multiplication of the number of CBC funding programmes¹⁶. At the same time with the practical evolution, we can easily observe, analysing the specialized literature, that not only an extension of the reflection of this phenomenon takes place, but also an approach from a multidisciplinary perspective (geographical, historical, sociological, law, political sciences, anthropological, etc.). We can assert on this basis that we enter in the second period of reflection about the meaning of European Borders and of Cross-Border Cooperation.

This is also the period of conceptualization and reconceptualization of the notion of Cross-Border Cooperation. For example, authorized geographers say that cross-border cooperation is a more specific dimension of the broader phenomenon of "cross-border regionalism"¹⁷. From a law perspective, Nicolas Levrat stressed the ambiguities in the terminology of cross-border cooperation¹⁸, which was used in the official documents. Thus, the concepts used were of *transborder cooperation*, which meant cooperation between bordering territories: Madrid framework agreement 1980; Additional protocol;

¹¹ Council of Europe, "1st Conference of the Council of Europe of Ministers Responsible for Spatial Planning (CEMAT)," accessed September 5, 2019, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conference-ministers-spatial-planning/1st-cemat>.

¹² Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers. Territory and State Formation in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997).

¹³ Council of Europe, "1st Conference of the Council."

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Nicolas Levrat, *Le droit applicable aux accords de coopération transfrontière entre collectivités publiques infra-étatiques* (Paris: PUF, 1994).

¹⁶ van Houtum, 63.

¹⁷ James Scott, "Euroregions, Governance, and Transborder Cooperation within the EU," in *Borders, Regions and People*, ed. Martin Van Der Velde and Henk Van Houtum (London: Pion, 2000), 104–115.

¹⁸ Levrat, 143.

European programs INTERREG, INTERREG IIA, INTERREG IIIA); “*inter-territorial cooperation*” (Protocol n. 2); “*transnational cooperation*” (INTERREG II C; INTERREG III B); “*cross-border cooperation*” (art. 307.1, TFEU); “*interregional cooperation*” (INTERREG IIIC)¹⁹. The term *Cross-Border Cooperation* (CBC) is imposed with authority, which is modelled by the contribution of the researchers from other fields.

With the change of the European paradigm, from an economic union represented by the Common Market, to a common entity with an increasingly obvious political dimension, the European Union, following the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the formalization of the trajectory that the states in the Central and Eastern Europe had to meet, by the adopting of the criteria from Copenhagen (1993), starting in 1994 the official start for the process of accession of the ex-communist states is given.

From the perspective of theoretical reflection, besides the traditional approaches from geography, political sciences, law, history, economy, one can observe that a new type of reflection is required, which will get a curricular dimension in the universities of Western Europe, and a shy one in Eastern and Central Europe, namely the discipline of European Studies, which brings both a multidisciplinary, and an interdisciplinary perspective²⁰.

The process of association of these states (1994–1996) and then the beginning of the accession negotiations will bring the issue of the future of borders of these states with the EU member states and also the issues of cross-border cooperation, especially after the launching of special funding program for these states, PHARE program.

As it is easy to understand, the academic environment, especially in Western Europe sets the tone to increasingly complex reflections on the impact, role, and efficiency but also on more controversial situations regarding borders and cross-border cooperation. We are witnessing a veritable explosion of research and papers that propose such topics in Western Europe. The evolution is so fast so that we have to deal, on the one hand, with authors who shift their reflection perspective, from a multidisciplinary one (i.e. geography, history, economy, etc.), to an interdisciplinary one, evolved in the vogue that European Studies acquires. On the other side, in the context of traditionalist authors, or of those who were converted by the spirit of the European Studies, young authors appear who, in the year 2000, launch themselves as consecrated authors in the new field with solid reflections about the status of the European Union borders in general, and CBC in particular.

If, from a methodological point of view, it was easy for us to make a dissociation between the first two periods, from the same perspective, but taking into account the previous considerations it will be very difficult for us to have a clear demarcation between the second and third period. With the risks of rigor, however, we can sketch a beginning of the third stage (with the completion of the extension and development of the reflection related to the external borders of the EU, after 2006–2007).

Returning to the second period, here are examples of several schools. First, remember the British school with its subunits; the Northern Irish school near the Center

¹⁹ Anna Margherita Russo, “Globalization and Cross-Border Cooperation in EU Law: A Transnational Research Agenda,” in *Perspectives on Federalism* (Compagnia di San Paolo Torino) 4, no. 3 (2012): 11.

²⁰ Ioan Horga and Mariana Buda, “Analytical and Methodological Framework of Research in European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” *The Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 8.

for International Borders Research of Queen's University Belfast, with an anthropological²¹, political²² and sociological²³ foundation; the Scottish School of the University of Edinburgh, which comes with a political and international relations perspective on borders²⁴; The London School of Border Studies near Royal Holloway University of London, represented by Chris Rumford's²⁵ scientific work, is, in our opinion,

²¹ Hasting Donnan & Thomas M. Wilson, eds, *Border Approaches: Anthropological Perspectives on Frontiers* (Laham; London: University Press of America, 1994); Hasting Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Dieter Haller, Hasting Donnan, *Border and Borderlands: An Anthropological Perspective* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, *Ethnologia Europea* 30:2, 2000); Hasting Donnan, *The Anthropology of Borders* (Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, 2001); Hasting Donnan, Thomas M. Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (New York: Berg Books, 2001); Hasting Donnan, *Border Cities and Town: Causes of Social Exclusion in Peripheral Europe* (2001); Hasting Donnan, "European States and Their Borderlands," *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology*, 2003 ; Hasting Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson, eds, *Culture and Power at the Edges of the State: National Support and Subversion in European Borderlands* (Frankfurt: Transaction Publishers and Lity of OuluIT Verlag, 2005); James Anderson, Liam O'Dowd & Thomas M. Wilson, eds, *Culture and Co-operation in Europe's Borderlands* (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2003). With this book the transition to the field European Studies is made.

²² James Anderson and Liam O'Dowd, "Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance," *Regional Studies*, 33, n. 7 (1999): 593–604; James Anderson, *Transnational Democracy: Political Space and Borders Crossing* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002); Cathal Mc Call is the North-Irish whose researches on borders are placed in the field of European Studies (Cathal Mc Call, "From Barrier to Bridge: Reconfiguring the Irish Border after Belfast Good Friday Agreement," *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2002): 479–494; Cathal Mc Call, "European Union, Cross-Border Cooperation and Conflict Amelioration," *Space and Polity* 17, no. 2 (2013): 197–216; Cathal Mc Call, *The European Union and Peace Building: The Cross-Border Cooperation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

²³ O'Dowd and Wilson; Liam O' Down, "The Changing of Significance of European Borders," *Regional and Federal Studies* 12, no. 4 (2002): 13–36; Liam O'Dowd, James Anderson, and Thomas Wilson, eds, *New Borders for a New Europe: Cross-Border Cooperation and Governance* (Taylor and Francis, 2003).

²⁴ Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Polity Press; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); Malcolm Anderson and E. Bort, *The Frontiers of the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Malcolm Anderson and Joanna Apap, *New European Border & Security Cooperation: Promoting Trust in an Enlarged European Union* (Brussels: CEPS, 2002); Malcolm Anderson and J. Apap, *Police and Justice Co-operation and the New European Borders* (Hague, New York: Kluwer Law International, 2002).

²⁵ Chris Rumford, "Theorizing Borders," *European Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 2 (2006): 155–169; Chris Rumford, "Rethinking European Spaces: Governance beyond Territoriality," in *Comparative European Politics* 4, no. 2-3 (2006): 127–140; Chris Rumford, "Borders and Rebordering," in *Europe and Asia: Towards a New Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Gerard Delanty (London: Routledge, 2006); Chris Rumford, "Does Europe Have Cosmopolitan Borders?" *Globalizations* 4, no. 3 (2007): 327–339; Chris Rumford, "Introduction: Citizens and Borderwork in Europe," in *Space and Polity* 12, no. 1 (2008): 1–12; Chris Rumford, "Where are Europe's Borders?," *Political Geography* 28, no. 2 (2009): 79–89; Chris Rumford, *Citizens and Borderwork in Contemporary Europe* (London: Routledge, 2009); Anthony Cooper and Chris Rumford, "Cosmopolitan Borders: Bordering as Connectivity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Maria Rovisco and Magdalena Nowicka (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 261–276; Chris Rumford, "Towards a Multiperspectival Study of

the first to analyse borders from the perspective of European Studies. This statement is supported not only by the content of the mentioned studies but also by the fact that Chris Rumford is a recognized theorist on the problem of the field of European Studies²⁶.

Secondly, the Finnish school represented by the Karelian Institute at the University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu and the Department of Geography at the University of Oulu, which offers not only an interdisciplinary perspective, but also the most consistent perspective on the Eastern border of EU²⁷ and cross-border cooperation with Eastern European neighbours, especially with Russia²⁸ is worth being mentioned.

Thirdly, we must mention the Italian school, represented by the activity of the Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia, which has focused on varied issues regarding the European borders and cross-border cooperation (evaluation of cross-border cooperation; designing institutional and cross-border services; formation of local authorities for CBC; study of sustainable development of border cities)²⁹. The studies developed have a strong sociological footprint (through the remarkable activity of

Borders,” *Geopolitics* 17, no. 4 (2012): 887–902; Chris Rumford, *Cosmopolitan Borders* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014).

²⁶ Chris Rumford and Philomena Murray, “Do We Need a Core Curriculum in European Union Studies?” *European Political Science* 3, no. 1 (2003): 85–92; Chris Rumford and Philomena Murray, “EU Studies and Teaching beyond Integration,” *EUSA Review* 16, no. 2 (2003): 11–12; Chris Rumford, *Handbook of European Studies* (London: Sage, 2009).

²⁷ James Wesley Scott, “Transboundary Governance in the Baltic Sea Region: Emerging Patterns, Preliminary Results,” *Regional and Federal Studies* 12, no. 4 (2002): 135–153; James Wesley Scott, *EU Enlargement, Region-Building and Shifting Borders of Inclusion and Exclusion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Heikki Eskelinen, Ilkka Liikanen, Jukka Oksa, eds, *Curtains of Iron and Gold. Reconstructing Borders and Scales of Interaction* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1999); J.W. Scott, “Bordering and Ordering the European Neighbourhood. A Critical Perspective on EU Territoriality and Geopolitics,” *TRAMES A Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 13, no. 3 (2009): 232–247; J.W. Scott, “Borders, Border Studies and EU Enlargement,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 123–142.

²⁸ Ilkka Liikanen, “Euregio Karelia: A Model for Cross-Border Cooperation with Russia?” in *Russian Regional Perspectives. Journal for Foreign and Security Policy* 1 no. 3 (2004); Ilkka Liikanen, “New Neighbourhood and Cross-Border Region-Building: Identity Politics of CBC on the Finnish-Russian Border,” *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 23, no. 3 (2008): 19–38; Heikki Eskelinen, Ilkka Liikanen, James W. Scott, eds, *The EU-Russia Borderland: New Contexts for Regional Cooperation* (London: Routledge, 2012); Anssi Paasi, *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1996); Anssi Paasi, “Europe as a Social Process and Discourse: Considerations of Place, Boundaries and Identity,” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 8, no. 1 (2001): 7–28; Anssi Paasi and Eeva-Kaisa Prokkola, “Territorial Dynamics, Cross-Border Work and Everyday Life in the Finnish-Swedish Border,” *Space and Polity* 12, no. 1 (2008): 13–29; Anssi Paasi, “A ‘Border Theory’: An Unattainable Dream or a Realistic aim for Border Scholars?” in *A Research Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 11–31; Milan Bufon, Julian Minghi, and Anssi Paasi, eds, *The New European Frontiers: Social and Spatial (Re)-Integration Issues in Multicultural and Borders Regions* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2014).

²⁹ Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia, “Confini e Cooperazione transfrontaliera”, accessed September 10, 2019, <https://isig.it/it/attivita/aree-di-ricerca/confini-e-cooperazione-transfrontaliera/>.

Raimondo Strassoldo³⁰), but they have been permanently open to other fields, developing a specific dimension to the field of European Studies in approaching CBC.³¹

Finally, the Dutch school is noted, especially through the activity of Nijmegen Center for Border Research, which was established in 1998, being remarkable especially through research in the fields: cross-border economic relationship³²; border conflict; cross-border spatial planning³³, cross-border cooperation³⁴, cross-border governance, cross-border labour market; migration³⁵; border mobility³⁶.

Discussing the third period of the evolution of reflection, which we can perceive as dominant after the accession of Central and Eastern European states to the EU and the launch of the European Neighbourhood Policy, it is noted, on the one hand, by strengthening the reflection of European Studies in CBC as Multidisciplinary Perspectives

³⁰ Raimondo Strassoldo, *From Barrier to Junction. Towards a Sociological Theory of the Borders* (Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia (ISIG), 1970); Raimondo Strassoldo, *Confini e regioni. Le potenziale di sviluppo e di pace delle periferie* (Trieste: Lint, 1973); Raimondo Strassoldo, "Boundaries in the Sociological Theory: A Reassessment," in *Cooperation and Conflict in the Border Area*, ed. Raimondo Strassoldo and Giovanni Delli Zotti (Milano: Angeli, 1982): 245–272; Raimondo Strassoldo, Giovanni Delli Zotti, eds, *Cooperation and Conflict in the Border Area* (Milano: Angeli, 1982).

³¹ Antonio Gasparini, *Le élite per la governance della cooperazione transfrontaliera* (ISIG, 2008); Antonio Gasparini, D. Del Bianco, *L'Europa Centrale dei confini. Governance della cooperazione transfrontaliera* (ISIG, 2008); Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia, *Analysis and Planning for Cross-Border Co-operation in Central European Countries* (Strasbourg: Consiglio de Europa, 2010); Antonio Gasparini, D. Del Bianco, *Strategies and Euroregions for Cross-Border Co-operation in Balkan and Danube European Countries. An Analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats* (ISIG, 2011); *Cross-Border Co-operation in Europe: A Comprehensive Overview* (Strasbourg: Consiglio de Europa, 2011); Daniele Del Bianco, C. Bianchizza, *European Experience of Citizens' Participation in Cross-Border Governance* (ISIG, 2015).

³² Frans Boekema and Henk van Houtum, "Cross-Border Networking in the Benelux," in *Régards sur le Benelux* (Brussels, 1994), 83–97; Henk van Houtum, *The Development of Cross-Border Economic Relations. A Theoretical and Empirical Study of the Influence of the State Border on the Development of Cross-Border Economic Relations between Firms in Border Regions of the Netherlands and Belgium* (Tilburg: CentER, 1998); Henk van Houtum, "What is the Influence of Borders on Economic Internationalisation?" in *Understanding European Cross-Labour Markets. Issues in Economic Cross-Border Relations*, ed. P. Gijssels, M. de Janssen, H.-J. Wenzel, and M. Woltering (Marburg: Metropolis, 1999), 107–141.

³³ Henk van Houtum, Oliver Kramsch, Wolfgang Zierhofer, *B/ordering Space* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Mark Eker and Henk van Houtum, *Borderland* (Blauwdruk: Wageningen, 2013).

³⁴ Martin Van der Velde and Henk van Houtum, eds, *Borders, Regions and People* (Volume in the series of the British section of the European Regional Science Association) (London: PION, 2000).

³⁵ Henk van Houtum, "The Border between the Nomad and the Monad: Theorizing B/ordering and Othering and Borderscapes," *Debating and Defining Borders: Philosophical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. Anthony Cooper and Søren Tinning (Abingdon, Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2019), 181–194.

³⁶ Ton van Naerssen and Martin van der Velde, *Mobility and Migration Choice: Thresholds to Crossing Borders* (London: Ashgate, 2015); Henk van Houtum and Ton van Naerssen, "Bordering, Ordering and Othering," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie (TESG)* 93, no. 2 (2002): 125–136; Henk van Houtum and Martin van der Velde, "The Power of Cross-Border Labour Market Immobility," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie (TESG)* 95, no. 1 (2004): 100–107.

(EU Political and Administrative Studies in CBC; EU Economic Studies in CBC; EU Law Studies in CBC, EU Historical Studies in CBC), and, on the other hand, in the context of the crisis series that the EU has gone through – the economic crisis, the Ukrainian crisis, the refugee crisis, etc. –, are becoming obvious the so-called new approaches European Studies in CBC (EU Regional Comparative Studies, EU Diplomatic and Security Studies in the field of CBC, EU Intercultural Dialogue Studies in CBC; EU Communication Studies in CBC, etc.).

During this period, most of the schools mentioned so far adapt in their reflections to these developments, from disciplinary and multidisciplinary perspectives, to trans-disciplinary perspectives, with some nuances that we will present below.

First of all, the French school, one of the schools with tradition in studying the borders, during the period in question there is a more visible mutation in the study of the borders. They are based on a multidisciplinary and multi-institutional approach (all universities in the border area of France have laboratories or groups of researchers, with some additional mentions for the Universities of Lille³⁷ and Strasbourg³⁸).

Secondly, in recent years a group of researchers has been established in Luxembourg, meeting within the Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER), whose

³⁷ In Lille it is noticeable the centre of research *Territoires, Villes, Environnement & Société* (TVES) multidisciplinary (géographie, aménagement et urbanisme, sociologie, économie, gestion, droit), where the activity of professor Thomas Perrin, Spatial Planning and European Studies, is remarkable. He developed a reflection about the role of innovation in the development of cross-border cooperation: Thomas Perrin, “La gouvernance culturelle dans les eurorégions : enjeux et dynamiques,” in “Cross-Border Governance and the Borders Evolutions,” ed. Alina Stoica, Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, István Süli-Zakar, *Eurolimes* (Oradea University Press) 16 (Autumn 2013): 63–78; Thomas Perrin and Frédéric Durand, “Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai: Cross-Border Integration with or without the Border?” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 25, no. 3 (2018): 320–336; Thomas Perrin, “Creative Regions on a European Cross-Border Scale: Policy Issues and Development Perspectives,” *European Planning Studies* (Taylor & Francis, Routledge) 23, no. 12 (2015): 2423–2437; Thomas Perrin, *Culture et eurorégions. La coopération culturelle entre régions européennes* (Bruxelles: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2013); Sylvie Considère and Thomas Perrin, *Frontières et représentations sociales. Questions et perspectives méthodologiques* (Paris: l’Harmattan, 2017).

³⁸ In Strasbourg it is noticeable the laboratory *Frontières, acteurs et représentations de l’Europe* (FARE), where a rich activity is developed by researchers like: Birte Wassemberg, *Vers une eurorégion? La coopération transfrontalière franco-germano-suisse dans l’espace du Rhin supérieur de 1975 à 2000* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2007); Birte Wassemberg, *Vivre et penser la coopération transfrontalière (Volume 1): les régions frontalières françaises* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2009); Joachim Beck and Birte Wassemberg, *Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit leben und erforschen* (Governance in deutschen Grenzregionen) (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2011); Birte Wassemberg and Joachim Beck, *Living and Researching Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe : The European Dimension* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2011); Birte Wassemberg and Joachim Beck, *Vivre et penser la coopération transfrontalière (Volume 4) : les régions frontalières sensibles* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2011).

³⁸ Decoville Antoine, Durand Frédéric, and Feltgen Valérie, *Opportunities of Cross-Border Cooperation between Small and Medium Cities in Europe* (Luxembourg: Luxembourg Institute for Socio-Economic Researches, 2015); François Durand and Christian Lamour, “Cross-Border Metropolitan Governance: The Multi-Faceted State Power,” *Space and Polity* 18, no. 3 (2014): 197–214; Christophe Sohn, *Luxembourg. An Emerging Cross-Border Metropolitan Region* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2012).

research in the field of cross-border cooperation is increasingly embracing a quantitative interdisciplinary dimension³⁹.

Finally, an important contribution to the development of the reflection on the borders and cross-border cooperation in the new phase of the evolution of the European Studies in the field of CBC has the German school, where there are several centres. Euro-Institute for Cross-Border Cooperation, a French-German organization created in 1993 in Kehl am Rhein⁴⁰, where starting from the multi-dimensional reality of practical territorial cooperation in Europe as it began to develop a trans-disciplinary scientific approach in the field of European cross-border cooperation⁴¹. University of Saarland, where not only researches have been developed concerning cross-border cooperation, but they have important achievements in implementing these researches in European studies programs of cross-border cooperation⁴².

In conclusion to this chapter, in which we sought to make a synthesis of the evolution of CBC approaches towards an integration in the specific area of European Studies research and after that we saw that there were noticed a lot of schools of reflection, which in fact have the most important contributions regarding the affirmation of the field of reflection of European Studies. This is why we consider that a review of the evolution of the European studies field is still important for our research to see to what extent there is a solid basis for building a specific European Studies approach in the field of CBC.

2. Is there a sufficient background in the field of European Studies to speak of a specific approach in the field of CBC, in general and regarding the Eastern border in particular?

Before analysing the problem set out in the question above, we consider that some opinions are required on the subject of European Studies in general.

³⁹ Decoville Antoine, Durand Frédéric, and Feltgen Valérie, *Opportunities of Cross-Border Cooperation between Small and Medium Cities in Europe* (Luxembourg: Luxembourg Institute for Socio-Economic Researches, 2015); François Durand and Christian Lamour, “Cross-Border Metropolitan Governance: The Multi-Faceted State Power,” *Space and Polity* 18, no. 3 (2014): 197–214; Christophe Sohn, *Luxembourg. An Emerging Cross-Border Metropolitan Region* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2012).

⁴⁰ Joachim Beck, Anne Thevenet, and Charlotte Wenzel, eds, *Europa ohne Grenzen – 15 Jahre gelebte Wirklichkeit am Oberrhein / L'Europe sans frontières – 15 ans de réalité dans le Rhin supérieur* (Zürich/Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009); Joachim Beck and Birte Wassenberg (eds), *Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit erforschen und leben (Band 2): Governance in den deutschen Grenzregionen* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2011); Ruth Taillon, Joachim Beck, and Sebastian Rihm, *Impact Assessment Toolkit for Cross-Border Cooperation* (Armagh: The Centre for Cross Border Studies; Kehl: The Euro-Institute for Cross Border Co-operation 2011); Dieter Beck, Ulrike Becker-Beck, Joachim Beck, and Anne Dussap, eds, *Kultur der grenzüberschreitenden Verwaltungszusammenarbeit – Eine empirische Modellstudie am Beispiel der Oberrhein-Region / Culture de la coopération transfrontalière administrative – Etude pilote empirique dans la région du Rhin supérieur* (Speyer: Dt. Universität für Verwaltungswiss. Speyer, 2015).

⁴¹ Joachim Beck, *Transdisciplinary Discourses on Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2019).

⁴² For example a BA Program in Cross-Border Communication and Cooperation (www.uni-saarland.de/en/study/prospective/programmes/first-degree/d/dfs.html) was initiated and a MA in Border Studies (www.uni.lu/studies/flshase/master_in_border_studies) between the universities of Saarland, Lorraine and Luxembourg.

On the one hand, we consider that the studies regarding the process of accession to the EU developed in particular the notion of *Europeanization* of the candidate countries, insisting on the impact that the EU had in their internal policy. These studies, however, have limits because they have placed in secondary level the studies regarding the specificity of the Europeanization of these countries (the Romanian case, the Hungarian case, etc.)

On the other hand, the studies regarding the process of accession to the EU treated with predilection the *conditionality of the accession*⁴³ or normative⁴⁴, but there are also analysis that have oriented to the problematic of the *transformative power* of the EU⁴⁵. Here we must also discuss the internal reaction to the *external incentive* model. This internal reaction must be seen in the light of the strategy of the governments, which in their relation with the EU, make some rational calculations – what profit brings the alignment with European norms, compared to the internal effort for development⁴⁶.

Therefore, in conclusion, regarding these brief considerations on the subject of European Studies, we can say that the scope of these studies extends from a *top-down* perspective – with the pursuit of a wide range of EU actions, from those from normative-conditional type to those of transforming power –, to a *bottom-up* perspective, in which the effects of imitation-innovation filters, reinterpretation of actions and resistance to EU actions are followed.

Before discussing the subject of European Studies applied in a specific area, that of Cross-Border Cooperation and then to customize them to answer the geographic area of the title of the present paper – EU Eastern Border – we consider that a review of the way in which exists today the field of European Studies in the EU and with an inclination towards the EU Member States, it is necessary to understand our approach.

The place of European Studies within social sciences and with predilection political sciences encounters dynamic debates with the reference to the interdependence and interaction⁴⁷. Ian Manners considers that Political and European Studies have a long history of engagement and borrowing from each other⁴⁸. Manners consider that when we talk about European Studies we must admit from one side the disciplinarity character of this field, as introductory perspective for different disciplines when have the approaches about European aspects (historic, economic, politic, sociologic, etc.). From other side, Manners said that “interdisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity suggest a need for transdisciplinarity”⁴⁹. Going by a similar but integrating directive, Ben Rosamond

⁴³ Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ Ian Manner, “Normative Power Europe: A Transdisciplinary Approach to European Studies,” in *The Sage Handbook for European Studies*, ed. Chris Rumford (Sage Publications, 2009), 561–585.

⁴⁵ Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, “The Study of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Findings,” in *Palgrave Advances in European Union Studies*, ed. Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne (London: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2006), 96–116.

⁴⁶ Claire Visier, “Union européenne –Turquie: les effets du projet d’élargissement,” *Questions internationales* no. 94 (novembre-décembre 2018): 58.

⁴⁷ Ioan Horga, “European and/or EU Studies Curriculum between Internal and External Drivers,” in *The Romanian Journal of International Relations and European Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 107.

⁴⁸ Ian Manners, “When Has Political Studies Done for the Study of Europe?” *UACES News* 65 (2010): 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

considers it desirable “to build tightly disciplined normal science of EU Studies as well as an interdisciplinary perspective”⁵⁰.

The emergence of the European Studies as particular field is determinate by need to give a complex of answers to the European problems and challenges, and of course, in this context of the issues of borders and cross-border cooperation. Understanding European societies in their development requires new methods taken from various numbers of disciplines from geographical to the social sciences and humanities⁵¹.

Considering that Europe is a set of inter-relational societies, increasingly diverse and more bound amongst themselves than any geographical or political space, is important to build as possible the European Studies in the research and education area as a “inherently interdisciplinary in their structure and approach”⁵².

Of course, the evolution of research from the perspective of the European Studies of the issue of EU borders in general and of the cross-border cooperation was determined by the action of several drivers: utilitarian dimension⁵³; the response to the issues raised by the European agenda⁵⁴, the response to the debate on EU as conventional governance model or a new model⁵⁵, where national and supranational policies get mixed in the same pot and not least; impact of theoretical current on European integration (i.e. the cleavage between neofunctionalists, intergovernmentalists, federalists, etc.)⁵⁶; impact of institutionalization and professionalization of practitioners of European Studies⁵⁷. Of course, the action of these drivers of external facture was combined with the action of drivers of internal facture, determined by the intellectual interaction between the researches of different fields on the problem of borders, which we mentioned especially in chapter I; a certain trend that started to develop especially in the candidate countries for accession to the EU, after 2000, with the general launch of negotiations with the EU and prospects for accessing European funds for cross-border cooperation.

Starting from these theoretical aspects that show the trend and the factors that have determined the evolution of European Studies, as a distinct field in the ensemble of the social and political sciences in particular, in the second part of this chapter we will deal on the one hand, on the theoretical perspective that shapes, from the perspective of European Studies, the process of knowing the EU and CBC borders. It is important to know questions regarding the power relations involved in the making of borders: confrontational or cooperative; the local needs and external determination of borders; the role of the CBC in changing the space; how the actors are involved in the CBC; about EU as external drivers in the changes of meaning of the borders by a complex of programs, policies, and imaginaries of political community in which borders are used as resources

⁵⁰ Ben Rosamond, “European Integration and the Social Sciences of EU Studies: Disciplinary Politics of a Subfield,” *International Affaires* 83, no. 1 (2007): 231–252.

⁵¹ Horga, “European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” 108.

⁵² Michael L. Smith, “Creating a New Space: UK European Studies Programmes at the Crossroads,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 11, no. 1 (2003): 23.

⁵³ Rosamond, 241.

⁵⁴ Simon Hix, “The Study of European Union II: The ‘New Governance’ Agenda and Its Rival,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 5, no. 1 (1998): 38–65.

⁵⁵ Horga, “European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” 109.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ M. A. Pollack, “Theorizing the European Union: International Organization, Domestic Polity or Experiment in New Governance?” *Annual Review of Political Sciences* 8 (2005): 357–398.

for different specific purposes; how, through support programs of CBC, has been the creation of new communities of interest and geographically flexible networks.

On the other hand, we consider that the European Studies perspectives in the research of cross-border confrontation and cooperation owes much to research in other scientific fields, especially those of political and human geography, which not only because it has a long tradition in research, but created in its evolution a theoretical and methodological resource that we must take into account.

The research from the European Studies sphere must firstly focus on the **functional dimension of the borders** is linked to the flows of people on both sides of a border for reasons that can be linked to work, shopping, the use of public amenities and other services. This dimension of the integration process has been widely investigated in the field of border studies and has been defined as the *flow approach*⁵⁸.

Secondly, the research of Europeans from the field of border studies and the CBC must focus on the **institutional dimension** related to cross-border cooperation and the building of multi-level governance networks that is to say, to the structuring of the decision-making process with respect to cross-border issues⁵⁹.

Thirdly, according to James W. Scott, the **structural dimension** of cross-border integration, which refers to the evolution and the convergence (or not) of the border territories with respect to socio-economic spatial characteristics⁶⁰ must be considered.

Finally, from the perspective of European Studies, the **ideational dimension** of cross-border integration, which consists of the more subjective elements linked to collective representations, must be taken into account in the study of borders and CBC. Focusing on the ideational dimension of borders helps to go beyond the top-down perspective on borders and takes into account the individual border narratives and experiences, which reflect “the ways in which borders impact on the daily life practices of people living in and around the borderland and transboundary transition zones”⁶¹.

The issue of borders and CBC can be viewed from several ambivalent perspectives. We think, on the one hand, of a national versus a post-national and European perspective, which is in a permanent fluidity on a scale that goes from a close level to an open level. On this scale, the researches from the field of European Studies have shown a permanent transfer from the national to the post-national especially and then to the European level, during the pre-accession period, when the phenomenon of conditionality in the relation between Brussels and the candidate states was strong. In the context of the economic crisis and the post-crisis, however, we are witnessing a phenomenon of recovering the national perspective not only in political action, but also in the reflection on regionalization and decentralization⁶², with obvious extension to the problems of borders and CBC.

⁵⁸ van Houtum, “An Overview of European Regional Research,” 59.

⁵⁹ Markus Perkmann, “Building Governance Institutions across European Borders,” *Regional Studies* 33 (1999): 657–667.

⁶⁰ James W. Scott, “Bordering, Border Politics,” 27–44.

⁶¹ David Newman, “Borders and Bordering: Towards an Interdisciplinary Dialogue,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 2 (2006): 171–186.

⁶² Ioan Horga, “The state Remained the Most Important Partner of the European Union in the Field of Regional Policy in Central and Eastern Europe,” in *Facing the Challenges in European Union. Re-thinking of EU Education and Research for Smart and Inclusive Growth (EuInteg)*, ed. Ewa Latoszek, Magdalena Proczek, Agnieszka Kłós, Marta Pachocka and Ewa Osuch-Rak (Warsaw: Polish European Community Studies Association – Elipsa, 2015), 257–282.

In fact, here we have to introduce a new item to understand the post national perspective on the borders and especially its specific European development; it is about how we understand the concept of bordering. On the one hand, we must see it in a pragmatic way as an approach that derived generalizable knowledge from practices of border transcendence. On the other hand, we must see it as a critical approach that theorized and questions the conditions that give rise to border-generating categories.

Looking closer we can see that the European or post-national perspective on border issues and the CBC, even if in the last decade we have a regression to the national one, does not represent a return to the point of departure, at least when the candidate states from Central and Eastern Europe started with the EU accession negotiations. It is rather a circular movement of return, but on another much higher level, marking a clear progress.

We witness the situations when, facing problems of functioning of structures of cross-border cooperation – e.g. euroregions⁶³ – or when the opportunities of opening borders are offered; various local actors take the European action model and act. It happens in this case that we have another ambivalence regarding the issues of borders, that of local versus national. In these conditions, the local pressures the national to remain open, to ensure the degree of permeability of the borders sufficient to realize the emergence of new political and economic units that are partly incorporated but also beyond the context of the nation-state. Under these conditions, the local is a bottom-up factor of Europeanization, so that the transformation of borders into post-national borders that might define polities that transcend the jurisdictional and conceptual limits of State centre orientations, for example as a community of States, as networks of cities or cross-border regions.

On the other hand, the issue of borders and cross-border cooperation has affirmed a new type of relationship between Brussels and the candidate states, as opposed to the conditional dimension applied in other fields – economy, legislation, administration – the transformative one. European actions, through cross-border cooperation programs, even if they contain elements of conditionality, but given the sensitivity of the field, did not have the same level of rigor, leaving a larger space to action. In fact, we can say that in the practice of applying the European instruments in the CBC, another type of relationship was forged between Brussels and candidate states, on the one hand the transformative-bilateral and on the other the transformative-networking. Now these practices have become not only a very important practical know-how that will be used by the EU especially in relation to the states outside the EU borders, but at the same time a package of scientific accumulation, results of research in the field of border issues and especially of the EU's external borders.

Leading our investigation into the way the EU's eastern border is investigated and its cross-border cooperation activities, from the perspective of European Studies we need to consider how these researches relate to the types of actions that EU policies develop in this case.

From the beginning we must say that following the launch of the EU Neighbourhood Policy, there is a clear evolution towards the permeability of its Eastern border, while its southern border has become less permeable in the context of the 2015–2016 refugee crises. From this perspective, we will direct our approach to the analysis of how research on this border and cross-border cooperation has highlighted the types of actions developed by the EU and the Member States on the Eastern border.

⁶³ Ioan Horga, “De la décentralisation à la recentralisation en Europe centrale et orientale. Le cas de la Roumanie,” *Pôle Sud* 46, no. 46 (2017): 63–79.

Of course, most research has taken on the topic of *conditionality* in the relationship between the EU and the group of member states of EU's Eastern neighbourhood. Looking at these research as a whole, they understood that the conditionality action in the EU relationship with the states from its eastern border (Belarus, Moldova or Ukraine) is almost excluded, in the CBC framework⁶⁴, because, on the one hand, the EU has limited material incentive to offer in interregional dialogue and its record of inconsistency in applying sanctions it is unlikely that the EU has tangible impact on the opportunity structures of its partners. On the other hand, EU's partners may have little incentive to change their interest structure and identities.⁶⁵

Some research on the role of CBC in the permeability of the EU's Eastern borders – and these can be seen coming from specialists from the academic environment and only from the countries of the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood (Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine), which deal with the issue of borders – have critical nuances regarding the EU's instrumentation in the field of management and financing of cross-border cooperation⁶⁶. We could fit this research into the category of references to the *cooperative hegemony approach*⁶⁷, which means that to enlarge its market is a crucial precondition for EU to extract maximum benefit from deeper integration. Seeking to disseminate its ideas and values to other regional spaces, the EU actually achieves its initial purpose of extracting economic benefits⁶⁸.

A lot of research on the location of the Eastern border in the EU's relationship with its partners EU's Eastern Neighbourhood and the CBC essentially has the dimension of *isomorphism*. Of course, such a vision raises some problems, including how open are the countries in the Eastern Partnership to the EU? According to Jürgen Rüländ, isomorphism is indicated to go through two stages: the first step is the import of “the organizational structure and ideational underpinning with norms domestically considered appropriate and hence led legitimate; the second step must frame norms in a way that can be shared by other member states in the region⁶⁹. Looking closely at the research on the EU's relationship with the EaP countries on the CBC theme, there is a greater emphasis on the size of the import of European values and less on the response to the adequacy of these values.

In fact, taking things closer to this process goes in the direction of Acharya's localization theory, which considers that “neither complete norms transformation nor norm rejection is normal practice for norm recipients, but rather practice of actively

⁶⁴ Ioan Horga and Ana Maria Costea, “Cross-Border Cooperation as Network Instrument of EU Integration of Moldova and Ukraine,” in *EU Association Agreements with Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine: Through Cooperation towards Integration*” (International Conference Tbilisi, Georgia, 2017), ed. Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, Gaga Gabrichidze, Ioan Horga, Anatoliy Kruglashov, Ewa Latoszek, Marta Pachocka, and Vasile Cucerescu (Chişinău, Tbilisi, Cernivtsi: Print Caro, 2017), 273–288.

⁶⁵ Jürgen Rüländ, “Interregionalism and International Relations: Reanimating an Obsolescent Research Agenda?” in *Intersecting Interregionalism. Regions, Global Governance and the EU*, ed. Francis Baert, Tiziana Scaramagli, and Fredrik Soderbaum (Springer, 2014), 28.

⁶⁶ In the next chapter we will mention these studies.

⁶⁷ Thomas Pederson, “Cooperative Hegemony: Power, Ideas and Institutions in Regional Integration,” *Review of International Studies* 28, no. 4 (2002): 677–696.

⁶⁸ Rüländ, 30.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

adjuncting the alien norm to the local repository of norms”⁷⁰. Thus local agents do this through framing, grafting and pruning, thus making foreign and local norms compatible. This way, the existing norms are transformed and at the same time, they can also be legitimized⁷¹.

Studies on the interaction between the EU and other regions, which can be integrated into *communicative action theory*, in this case the countries of the Eastern Partnership, have shown how they evolved from “inclusive bargaining to rhetorical action”⁷², a mode of communication whereby actors seek to persuade others to change their beliefs, interest and identities⁷³. J. Rüländ believes that research is still at the beginning, but the inverse phenomenon in which norms, ideas from regions with which the EU is in contact is transmitted in the EU⁷⁴, should not be neglected. We call this phenomenon *acculturation*.

We believe that the research on the Eastern border and the CBC at this border cannot neglect any of the dimensions outlined so far and presented above, but they will have to be viewed in a complex and interdependent dimension. This fact is due in particular to the practical reality of the action in the European Neighbourhood Policy area, which, given the fact that the transfer of European values and norms to the countries outside the EU borders does not produce much fruit using the conditionality leverage, begins to assert a new type of EU-EaP relationship, the network based one. As we have stated above, networking as type of relation and action between the EU and its partners from EU's Eastern Neighbourhood has been forged especially in the area of Cross-Border Cooperation, so it is to be emphasized that “network governance could be an alternative to conditionality”⁷⁵ method in the relationship EU – European Neighbourhood Partners and especially in the field of CBC between EU – EaP.

In conclusion, we consider that there is a rich theoretical support, on the one hand, regarding the approach of the CBC issue in the context of the Europeanization of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which covers a wide range from the problem of *conditionality* to the problem of *transformative power* of the EU. This ambivalent and complementary vision, which was forged especially in the scope of the CBC practice at the internal borders of the EU, in Central and Eastern Europe, in the two decades since the beginning of the enlargement process and until today, represents, in our opinion a good asset which is to be emphasized also in the research regarding the situation at the eastern border of the EU.

In the next chapter we will seek to review the input of researchers working in the area of the eastern border of the EU in clarifying some aspects of the CBC's particularities at

⁷⁰ Amitav Acharya, “How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and International Change in Asian Regionalism,” *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (2004): 239–275.

⁷¹ Rüländ, 29.

⁷² Maria Gabriela Manea, “Human Rights and the Interregional Dialogue between Asia and Europe: ASEAN – EU Relations and ASEM,” *The Pacific Review* 21, no. 3 (2004): 369–396; Maria Gabriela Manea, “How and Why Interaction Matters,” *Cooperation and Conflicts* 44, no. 1 (2009): 27–49; Frank Schimmelfenning, *The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe, Rules and Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁷³ Rüländ, 29.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁵ Sandra Lavenex, “A Governance Perspective on the European Neighbourhood Policy: Integration beyond Conditionality?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 6 (2008): 938–955.

this border and how the most effective policies have been chosen to ensure an approximation of countries beyond this borders to the space, values and practices in the EU.

3. The role of research in CBC area at the Eastern Border of EU in the development of European Studies?

Accumulations of knowledge in all fields from universities and research institutes in Western Europe on the issue of internal and external borders of the EU and especially on the CBC have been an important incentive for the academic environment in the countries in the accession process. In contrast to the accumulations in Western Europe, where some distinct stages are going on, in Central and Eastern Europe, the accumulations in the field of European Studies are almost coincident with those in the mono-disciplinary fields (geography, history, economy, sociology, political sciences) or at a relatively short distance of several years. We can say that we are practically witnessing a convergent explosion of border research and cross-border cooperation between the mono-disciplinary and interdisciplinary fields of European Studies. The issue of European borders and cross-border cooperation has gained scale in the context of the beginning of the negotiations for the accession of CEEC to the European Union. From the perspective of European Studies, this problem, at least until the accession of these states, was more of a multidisciplinary aspect (especially the researches of the History of European Integration, European Economy, Political Science and European Public Administration, etc.), in which each field advances its own set of knowledge tools.

When discussing the academic contribution from CEEC to the study of frontiers and CBC, we should especially note the contribution of the specialists from Hungary. They were among the first, especially the Hungarian geographers, who in the context of the opening of borders after 1990 advanced research on this issue, having a great merit that, beyond some minor nuances of nostalgic nature after the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, did not remain 'prisoners of history', but they were the promoters of the post-national model of borders, emphasizing their permeabilization and the development of cross-border cooperation projects. Basically there is no university centre in Hungary, which has not plunged into this new orientation, of course with its specificities. In Debrecen⁷⁶ and Miskolc⁷⁷ the role of promoters was of the geographers. Also, the

⁷⁶ István Süli-Zakar and Ioan Horga, *Regional Development in the Romanian-Hungarian Cross-Border Space. From National to European Perspective* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006), István Süli-Zakar, *Neighbours and Partners on the Two Sides of the Borders* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008); Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Challenges and Perspectives in the Regional and Euroregional Issues in the New Europe* (Oradea-Debrecen: Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2006); Ioan Horga & István Süli-Zakar (eds), *Cross-Border Partnership. With Special Regards to the Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian Tripartite Border* (Debrecen: University of Debrecen Press; Oradea: Oradea University Press 2010); Béla Barany, *Hungarian-Romanian and Hungarian-Ukrainian Border Regions as Areas of Co-operation along the External Borders of Europe* (Pecs: Centre for Regional Studies of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2005); Klára Czimre, *Cross-Border Co-operation: Theory and Practice* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006); Klára Czimre, "Cross-Border Co-operation in Europe: Scientific Research," in "Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers," ed. Gerard Delanty, Dana Pantea, and Károly Teperics, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 4 (2007): 78; István Süli-Zakar and Klára Czimre, "Carpathian Euroregion: Borders in the Region – Cross-Border Co-operation (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2001); Klára Czimre, "Recovery or Discovery? Models and Motives of Cross-Border Co-operation along the Eastern Border of Hungary after 1989–1990," in "The European Borders at

Hungarian Academy of Sciences formed a group of researchers, who joined this trend⁷⁸. The Hungarian authors have also focused on what will be the future Eastern border of the EU. It is well known the involvement of Professor István Süli-Zakar from Debrecen in the creation of the Carpathian Euroregion and then in the research related to this topic. The theme of the Carpathian Euroregion⁷⁹ will represent, in our opinion, for the Hungarian academic environment, the gateway from a national approach to a post-national approach of border issues.

With the entry into the period of accession to the European Union, some of the Hungarian authors, with concerns in border issues under the impact of the evolution of the field of European Studies and especially the young generation, affirmed after 2004–2007, who comes in contact with the evolutions in this field, will develop research, which even if remain in the sphere of geography, economy or social sciences, will carry a strong interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary imprint, specific to the domain of European Studies. We are thinking of the representatives of the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development, from the University of Debrecen who, together with colleagues from the Department of International Relations and European Studies from the University of Oradea will establish in 2006 the Institute of Euroregional Studies, A structure of interdisciplinary research dedicated to the study of borders and cross-border cooperation.

The new EU border, after 2007, brings before the Hungarian researchers the challenge of studies on the border and the CBC with major implications and for the development of European Studies, having as an object at the Eastern border, the Hungarian–Ukrainian cross-border relations and, at the southern border with the Hungarian–Serbian ones and, until 2013 the Hungarian–Croatian.

Hundred Years after the First World War,” ed. Cristina-Maria Dogot, Klára Czimre, and Renaud De LA Brosse, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 26 (Autumn 2018): 97–112; Gábor Kozma, “Characteristic Features of the Economic Management of local Authorities in the Western and the Eastern Border Areas of Hungary,” in *Neighbours and Partners on the two sides of the Borders*, ed. István Süli-Zakar (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008), 19–26; Gábor Kozma, “The Use of Cross-Border Co-operation and Border Location in Place Marketing,” in “From Smaller to Greater Europe: Border Identitary Testimonies,” ed. Mircea Brie and Kozma Gábor, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 2 (Autumn 2006): 74–79.

⁷⁷ Károly Kocsis, Judit Sansum Molnár, Gábor Michalkó, Zsolt Bottlik, Balázs Szabó, Dániel Balizs, György Varga, “International Migration into Europe – An Old-New Challenge from the Afro-Asian Neighbourhood,” in “Migration at the European Borders,” ed. Florentina Chirodea, Marta Pachocka, and Kozma Gábor, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 23-24 (Spring-Autumn 2017): 167–190; Károly Kocsis, “Historical Predecessors and Current Geographical Possibilities of Ethnic Based Territorial Autonomies in the Carpathian Basin,” in *Autonomies in Europe: Solutions and Challenges*, ed. Zoltán Kántor (Budapest: Nemzetpolitikai Kutatóintézet [NPKI – Research Institute for Hungarian Communities Abroad], 2014), 83–121; Károly Kocsis, Monika Mária Váradi, “Borders and Neighbourhoods in the Carpatho-Pannonian Area,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies*, ed. Doris Wastl-Walter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 585–605.

⁷⁸ Gábor Lux, Gyula Horváth, *The Routledge Handbook to Regional Development in Central and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2017); Eröss Ágnes, Károly Kocsis, Tátrai Patrick, “Changing Permeability – Different Patterns of Cross-Border Relations: Comparative Research of Berehove/Beregszász (UA) and Oradea/Nagyvárad (RO),” in *Creating Economic and Social Neighbourhoods across Political Borders*, ed. B. Filep, A. Kovács, T. T. Sikos, and D. Wastl-Walter (Komárno, Slovakia, 2009), 1–14. CD-ROM.

⁷⁹ Carpathian Euroregion was created in 1993 and comprised administrative units from Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine.

The Polish researchers were also very active in the field of border and CBC studies after 1990. Similarly, like in the case of Hungary, there were the geographers who set the tone first, through studies especially referring to the Western border of Poland. The schools in Gdansk⁸⁰ or Lodz⁸¹ were noted here. Unlike Hungary, the issue of borders and cross-border co-operation has quickly reached the concerns of Polish specialists in European Studies. It is worth noting the activity of the Polish economists, who started research projects concerning in particular the Czech–Polish or Slovak–Polish border (Katowice University of Economics)⁸² or at the borders of Eastern Poland in general, by involving universities of Białystok⁸³ and Lublin⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ Delia Bar-Kořelis and Jan A. Wendt, “Comparison of Cross-Border Shopping Tourism Activities at the Polish and Romanian External Borders of European Union,” *Geographia Polonica* 91, no. 1 (2018): 113–125; Agnieszka Derlaga and Jan Wendt, “Cross-Border Co-operation between the Republic of Romania, Ukraine and Moldova,” in *Regional Transborder Co-operation in Countries of Central and Eastern Europe – A Balance of Achievements*, ed. Jerzy Kitowski, *Geopolitical Studies* 14 (2006): 141–158; Alexandru Ilieř, Jan Wendt, Dorina Ilieř, Vasile Grama, “Romanian/Ukrainian Borderland (Northern Sector) Typology Determined by the Administrative Territorial Units (NUTS 3),” *Central European Policy and Human Geography* 2 (2011): 7–15; Renata Anisiewicz and Tadeusz Palmowski, “Small Border Traffic and Cross-Border Tourism between Poland and the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation,” *Quaestiones Geographicae* 33, no. 2 (2014): 79–86; Tadeusz Palmowski, “Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation between Poland and the Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian Federation,” *Quaestiones Geographicae* 16, no. 4 (2010): 67–79.

⁸¹ At University of Łódź was published the journal *Regions and Regionalism* (editor proof, Marek Koter), which published several issues with the topic borders and Cross-Border cooperation, i.e.: Marek Koter and Krystian Heffner, “The role of Ethnic Minorities in Border Regions. Forms of their Composition. Problems of Development and Political Rights,” *Regions and Regionalism* 1, no. 6 (2003); Marek Koter and Krystian Heffner, *Borderlands or Transborder Regions: Geographical, Social and Political Problems* (Governmental Research Institute, Silesian Institute in Opole, 1998); Marek Sobczyński, *The Role of Borderlands in United Europe: Historical, Ethnic and Geopolitical Problems of Borderlands* (Państwowy Instytut Naukowy-Institut Śląski w Opolu, 2005).

⁸² Małgorzata Dziembała, “Do EU Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes Contribute to Competitiveness and Cohesion? The Case of the Polish–Czech Borderland,” *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe* 16, no. 3 (2018): 39–67; Małgorzata Dziembała, “Do EU Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes Contribute to Competitiveness and Cohesion? The Case of the Polish–Czech Borderland,” *Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 16, no. 3 (2018): 39–67.

⁸³ The University of Białystok is the initiator of the project Border Universities network (established in 2013) to which the following universities belong: The I. Kant Baltic Federal University in Kaliningrad; Baranavicki State University (Belarus); A. S. Pushkin Brest State University (Belarus); Janka Kupala Grodno State University (Belarus), Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (UA), Ternopil National Economic University (UA); Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas (LIT); Voronezh State University (RUS), Smolensk Branch of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (Rus). The activity stopped in 2014 because of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. Now this network activates within the framework of I Erasmus K107 with exchanges of professors and students, but without exchanges between EU and Russia (<https://sup.uwb.edu.pl/en/gallery.html>). As well, at the University of Białystok were organised conferences like “Friendly border” as a necessary element of strengthening the relations between the Polish and Russian societies, 10–11 October 2011; Smolensk – Minsk – Białystok: Regional Aspect of the Eastern Partnership of the European Union, October 19–20, 2010. Białystok Self-Government Academy is conducting research on the cross-border cooperation in Middle Eastern Poland, which, on the one hand, aims at theoretical

Regarding the Eastern border of the EU, especially the one with Ukraine, we must note the involvement of the University of Rzeszów, in cross-border projects⁸⁵ and in the development within the Institute of Political Sciences of some researches regarding cross-border cooperation with Ukraine⁸⁶ and, especially in the last decade, we must note Warsaw Business School activity⁸⁷.

Let us then take into account the activity of the academic environment in Slovakia in CBC projects and research regarding border with Ukraine, noting in particular the universities of Prešov⁸⁸ and Košice. In fact, in Košice there were the headquarters of the Association of Universities of the Carpathian Region (ACRU)⁸⁹ and where the universities here, together with those of Prešov and Trenčín, were important vectors of coagulation. ACRU – in almost two decades of activity – was not only the convergence factor between the universities from the future Eastern border of the EU (Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine) in a time when the EU had not yet started the enlargement process to the East and had not launched the neighbourhood policy and in which the first steps were taken from a national approach to a post-national border. The association provided not only the connections between the universities in border areas, with all the necessary background for students and professors exchanges, organizing conferences related to the university-to-university conferences etc. ACRU was also a mini-laboratory for the involvement of the universities in this region in cross-border cooperation and research projects.

development, while on the other hand, at analysis of practical dimension of cross-border (Faculty of Economics and Finance, “Cross-Border Cooperation in Middle Eastern Poland,” accessed January 24, 2019, <http://www.weiz.uwb.edu.pl/cross-border-cooperation>).

⁸⁴ Bogumiła Mucha-Leszko and Magdalena Kałol, “EU Economic Frontiers Determined by its International Trade Position and trade Policy,” in “The Geopolitics of the European Frontiers,” ed. Dorin I. Dolghi, Alexandru Ilieș, István Süli-Zakar, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 10 (Autumn 2010): 151–162.

⁸⁵ Project PL-SK/KAR/IPP/III/124 (2013–2014), “People and the Nature – Transferring Knowledge and Experience in the Carpathian Euroregion,” Project co-financed from the EU Regional Development Fund as a part of Poland-Slovakia Cross-Border Cooperation Program; Project WTSL.02.03.00-84-147/10-0, “Support for Regional Cross-Border E-Cooperation,” Project co-financed by Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland–Slovak Republic 2007–2013; Project INTERREG IIIA/TACIA CBC 2004–2006, “Rzeszów-Lviv Cooperation Bridge,” funded by the University of Rzeszów, the City of Rzeszów and the European Regional Development Fund, in partnership with Ivana Franka University of Lviv within the framework of the Neighbourhood Programme Poland – Belarus – Ukraine.

⁸⁶ Anna Kołomycew, “The Multi-Sector Partnership Involvement in the Polish–Ukrainian Cross-Border Cooperation Development,” in *Enhancing Cross-Border Cooperation between the European Union and Ukraine with Regard to Regional Development, Investments and Social Capital Development in the Cross-Border Region*, ed. Vladimir Benč (Prešov: Slovak Foreign Policy Association, 2014), 60–70.

⁸⁷ In 2016 started the European Centre of Excellence at Warsaw School of Economics on *European Union’s Security and Stability in a New Economic, Social & Geopolitical Settlement (CEWSE)*, and the Jean Monnet project no. 574518-EPP-1-2016-1-PL-EPPJMO-CoE.

⁸⁸ Vladimir Benč, *Enhancing Cross-Border Cooperation between the European Union and Ukraine with Regard to Regional Development, Investments and Social Capital Development in the Cross-Border Region* (Prešov: Slovak Foreign Policy Association, 2014).

⁸⁹ Association of Carpathian Region Universities (ACRU) was established in 1994 by sixteen universities and colleges from five countries of the Carpathian region (www.acru.uvlf.sk).

In the Baltic area, the activity of the research carried out by the University of Tartu⁹⁰ is noteworthy, not only regarding the border of the Baltic countries with Russia⁹¹, but also the development of projects and partnerships with universities from Belarus and Ukraine, located in the Eastern border area of the EU.

In line with the same regional trend of a period marked by the national footprint of border approaching, followed by a post-national transition period and continued with the Europeanization of the perspective on borders, the border research and the CBC in Romania was marked, on one hand by the synchronization with the regional trend, and on the other hand by customizations.

If we talk about the synchronization, then we can say that in Romania we are witnessing the three periods in the evolution of the reflection on borders and CBC, but with many particularities.

First, the period of national footprint was one of the longest in the region. Romanian researchers have hardly given up on approaching the national perspective of borders. In the years 1996–2000 there was even a certain crisis in this reflection, in the context in which the traditionalists⁹², and who also had a favourable political ascendant, were very active regarding the studies regarding the national perspective on the borders. It is the period when the new generations of researchers, going abroad, seek to come up with learned approaches. During this period it was not even conceived to conduct studies on the new structures of cross-border cooperation, such as euroregions, which were considered as a true 'Trojan horse' for the sovereignty of the state.

Secondly, the transition period from a national to a post-national perspective, due to the evolutions mentioned above, was in our opinion the shortest in the region, because the process of accession to the EU of Romania began to bear fruit, therefore, there was no longer time for the period of balance between national and post-national, but we assist at an almost direct dive in the third stage, that of the Europeanization of reflection, which begins to be visible from the years 2001–2002, when adequate masters programs appear⁹³, adequate courses supported by the “Jean Monnet” program⁹⁴ and a lot of young researchers, at the beginning of the field of geography⁹⁵, history⁹⁶, economy⁹⁷ started to

⁹⁰ Triin Vihalemm and Anu Masso “The Formation of Imagined Borders in post- Soviet Estonia: Diaspora or Local Community?” *Journal of Borderlands Studies* (Taylor & Francis Group) 17, no. 2 (2002): 35–17; Piia Tammpuu and Anu Masso, “Transnational Digital Identity as an Instrument for Global Digital Citizenship: The Case of Estonia’s E-Residency,” in *Information Systems Frontiers* (Springer US, 2019), 1–14; Gulnara Roll, “Regional Development and Cross-Border Cooperation in the EU Eastern Periphery. Case of the Estonian – Russian Border,” *Journal of Nordregio* no 1 (2009): 1–9.

⁹¹ See Peipsi Center for Transborder Cooperation, in Tartu (<http://www.ctc.ee/peipsi-ctc>).

⁹² Ilie Bădescu and Dan Dungaciuc, *Sociologia și geopolitica frontierei* [Border sociology and geopolitics], vol. 1-2 (București: Ed. Floare albastră, 1995).

⁹³ Master in *Euroregional Studies and Transborder Relations* at University of Oradea (www.uoradea.ro).

⁹⁴ Jean Monnet Chair in *Euroregional Studies* at University of Oradea

⁹⁵ Alexandru Ilieș, *România. Euroregiuni* [Romania. Euroregions] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2004); Alexandru Ilieș, Jan Wendt, Dorina Ilieș, Vasile Grama, “Romanian/Ukrainian Borderland (Northern Sector) Typology Determined by the Administrative Territorial Units (NUTS 3),” in *Central European Policy and Human Geography* 2 (2011): 7–15; Alexandru Ilieș, Olivier Dehoorne, Dorina Camelia Ilieș, “The Cross-Border Territorial System in Romanian–Ukrainian Carpathian Area. Elements, Mechanisms and Structures Generating Premises for an Integrated Cross-Border Territorial,” in *Carpathian Journal of Earth and*

treat the issue of European reflection on borders and cross-border cooperation. More than that, genuine scientific joint ventures with specialists from the region are outlined – the Poles (Gdansk, Lodz), Hungarians (Debrecen), steps are being taken to Moldova and Ukraine (Iași).

Thirdly, we are witnessing the outline in Romania of three poles of European reflection on the borders and on the CBC: Iași, Oradea and Timișoara. We believe that an external driver, the European Commission, played an essential role in this direction, through the Action (Jean Monnet Program)⁹⁸, which financed from 2001 to 2005/2006 a number of projects focusing on borders and cross-border cooperation.

Fourth, the Romanian reflection activity from the perspective of the European Studies not only as it focuses on two poles, Iași and Oradea, but it is institutionalized, raising in 2005 the 2 poles at the level of European Excellence Centres “Jean Monnet,” producers of projects, education and knowledge in the field of borders and CBC, which polarize around them not only local researchers on an interdisciplinary level, but are also a factor that coagulates researchers from the region, whose results are published in impact international journals⁹⁹. For example in Oradea, the Institute of Euroregional Studies was

Environmental Sciences 7, no. 1 (2012): 27–38; Nicolae Popa, *Borders, Cross-Border Regions and Regional Development in Middle Europe* (Timișoara: West University of Timișoara, 2006); Nicolae Popa, “Frontières et régions transfrontalières en Roumanie, entre territoires, cultures et fonctions,” *Geographica Timisiensis* 13, no. 2 (2004): 75–99.

⁹⁶ Nicolae Păun and Adrian Ciprian Păun, *Istoria construcției europene* (Cluj-Napoca: EFES, 1999); Ioan Horga, *Challenges and Perspectives in the Regional and Euroregional Issues in the New Europe* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2006); István Süli-Zakar and Ioan Horga, *Regional Development in the Romanian-Hungarian Cross-Border Space: From National to European Perspective* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadója, 2006); Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie, “Europe between Exclusive Borders and Inclusive Frontiers,” *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Studia Europaea* 55, no. 1 (2010): 63–86; Ioan Horga and Ariane Landuyt, *Communicating the EU Policies beyond the Borders: Proposals for Constructive Neighbour Relations and the New EU's External Communication Strategy* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2013); Ioan Horga and Ana Maria Ghimiș, “Romania – Part of the EU's Eastern Frontier: Opportunities versus Responsibilities,” in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Studia Europaea* no. 1 (2014): 101–113; Ioan Horga and Claudiu A. Pop, “Border Area from Borderland Proximity Communities to CBC Communities. Case Studies: Bihor – Hajdú Bihar Borderland Area,” in “Territorial Marketing at the European Borders,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, Klára Czimre, and Khristina Prytula, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 25 (Spring 2018): 149–162.

⁹⁷ Gabriela Drăgan, “Deepening the Economic Integration in the Eastern Partnership: From a Free Trade Area to a Neighbourhood Economic Community?” *Eastern Journal of European Studies* 6, no. 2 (2015): 9–26; Ioana Sandu and Gabriela Drăgan, “Political Options and Economic Prospects within the Eastern Partnership,” *CES Working Papers* 8, no. 2 (2016): 289–302; Gabriela Carmen Pascariu, Adrian Pop, George Angheloiu, and Alexandru Purcăruș, *Romania and the Republic of Moldova: Between the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Prospect of EU Enlargement* (Pre-Accession Impact Studies III) (București: IER, 2005); Gabriela Carmen Pascariu and Ramona Frunză, “Eastern versus Southern Peripherality in the EU: The Study from the Perspective of Centre-Periphery Model,” in *Transformations in Business and Economics* 10, no. 2B (2011): 590–611.

⁹⁸ Regarding Jean Monnet action as external Drivers see Horga, “European and/or EU Studies Curriculum,” 121.

⁹⁹ In Iași *Journal of Eastern European Studies* is published; in Oradea, the journal *Eurolimes* (28 volumes) is published, since 2006.

founded between the representatives of the academic environment in Debrecen and Oradea, and in Iași, Centre for the European Studies.

Fifthly, looking back at the over 15 years of activity in the field of border studies and cross-border cooperation, it can be said that the Romanian researchers recovered the delay they had as compared with their colleagues in the region and together with them they brought their contribution not only to the development of the knowledge in this field, by an increasingly appropriate synchronization with the researches of the consecrated western-European schools¹⁰⁰, but they are strongly implicated in multiplying the knowledge to the researchers beyond the borders of the EU, especially the Eastern one¹⁰¹.

Finally, it can be noted that European researchers in Romania have begun to accumulate a great deal of knowledge about the Eastern border of the EU and cross-border cooperation between the EUMS from the East and the countries of the Eastern Partnership. Here, we can note, besides the two poles – Iași and Oradea – the National School of Political and Administrative Sciences in Bucharest, the Ștefan cel Mare University in Suceava and more recently the “Dunărea de Jos” University in Galați.

The experience of the candidate states in Central and Eastern Europe, which became member states in the EU after 2004–2007, in the field of border studies and cross-border cooperation from the perspective of European Studies, will play an essential role in stimulating the development of specific competences, institutes and mentalities in the states at the Eastern border of the EU border, especially Ukraine and Moldova.

If, on the one hand, the academic environment in the states located to the east of the EU border has taken from their neighbours old methods, practices and knowledge adapted to the socio-economic environment of the region, the same environment is treated in research projects with specialists in border issues from consecrated schools in Western Europe, specifically in Germany, Finland, France and the Netherlands. Through this East-West symbiosis, a mechanism of osmotic transfer of rules, values and knowledge is put into operation that produces important mutations in the direction of the integration of the academic environment in these East-European states in the European space of education and knowledge in general and the one regarding the role of CBC in particular.

In the second part of this chapter we will review the results of this isomorphic action of transferring know-how from the EU to the EU's Eastern neighbourhood, which is part of the Europeanization beyond Europe process and which “cover a wide range of policies and is based on the explicit commitment of the EU to extend its *acquis* beyond

¹⁰⁰ Jean Monnet Project, Multilateral Research Group Project *Initiative and Constraint in the Mapping of Evolving European Borders (ICMEEB)*, 2011–2013, coordinated by University of Oradea, in partnership with 17 institutions from 14 countries. From EU's Eastern neighbourhood area was involved: Ukraine (National University Uzhhorod, Yury Fedkovich National University from Chernivtsi), Moldova (State University of Moldova, Chișinău), Russia (I. Kant Baltic Federal University in Kaliningrad).

¹⁰¹ Jean Monnet Project 587848-EPP-1-2017-1-RO-EPPJMO-NETWORK (2017-2020) *European Union and its Neighbourhood. Network for Enhancing EU's Actorness in the Eastern Borderlands (ENACTED)*, coordinated by Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași in partnership with University of Oradea and Ștefan Cel Mare University from Suceava (Romania), Yury Fedkovich National University from Chernivtsi and Odessa National University and the NGO from Ukraine, Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova, Chișinău, Belarusian State University, Minsk; Economic University from Warsaw and University of Debrecen.

memberships”¹⁰², and, on the other hand, in the institutional change¹⁰³ and harmonization with the activity of EU’s scholars in different fields¹⁰⁴, in this case in research on the role of the borders and CBC in the process of Europeanisation. Looking at the overall contributions of researchers regarding the study of the Eastern border and the CBC to this developed border area in the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood, we can say that they tend to reach a higher and higher level of convergence¹⁰⁵ with those developed by the academic environment in the EU member states, being methodologically and theoretically closer to the research of the specialists in the new EU member states.

As expected, the most active in research on the Eastern border of the EU and the CBC are colleagues in Ukraine, especially those in Lviv, Chernivtsi and Uzhhorod. In fact, these universities are also the most involved in the programs of cross-border cooperation with neighbouring EU states. Besides these centres there are new concerns in this direction at the universities of Odessa, Lutsk and Ivano Frankivsk, too. As it can be remarked, concerns in the direction of research on the EU Eastern border have the universities near this border, which can be explained both by internal driver action (born from the domestic agenda of the respective universities), as well as by the external driver (influence that the universities in the neighbouring countries of the EU had in stimulating joint research).

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv¹⁰⁶ is the most active of the Ukrainian universities on issues regarding the borders, given that, on the one hand, it is located in the Lviv region (*oblast* – old Galicia) and on the other hand it has strong partnerships with universities from Poland located at the Polish–Ukrainian border (Lublin and Rzeszów) and was involved early in 1990 in cross-border cooperation projects¹⁰⁷. Within this university there are a few researchers who have addressed various topics of the Eastern border of the EU¹⁰⁸ and of the Polish–Ukrainian cross-border cooperation¹⁰⁹. A

¹⁰² Franz Schimmelfennig, “Europeanisation beyond Europe,” *Living Reviews in European Governance* 10, no. 1 (2015): 6, accessed October May 10, 2019, <http://europeangovernance-livingreviews.org/Articles/Ireg-2015-1/>.

¹⁰³ Sandra Lavenex, “The Power of Functionalist Extension: How EU Rules Travel,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 21, no. 6 (2014): 885–903.

¹⁰⁴ Meri Maghlakelidze, “EAP Countries with European Standards in Border Management: Europeanisation Driven by EU’s Demands or Domestic Agenda?” *Georgian Journal for European Studies* no. 4-5 (2018–2019): 77–96.

¹⁰⁵ On the topic of convergence between policies, actions and competences in EU space and that of EU’s Eastern neighbourhood the works of Meri Maghlakelidze, cited at the previous note, may be consulted: Julia Langbein and Kataryna Wolczuk, “Convergence without Membership? The Impact of the European Union in the Neighbourhood: Evidence from Ukraine,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 19, no. 6 (2012): 863–881.

¹⁰⁶ Founded in 1661, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, the oldest university in Ukraine.

¹⁰⁷ Border Universities Network, accessed May 10, 2019, <https://sup.uwb.edu.pl/en/gallery.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Ihor Hrabynskyy, “Expansion of the European Union and Its Influence on Changes in the Structure of Ukraine’s Foreign Trade with Poland and the EU,” in *Polish-Ukrainian Economic Relations: Chances and Challenges*, ed. Igor Hrabynskyy and Andrzej Podraza (Lublin: Publishing House of Catholic University of Lublin, 2008), 9–19; Mykhaylo Komarnytskyy, “Education without Borders: Trans-Dniester European College as a Way of Settlement Resolution of Regional Conflict,” in *The Program for the Advancement of Research on Conflict and Collaboration Working Papers* (Maxwell School of Syracuse University, Spring 2008): 1–26; Roman Kalytchak, “The State of Research on European Integration in Ukraine,” in *Poland in the European Union: Adjustment and Modernisation. Lessons for Ukraine* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2012).

contribution in this direction was supported by the Jean Monnet Program, which has funded 2 modules and starting in 2018 the Centre of Excellence “Jean Monnet,” which addresses issues related to the Eastern border and CBC¹¹⁰.

A very important contribution to the research of the EU Eastern border and of cross-border cooperation has the Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishnyj of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine from Lviv, where there is a research direction dedicated to cross-border cooperation, which develops research projects supported by the National Academy of Science of Ukraine and other national¹¹¹ and European donors¹¹² and which has produced reports and scientific publications especially regarding Ukraine's borders with the EU¹¹³.

At Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University there is the Research Institute of European integration and regional studies, which has developed some projects also supported by the Jean Monnet Program, which includes the issues of the EU Eastern

¹⁰⁹ Ihor Hrabynskyy, “Social and Economic Problems of Ukrainian-Polish Cross-Border Cooperation,” in *Contemporary Socio-Economic Issues of Polish-Ukrainian Cross-Border Cooperation*, ed. Leszek Buller, Hubert Kotarski, and Yuriy Pachkovskyy (Warsaw: Center of European Projects, 2017), 79–93.

¹¹⁰ Western Ukrainian Research Centre of Excellence in European Studies (2018), coordinated by Oksana Holovko Havrysheva; Jean Monnet Module *Economics in European Integration Internal Challenges and External Dimension Ukraine-EU* (2016), Assoc. Prof. Vasyl Zelenko; Module JM *The EU's Subnational Dimension* (2014), Dr. Roman Kalytchak.

¹¹¹ 2012–2015, Joint project “‘Upper Prut’ Euro-region – Region of Multi-Rural Realities,” in collaboration with the Institute of Agricultural Economics of Romanian Academy; 2019 – Project “Socio-Economic Substantiation of the Prospects of Building a Network of Border Crossing Points in the Zakarpatska Oblast’.”

¹¹² Project Jean Monnet № 599948-EPP-1-2018-1-UA-EPPJMO-SUPPA, Boosting Local Economic Growth in Border Regions in the Process of EU Integration: Best Practices of Eastern Partnership (EaP) Countries (2018–2021).

¹¹³ Khrystyna Prytula and Yaroslava Kalat, “Directions of Cross-Border Cooperation Intensification in the Framework of the Euroregion ‘Upper Prut’: Ukrainian-Romanian Borderlands,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre, and Vasile Cucerescu, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 29–38; Khrystyna Prytula, Yaroslava Kalat, and Natalia Vynar, “Euro-Regional Cooperation as an Important Factor in Overcoming the Depression of Rural Ukrainian-Romanian Border Areas,” *Agricultural Economics and Rural Development*, New Series, Year XIII, no. 2 (2016): 147–158; Khrystyna Prytula, Yaroslava Kalat, Yaroslava Tsybul'ska et al., “Modern Challenges of Cross-Border Cooperation Development in Ukraine: Results of Sociological Research,” in *Socio-Economic Potential of Cross-Border Cooperation: International Collective Monograph*, ed. S. Matkovskyy, M. Cierpiat-Wolan (Lviv: Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine; University of Rzeszów, Poland, 2017), 113–127; Khrystyna Prytula and Yaroslava Kalat, “Conceptual Aspects of Providing Border Regions’ Economic Security in the New Geopolitical Conditions of the 21 Century,” in “The European Borders at Hundred Years after the First World War,” ed. Cristina-Maria Dogot, Klára Czimre, and Renaud De La Brosse, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 26 (Autumn 2018): 113–124; Khrystyna Prytula, Olhea Pasternak, Yaroslava Tsybul'ska et al., *Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine with the EU Countries: Current Challenges and Possibilities: Monograph*, ed. Khrystyna Prytula, SI (Lviv: “Institute of Regional Research named after M. I. Dolishnyj of the NAS of Ukraine,” 2019).

border¹¹⁴ and especially the cross-border cooperation in the Bucovina region, at the border with Romania and Moldova¹¹⁵.

Uzhhorod National University, being located in the westernmost point of Ukraine and in the Zakarpattia region, bordering four EU member states (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Romania) is naturally involved in the issue of border studies and cross-border cooperation. The impulse of the research in these fields is provided, on the one hand, by internal drivers – the environment in which it operates from a socio-economic and cultural point of view, the number of CBC projects in which it is involved, a trained human resource etc. On the other hand, this stimulus is also given by the action of external drivers – who come less directly from the EU¹¹⁶ and more from projects coming from EU member countries, either as European funding¹¹⁷ or from funding from neighbouring states¹¹⁸. The convergence of these projects led to the creation of a group of researchers

¹¹⁴ Jean Monnet Chair “Approaching towards Comprehensive Knowledge of the European Integration in Ukraine” (2011–2014), coordinated by professor Anatoliy Kruglashov.

¹¹⁵ Anatoliy Kruglashov, “Interethnic Relations Stability on the Ukraine-Romania Border: A Case Study of the Chernivtsi Region,” in *Ethnicity and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, ed. Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, and Sorin Şipos (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 296–320; Anatoliy Kruglashov, “Euroregion Upper Prut: Studies and Activities,” in “Cross-Border Governance and the Borders Evolutions,” ed. Alina Stoica, Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, István Süli-Zakar, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 16 (Autumn 2013), 27–39; Anatoliy Kruglashov, “Troublesome Neighborhood: Romania and Ukraine Relationships,” *New Ukraine. A Journal of History and Politics* no. 11 (2011): 114–125; Anatoliy Kruglashov, “Euroregion – The Potential of Interethnic Harmonization,” *Kärnten documentation. Die Rolle der Volksgruppen im erweiterten Europa und beigrenzüberschreiten den Kooperationsmodellen*, Band 20/21 (Klagenfurt, 2006), 164–171; Pavlo Molochko, “Current Trends of Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine and Romania,” in “Cross-Border Governance and the Borders Evolutions,” *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 16 (Autumn 2013): 179–192; Yevheniya Yuriychuk, “Information Space of ‘New Bordering Areas’ in Ukraine,” in *Na pograniczach. Kultura – Literatura – Media: Monografia* [On the borderlands: culture, literature, media], ed. Yevheniya Yuriychuk, Anna Chudzik, and Robert Lipelt, Seria: Na pograniczachkulturinarodów. Tom VIII. Red.naukova (Sanok: Państwowa Wiższa Szkoła Zawodowaim. Jana Grodka w Sanoku, 2017), S. 159–173.

¹¹⁶ There is here one of the first Jean Monnet modules, focused on CBC and Regional Development (2005–2008), coordinated by professor Miroslava Lendel.

¹¹⁷ Partnership in the Jean Monnet Project, Multilateral Research Group Project *Initiative and Constraint in the Mapping of Evolving European Borders (ICMEEB)*, 2011–2013, coordinated by University of Oradea; Project Jean Monnet A – 3111, 2005 *Efficiency of Regional and Euroregional Structures at the New EU Border*, coordinated by University of Oradea; International Research and Practical Conference, Contemporary socio-economic issues of Polish – Ukrainian Cross-border cooperation (15–17.11. 2017), in partnership with University of Rzeszów and Ivana Franca University from Lviv, funded by CBC Program PL-UA BY 2014–2020 (<https://www.uzhnu.edu.ua>).

¹¹⁸ The cycle of conferences reunited under the general theme *Trans-Border Dialogue* that started to develop in 2014 and in whose framework are organized yearly conferences in partnership with the University of Prešov, being financed by the Research Center of Slovak Foreign Policy Association (<https://www.uzhnu.edu.ua>); the project *Cross-Border Cooperation at the Time of Crisis on Neighbor’s Soil* (2015–2016, coordinated by the University of Warsaw, in partnership with Uzhhorod N. University, Research Center of Slovak Foreign Policy Association, Institute of Ethnology of Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Geographical Institut of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, being funded by Visegrad Found (Cross-border Cooperation at the time of

with concerns in the field of study of the frontiers in Central and Eastern Europe, the border regions development and the CBC¹¹⁹.

At Odessa I.I. Mechnikov National University, located in the southeast of the EU border, are in the process of developing projects¹²⁰ and research¹²¹ related to CBC, which mainly refer to the collaboration between Ukraine, Romania and Moldova in the Danube area¹²².

Looking at what has been achieved in Ukraine in research areas on the Eastern border and the CBC, at this border there is a relatively optimistic evolution, started mainly from its own impulses, where the action of internal drivers is most visible. There is also a contribution of external drivers, especially from neighbouring countries through partnerships, but we consider that it is still modest, with the exception of the Polish–Ukrainian border in which there is a more consistent activity. Regarding the contribution of the EU, through funded research projects, aimed at the two topics – the Eastern border and CBC at this border –, we find that it is modest in the period 2007–2013¹²³, following an increasing trend between the years 2014–2020¹²⁴.

The Republic of Moldova, due to its size and the fact that the human resource is concentrated almost entirely in the capital in Chisinau, offers some particularities regarding the contribution to border research and cross-border cooperation. First of all, there is no contingent of researchers to develop border and CBC studies from the perspective of European Studies, there are only disparate studies developed within the Chişinău State University, the Institute of International Relations of the Republic of Moldova or the B.P. Haşdeu University from Cahul¹²⁵. Even though it does not have as direct concern the issue of borders or the CBC, we note a new perspective, from the Association of Contemporary European Studies of Moldova (ECSA Moldova), which

Crisis on Neighbor's Soil, accessed November 14, 2018, <http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/projects/cross-border-cooperation-at-the-time-of-crisis-on-neighbors-soil-2/>.

¹¹⁹ Members of the group: Miroslava Lendel, Mykolia Palincsak, Lesya Hazuda. Lesya Hazuda, “Cross-Border Cooperation as Factor of Development of Bordering Territories,” *International Journal of New Economics and Social Sciences* 1, no. 3 (2016): 193–199.

¹²⁰ Jean Monnet Project Module *European Union and Ukraine Relations in Focus: Neighbours or Members?* (2013–2016), coordinated by professor Sergey Yakubovskiy.

¹²¹ Olga Brusylovska, “Cross-Border Cooperation of the EU with Ukraine,” in *Gospodarka w Sieciach Relacji* [Economy in network relationships], ed. R. Sobieck (Lublin: Catholic University of Lublin, 2014), 57–64; Olga Brusylovska, “The Idea of European Integration and the Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine with the EU,” in *Ukraine Analytica* 4, no. 6 (2016): 44–50.

¹²² Special by the Center for Regional Studies (a NGO), i.e. Ihor Studennikov, “Cross-Border Cooperation between Ukraine and Moldova: Achievements, Opportunities and Problems,” in *Danube Financing and Capacity Building Dialogue*, Chişinău, 26–27 September 2017, accessed May 23, 2019, http://metis-vienna.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Igor-Studennikov-UA-MD-CBCChisinau_26-Oct-2017.pdf.

¹²³ Among the 24 projects funded by Jean Monnet Program between 2007–2013 only two are for the universities in EU border area.

¹²⁴ Among the 42 Jean Monnet projects between 2014–2018, 10 are realised by universities in border area.

¹²⁵ Nicolae Dandis, “Cross-Border Cooperation – A Strategic Dimension of European Neighbourhood Policy at the Eastern Frontier of the EU,” in “Europe and the Neighbourhood,” ed. Dorin I. Dolghi, Gilles Rouet, and Zsolt Radics, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 7 (Spring 2007): 35–48.

developed projects¹²⁶ and initiated research, which also addressed the issue of borders in the wider area of the Eastern Partnership¹²⁷.

Discussing the impact of drivers in stimulating these researches, on the one hand, from the perspective of the internal drivers we can see that there is little concern – a reduced human resource with concerns in this direction, the environment in which the socio-economic and cultural activity is little interested in these topics, the relative number of CBC projects in which is involved in the academic environment. From the perspective of the external drivers we observe an ambivalent situation – there are very few European projects that fund research of the Eastern border of the EU and the CBC that have been accessed by the entities from the Republic of Moldova; on the other hand, the entities from the Republic of Moldova benefited from the expertise of the EU's academic environment, in this direction, especially that of Romania.

Researches in Belarus on the Eastern border of the EU and the CBC are being developed among the geographers. There is no research on these topics from the perspective of European Studies, which here is confused with those in the political sciences. Universities in the border area with the EU are involved in cross-border projects¹²⁸, with partners from Poland and Lithuania, but research in this thematic area and confined to the field of European Studies are few¹²⁹.

In conclusion to this subchapter, a few elements can be described:

First of all, there is a disproportion, on the whole of the Eastern border, in the area established in the current research, between the general dynamics of the research in the EU Member States neighbouring the Eastern border, in their favour, and the dynamics of the states located at the Eastern part of this border¹³⁰. Starting from Białystok, Lublin and Rzeszów in Poland; Prešov in Slovakia; Debrecen in Hungary; Oradea, Suceava, Iași and Galați in Romania we have 9 universities in which teams of researchers work together in various fields who are involved in the development of cross-border projects and obviously in border and CBC research. If we look at the neighbourhood beyond the border, we find

¹²⁶ Jean Monnet Project: 564725-EPP-1-2015-1-MD-EPPJMO-SUPPA, Deepening Understanding, Information and Communication of the European Union in the Eastern Partnership (2015–2018).

¹²⁷ Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, Gaga Gabrichidze, Ioan Horga, Anatoliy Kruglashov, Ewa Latoszek, Marta Pachocka, and Vasile Cucerescu, *EU Relations with Eastern Partnership: Strategy, Opportunities and Challenges* (Chișinău-Chernivtsi-Tbilisi: Print-Caro, 2016); Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, Gaga Gabrichidze, Ioan Horga, Anatoliy Kruglashov, Ewa Latoszek, Marta Pachocka, Vasile Cucerescu, *EU Association Agreements with Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine: Through Cooperation towards Integration* (Chișinău-Chernivtsi-Tbilisi: Print-Caro, 2017); Carlos E. Pacheco Amaral, Gaga Gabrichidze, Ioan Horga, Anatoliy Kruglashov, Ewa Latoszek, Marta Pachocka, Vasile Cucerescu, *The European Union and the Eastern Partnership: The Security Challenges* (Chișinău-Chernivtsi-Tbilisi: ECSA Moldova, 2018).

¹²⁸ Border Universities Network (established in 2013), part of which are Baranavicki State University (Belarus); A. S. Pushkin Brest State University (Belarus); Janka Kupala Grodno State University (Belarus).

¹²⁹ Alena E. Dastanka, Olga I. Chuprys, “Euroregions as a Part of Trans-Border Cooperation of Belarus: Legal and Sociological Aspects,” in *Regional Formation and Development Studies* 13, no. 2 (2014): 16–24; Alena E. Dostanko, “Neighbouring Policy of the EU: Instruments of Cooperation for Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus,” *Belarusian Journal of International Law and International Relations* no. 3 (2004): 39–42.

¹³⁰ As the title of this paper suggests, this research is focused on the development of these studies in Russia, where there is a largely recognised school on borders and CBC.

an increased dynamic in Lviv, Chernivtsi and Uzhhorod, being affirmed in Odessa and Chişinău.

Secondly, if we discuss the development of border research and cross-border cooperation from the perspective of European studies, we can see that in the EU Member States neighbouring the Eastern border, these researches experienced an emphasized dynamic especially in Romania, through the universities of Iaşi and Oradea, but also in Poland, through the universities of Lublin and Rzeszów. In the neighbouring Eastern states of the EU border, we observe that in Ukraine, the universities of Lviv and Chernivtsi are the most dynamic, but also those in Chişinău, in Moldova.

Thirdly, when discussing the involvement of external drivers, in this case the European Union, through the support of the “Jean Monnet” program, we note that this disproportion acts, on the one hand, between neighbouring EU Member States on the Eastern border, and on the other side between the neighbouring states. For example, Romania, has the most important infrastructure in the development of research on the study of borders and CBC on the Eastern border, from the perspective of European studies, from all the Member States from this border, taking into account the universities “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” of Iaşi and the University of Oradea, which occupied in 2018 the first and third places in the country in terms of the number of projects funded by Jean Monnet. Over 80% of the projects funded in these universities are related to border research and CBC. Also, “Ştefan cel Mare” University in Suceava has developed in recent years projects “Jean Monnet” on the topic under discussion. By comparison, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary do not have this research infrastructure created through projects supported by the Jean Monnet Program.

Looking at the support from the “Jean Monnet” program in the neighbouring states of the Eastern border, we observe that, except for Ukraine, where there are 12 projects funded at universities at the border with the EU (the most active centre is Lviv), from that only 4 are oriented towards the study of the EU border to CBC, neither in Moldova nor in Belarus have been financed projects specifically oriented to the topic under discussion.

Finally, discussing the involvement of external drivers, in this case the EU Member State neighbouring the Eastern border, by supporting Eastern actors in development and research projects, we find a slightly contradictory situation, namely that, although Romania has the most important infrastructure in the development of researches on the study of the borders and the CBC at the Eastern border, from all the Member States discussed, its contribution to the development of projects and research related to the problems of the Eastern border and the CBC is similar to that of Poland. Only after 2010, the Romanian universities mentioned above began to be active in development and research projects with entities from Moldova and Ukraine.¹³¹ It is worth noting the

¹³¹ Jean Monnet Project, Multilateral Research Group Project “Initiative and Constraint in the Mapping of Evolving European Borders (ICMEEB),” 2011–2013, coordinated by University of Oradea; Jean Monnet Project 587848-EPP-1-2017-1-RO-EPPJMO-NETWORK (2017–2020), “European Union and Its Neighbourhood. Network for Enhancing EU’s Actorness in the Eastern Borderlands (ENACTED),” coordinated by Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi; The Jean Monnet Project no. 599948-EPP-1-2018-1-UA-EPPJMO-SUPPA, “Boosting Local Economic Growth in Border Regions in the Process of EU Integration: Best Practices of Eastern Partnership (EaP) Countries” (2018–2021), coordinated by Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishnyj of National Academy of Science of Ukraine from Lviv, in partnership with University of Oradea.

involvement of the University of Prešov in research projects with the University of Uzhhorod.

Conclusion

The rich scientific literature produced by the Western European schools with concerns in the research of the problems of internal and external borders from the conflicting one to the one of co-operation, on the one hand, and the experience accumulated in the implementation of cross-border cooperation projects in all the fields and which have served as support for theoretical reflection, on the other hand, offered not only an important incentive for the academic environment in the countries in the process of accession from Central and Eastern Europe, but also a methodological arsenal that allowed its application to the specifics of the challenges in this region of Europe.

In the first part of the study we observed that the scientific accumulations in the study of the borders of the Western Europe were made during almost half a century, where different stages were covered, until this field enters the concerns of the specialists in European Studies and which gives them a distinct dimension from the other traditional fields of study of this problem.

In the second part of the paper we tried to answer the question of the existence of a sufficient background in the field of European Studies to speak of a specific approach in the field of border studies and CBC. From going through this subchapter we could find that there is a strong theoretical support, on the one hand, regarding the approach of the CBC problem in the context of the Europeanization of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which extends over a wide range from the problem of *conditionality* to the problem of *transformative power* of EU. On the other hand, this ambivalent and complementary vision, which was forged especially in the sphere of the CBC practice at the internal borders of the EU, in Central and Eastern Europe, in the two decades since the beginning of the enlargement process until today, represents a good asset that is worth highlighting in the research regarding the situation at the Eastern border of the EU. It was also found that there is a strong methodological support that would allow us to speak of a specific approach in the field of border studies and CBC in terms of European Studies.

In the third part of the paper we noted that in Central and Eastern Europe, the accumulations in the field of European Studies were made, as opposed to those in Western Europe, almost simultaneously with those in the monodisciplinary fields (geography, history, economy, sociology, political sciences) or at a relatively short distance of several years. A convergent explosion of research on border and cross-border cooperation between the monodisciplinary and interdisciplinary fields of European Studies could be observed. The issue of European borders and cross-border cooperation has gained scope in the context of the beginning of the negotiations for the accession of CEEC to the European Union. From the perspective of European Studies, this issue, at least until the accession of these states, was more of a multidisciplinary aspect (especially the researches of the History of European Integration, European Economy, Political Science and European Public Administration, etc.), in which each field advances its own set of knowledge tools.

The second part of this chapter has highlighted how the experience of the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which became member states in the EU after 2004–2007, in the field of border studies and cross-border cooperation from the perspective of European Studies, play a stimulating role in the development of competences, institutes and specific mentalities in the states located at the Eastern side of the EU border.

If, on the one hand, the academic environment in the states located to the east of the EU border has taken from their neighbours methods, practices and knowledge that they have adapted to the socio-economic environment of the region, on the other hand, the same environment is caught up in research projects with specialists in border issues from established schools in Western Europe.

As a result of this East-West symbiosis, a mechanism of osmotic transfer of rules, values and knowledge has been put in place, which produces important mutations in the direction of the integration of the academic environment from these East-European states into the European education and knowledge space in general and the one concerning the role of Cross-Border Cooperation, in particular.

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Shifting Focuses in European CBC Modelling: Theories Influenced by Space and Time

*Klára CZIMRE**

Abstract. *Researches related to borders, border regions and cross-border co-operations in Europe have undergone substantial changes throughout history. The focus of the theoretical approaches shifted not only as a matter of time but also depending on the geostrategic position of the nation states, state borders and border regions. The study of the theory of borders and border regions has been pushed into the background for a long time. It was mostly due to the widely accepted notion that all borders and border regions were unique. The processes and events of history and economic life, nevertheless, proved that there are many similarities between each border region. As a result of this, the harmonisation of the activities in the border regions was started, and the facilities for cross-border co-operations began to improve. The co-operation along the certain border regions, however, differed in many respects. Consequently, researches and studies related to the individual borders may be compared and categorised on the basis of the nature of the co-operation. In addition to the historical perspective of the theoretical development of borders, the paper concentrates more thoroughly on the second half of the twentieth century. Comparing the focuses of border theories reveal that the accelerating integration process in the early 1990s led to a shift more and more eastward, and regionalism, and more specifically cross-border regions, appeared as a new research area providing a basis and scope for several studies and researches. The researches related to cross-border co-operations affect a great variety of disciplines, thus, a complex conclusion may be only drawn with the evaluation and combination of the existing research trends. Most authors apply either a multi-, inter- or transdisciplinary approach during their research activities. Nevertheless, it may be established that most papers published on the topic are rooted in only a few disciplines. The influential power of time and (geographical) space is explained with the help of a comparative analysis of existing models and finally a complex model is suggested for the better understanding of the functional role of cross-border co-operations in Europe.*

Keywords: *European borders, cross-border co-operations, theoretical approaches, border and cross-border models, European integration*

Role of borders and cross-border co-operations: scientific approaches versus the European Union policies

No theories have been created respecting borders and border regions for a long time because all borders and border regions were regarded unique and special cases. According to O'Dowd, the states and state borders were explicitly stable structures between the 1950s (following the Second World War) and the beginning of the European integration processes, then even more specifically in the 1980s (O'Dowd – Wilson, 1998)

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– although in the 1990s Europe has undergone radical changes both in a socio-economic and political sense (Anderson – O’Dowd, 1999). As a consequence of that, several theories were created to explain the functions and effects of borders: some researchers focused on the borders of the European Union, while others concentrated on the borders of the reborn Central and Eastern Europe. The factors and events for the focus on borders in the nineties included:

1. The “wall” dividing East and West was demolished. This meant that Eastern and Western Europe could start moving towards each other with the goal of joining in a common economic geographical space or integration.
2. The reinterpretation of the regional and ethnic identities in Central and Eastern Europe in many places happened in a rather violent manner.
3. The globalisation and the flow of capital, goods and information had a more and more intensive and detectable impact on borders, sovereignty and governments.
4. The distribution role of the electronic space (internet, e-mail) intensified which is often brought into connection with the permeability of borders.
5. The number and extent of cross-border environmental hazards and damages increased.
6. New sources of danger started to develop and spread (increasing criminality rate, AIDS, etc.) which are proven to have direct connection with the more intensive crossing of borders.

New discipline or new approach?

There are, of course, the various disciplines are closely related. Besides, the role of the other related and auxiliary sciences should not be neglected either, where the question of borders raises an increasing number of new approaches, narratives and fields for research.

Taking into consideration geography and its subdisciplines, we can surely recognise the impact of the cross-border phenomena. All situations, processes or phenomena in geography have clearly defined cross-border relevance. It can be either a physical geographical element, a human geographical factor, an economic geographical process or a transportation geographical phenomenon. The Carpathian Mountains, the Pyrenees, the Alps, or the River Danube, the Bug River, the Elbe, or the Prut, for instance, surely act as international borders since they cross the areas of several countries. These require harmonised actions which can be reached through interregional, transnational and cross-border co-operations. Since the effects and actions are mostly local by nature, therefore the cross-border element in this respect has a special role.

This means that those works which place the emphasis on the cross-border co-operations when analysing the borders are mostly interested in the phenomenon of integration and co-operation in general. The terms related to the cross-border approach include “Europe without borders”, “border regions as key areas and experimental laboratories in the European integration process”, and “borders as active participants and key areas in the formation of cross-border regional policy”.

Thus, we may establish that from the aspect of geography – and actually all other disciplines – cross-border researches do not constitute a new discipline but an approach applied by the disciplines.

Border, boundary or frontier?

The terms border, boundary and frontier seem to be regarded as interchangeable in our everyday conversations. Very often the various means of media (newspapers, magazines, radio, television, internet) also use these three terms as synonyms. Besides the various meanings attached to the terms by the different disciplines, there are also several approaches (semantic, historical, time and space, connotation and scale-based) which may be taken into consideration.¹

From the aspect of the present study, the scale-based approach has the highest relevance. One of its most important elements is that any border or boundary zone, when viewed from a sufficient distance, appears as a sharp line. When viewed up close, however, it becomes a zone having some width and often having blurry edges. So, from a central capital, a border or frontier may seem precise. Yet from the perspectives of those living on or nearby the boundary or frontier, or even from the perspectives of those charged with administering or controlling it, it can be quite vague and often contentious. The dichotomy of sharp lines and zones with blurry edges implies not only the often vague political interpretation of state borders and understanding them as economic factors, and also as social and more especially human elements.

As for the use of the three terms, in many European languages, including British English, the term frontier is a synonym for border. In the Americas, and especially in the United States, border means boundary, between countries, between the states of the United States, etc. However, frontier, typically but not exclusively, refers to a historical boundary between expanding European settlements and indigenous settlements. Thus, in English usage in the United States, frontiers and borders are very different concepts and refer to quite distinct social markers.

Besides, historically speaking, borders, boundaries, borderlands, and frontiers are zones or regions with some dimension, where there is a shift, more or less gradual, from control by one state to another or to an absence of state control. And of course, at different times and in different places the above concepts had different meanings, and they have been implemented in different ways. Often a word translated as border from one language to another had behind it a different meaning, a different concept of markers, and even different ethical and political implications of what that “border” entailed. (time and pace approach).

Prescott and Triggs (2008), political geographers, make a clear differentiation between the three terms: “A *boundary* is a line while a *frontier* and a *border* are different kinds of areas.” They give an explanation for the two latter: “The term frontier has two meanings. Long ago political frontiers separated tribes or kingdoms or principalities throughout the world. These frontiers were not controlled by either side. They provided refugees for outlaws. ... The second meaning of frontier refers to the settlement frontier within a large country such as the United States of America or Australia. It represents the distinction between occupied and controlled land and unoccupied and uncontrolled land.” “The terms *border* and *borderland* are synonyms. They are both zones of indeterminate

¹ “Borderlands Borders and Global Frontiers: Complications of a Seemingly Simple Concept,” Science Encyclopedia, accessed September 19, 2018, <http://science.jrank.org/pages/8484/Borders-Borderlands-Frontiers-Global-Complications-Seemingly-Simple-Concept.html>.

width that form the outermost parts of a country, that are bounded on one side by the national boundary.”²

David Newman and Anssi Paasi, political geographers, remark that “Boundaries, by definition, constitute lines of separation or contact. This may occur in real or virtual space, horizontally between territories, or vertically between groups and/or individuals.” Besides, as Newman and Paasi suggest, they also focused on the definitions “distinguishing boundaries and borders from frontiers, boundaries from borders, borders from borderlands and political frontiers from settlement frontiers.” They concluded that “Boundaries and borders were initially conceived as being no more than lines separating sovereign territories, while frontiers were assumed to constitute the area in proximity to the border whose internal development was affected by the existence of the line.”³

In his work “Studying international borders in geography and anthropology: paradigmatic and conceptual relations” Duška Knežević Hočevar in 2000 studied the terms in the geographic and anthropologic perspective, concluding – inter alia – that “we can agree with Cohen that the term “boundary” was used by geographers mainly to denote political boundaries...”⁴

As a conclusion of the above, all disciplines and approaches agree at one point, that is the meanings of the above terms and their implementation have changed over many millennia. Throughout these changes there have often been disconnects or divergences between their social reality and what various actors (individuals or states) thought they should be. Therefore, it is of primary importance in the current state of affairs to take into consideration the various ways of the interpretation of the phenomenon of borders, boundaries and frontiers.

What is a model?

Geographers frequently refer to Peter Haggett’s classic 1979 definition: "a simplified version of reality, built in order to demonstrate certain of the properties of reality".⁵

R. Hartshorne in his work “Suggestions on the terminology of political boundaries” in 1936 introduced terms such as antecedent boundary, pioneer boundary, subsequent boundary, consequent boundary, superimposed or discordant boundary, and relict boundary. Peter Haggett also used some of the above expressions in his model set up in 1979 for visualising the evolution of boundaries, that is on the basis of when they originated in comparison with settlement. (**Fig. 1**)

“*Subsequent boundaries* are those that are drawn after a population has become well established in an area, and the basic map of social and economic differences has been formed. ... By contrast, *antecedent boundaries* precede the close settlement and development of the region they encompass. Groups occupying the area later must acknowledge the existing boundary. ... The third type, *superimposed boundaries*, is the converse of antecedent boundaries, in that they are established after an area has been

² Victor Prescott and Gillian D. Triggs, *International Frontiers and Boundaries – Law, Politics and Geography* (Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008), 12.

³ David Newman and Anssi Paasi, “Fences and Neighbours in the Postmodern World: Boundary Narratives in Political Geography,” *Progress in Human Geography* 22, no. 2 (1998): 196.

⁴ Duška Knežević Hočevar, “Studying International Borders in Geography and Anthropology: Paradigmatic and Conceptual Relations,” *Geografski zbornik*, 40 (2000): 88.

⁵ Peter Haggett, *Geography a Modern Synthesis* (New York: Harper International Edition, 1979), 627.

closely settled. This type of boundary normally reflects existing social and economic patterns.”⁶

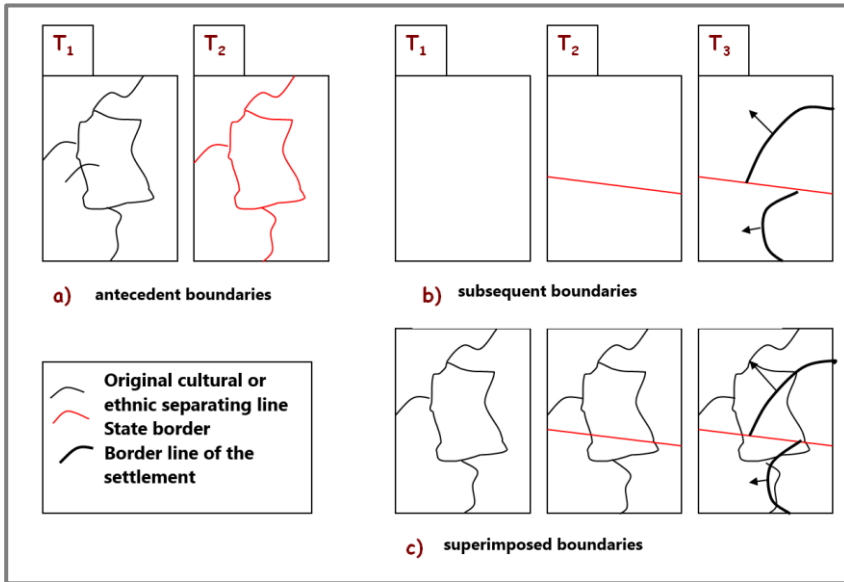


Fig. 1. Peter Haggett’s interpretation of borders⁷

Remigio Ratti, Swiss economist, got to the conclusion in his studies related to borders that the border regions and cross-border relations can be most of all understood by the functions and effects of borders. (Fig. 2) As a result of his work, he created a typology by the fundamental border problems. (Fig. 3)

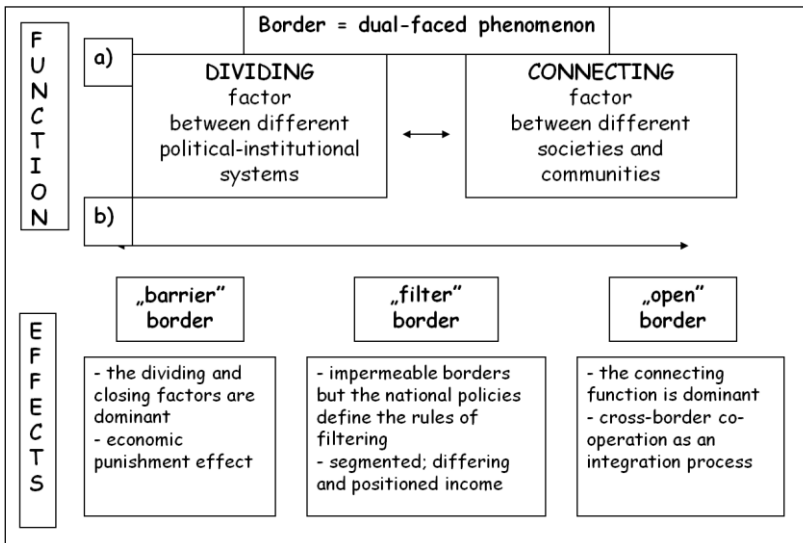


Fig. 2. Remigio Ratti’s border interpretation⁸

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Ratti proposes that if functions are considered then state borders separate different political-institutional systems from each other, and create a link between the various societies and communities. These functions are very difficult to separate from each other and practically both exist in the case of all state borders. Depending on the intensity of the prevailing functions, however, borders can be: closed, filtering or open.⁹

- 1) From among the three types defined by Ratti, the barrier border basically determines the regional characteristics of a given area. A border with a strongly inhibiting character intensifies the peripheral processes and features. Therefore, as a consequence of the long closed period, these border regions become peripheries within their own countries both in a geographical and socio-economic sense. It is the political-institutional system that “hinders the economic and infrastructural investments and the isolation of the natural gravitation zones by the principle of magnitude, and inhibits the creation of the market areas of the cities and economic units, while the border and its consequential border controls make the life of the inhabitants more and more difficult.”¹⁰ As a result of all these, the economy, infrastructural supply and the quality of life in the border region becomes depreciated. The most important characteristics of these border regions include out-migration, ageing of the population in the border region and the development of worse living circumstances. Not even the possibility of cross-border co-operations occurs along these borders. In Eastern and Central Europe, the political powers of the socialist period endeavoured at sustaining these borders.
- 2) Ratti defines the second type of the borders – the filter borders – as more open offering more freedom. The appropriate name well demonstrates the practical role of the border: “the non-preferred phenomena accumulate on the outer side of the filter which cause lots of trouble for at least one of the affected border regions.”¹¹ While the state, political or perhaps ideological systems encourage filtering for the sustainability of their own economic and social living standards, the inhabitants of the border regions are attracted by certain elements of the neighbouring countries (low prices, higher living standards, wider market, etc.). Therefore, black economy and smuggling appears on both sides of the border – together with smuggling of emigrants for economic and political reasons. Since these illegal activities do not play a direct role in the economic development of the countries, therefore, the stakeholders try to cease them. Naturally, the borders may also cause some problems and conflicts between the neighbouring countries due to their more intensive control. Nevertheless, if cross-border co-operations were promoted and the adequate regional development bases were created then even legal economic and social relations could be formed.
- 3) The open border is a state border “which does not hinder the movement of the community and economic transactions and transportation, that is the crossing of borders is not limited to private or business matters because the control, permission or inhibition of the crossing of the border is not an occasional problem

⁸ Ratti, 1993 – quoted by Tamás Hardi, “Államhatárok és regionális együttműködések” [State borders and regional co-operations], in *Magyarország területi szerkezete és folyamatai az ezredfordulón* [Spatial structure and its processes in Hungary at the turn of the millennium], ed. Gyula Horváth and János Rechnitzer (Pécs: MTA RKK, 2000), 599.

⁹ Hardi.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

but regulated by previously defined frameworks depending on the dominance of the function.”¹² In the case of this border, the free flows of people, labour force, capital, goods and information are real; the barriers disappear for the active cross-border co-operations. The diminishment of regional disparities at these borders and the annihilation of the socio-economic differences between the neighbouring border regions are inevitable. If these happen then the border regions become equal partners in the co-operation, and thus the chances and possibilities of “outwitting each other” decrease. Accordingly, the border regions constitute a united economic sphere creating a new phenomenon on the map: trans/cross-border region.¹³

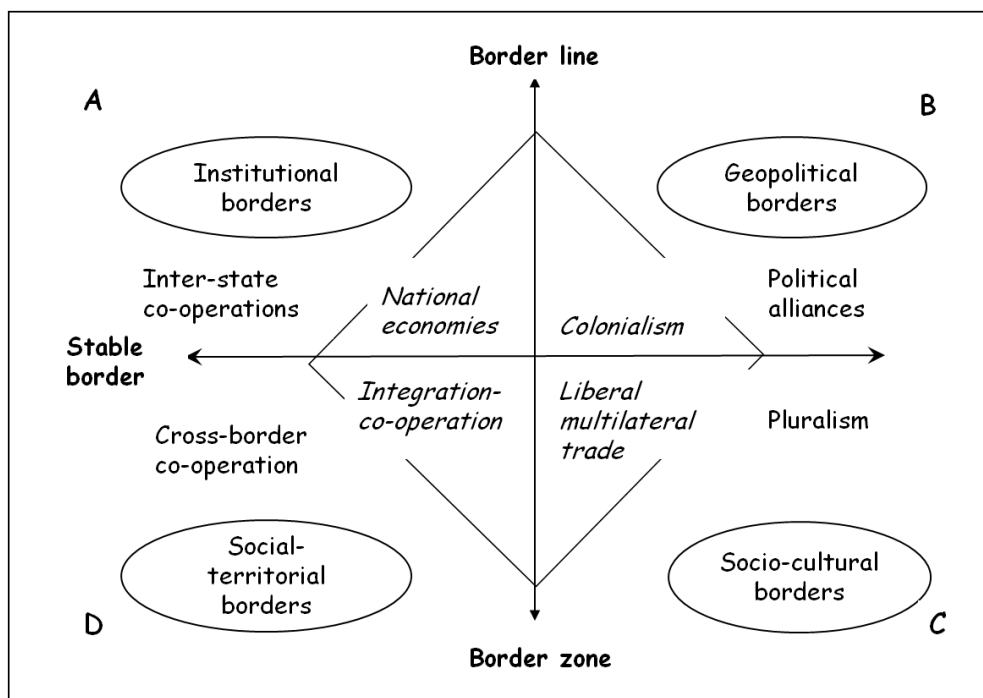


Fig. 3. Remigio Ratti's typology of cross-border co-operations¹⁴

József Tóth, Hungarian geographer, analysed the cross-border relations between the former COMECON countries and created a model in 1996 to characterise the cross-border co-operations of the countries of the region. The model (**Fig. 4**) presupposes the existence of a strictly closed and controlled borderline which depends on the strongly centralised state power and decisions brought in the countries concerned. The two border regions marked on the schematic map were allowed to contact each other only if the national party and the governmental forums agreed to it. These relations, however, could never get beyond the cultural and protocol levels which was the result of the dependence on the relationship between the two states.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ratti quoted by Hardi.

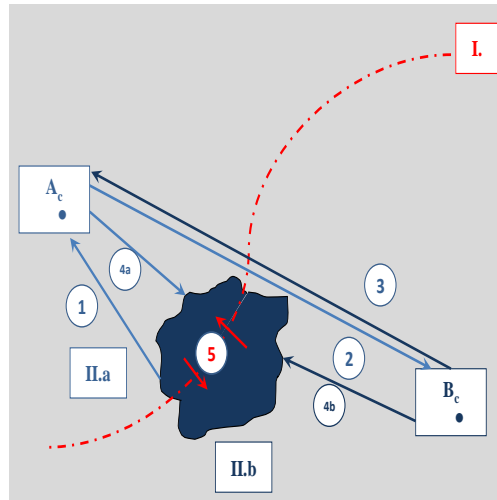


Fig. 4. The mechanism of establishing cross-border co-operations between border regions in the COMECON countries¹⁵

The border regions, which wanted to start cross-border co-operation on the local level, had to undergo five phases:

1. Let us suppose that there are two neighbouring countries (A and B) sharing a common border (I). If the border region (II.a) in country 'A' wanted to form a co-operation with the border region (II.b) in country 'B' then 'II.a' had to inform the capital city (A_c) of country 'A'.

2. After this A_c contacted the capital city of country 'B' (B_c).

3. Following the decision of the central party, B_c informed A_c about its opinion on establishing cross-border co-operation.

4. Then A_c and B_c informed II.a and II.b about their decision concerning the establishment of cross-border co-operation.

5. Finally, the official could be made between the border regions of the two countries after it had been approved.

The three models discussed above were created in areas which considerably differed in space and time, and thus they allow for a comparison of numerous factors contributing to the formation and interpretation of borders and border areas.

Factors contributing to changes in cross-border co-operation modelling

Various aspects are available by which cross-border regions and co-operations can be distinguished from each other. An insight into the possible ways for differentiating and typifying cross-border co-operations open new perspectives for many disciplines. Today, there is an increasing number of approaches from simple ways of typifying to complex methods forming a basis for the overall classification of cross-border co-operations all over Europe.

A comparative analysis is necessary to create a category system for cross-border regions and co-operations. As a result of a unified criteria system, borders, border regions

¹⁵ Based on József Tóth and Pál Golobics, "Spatial and Environmental Problems of Border Regions in East Central Europe with Special Reference to the Carpathian Basin," in *Environment, Planning and Land Use*, ed. Philip Kivell, Peter Roberts and Gordon P. Walker (USA-Singapore-Sydney: Ashgate, Aldershot-Brookfield, 1998).

and cross-border co-operations can be added to the relevant systems of the European Union as individual entities, and they become easily accessible for the institutions involved. Thus, for instance, their role in the practice may be experienced even in the more justified and more objective approval of the financial supports. Their usefulness is also supported by the fact that the growing scope and number of cross-border co-operations can be followed and understood more thoroughly with the help of a unified criteria system.

Cross-border regions and cross-border co-operations are the consequences of changes in borders all over the world. The phenomenon became apparent and started to gain power during the second half of the twentieth century, after the last large-scale settlement of state borders in Europe following the Second World War. Border theories also appeared in the second half of the twentieth century with prominent representatives from Europe and the United States of America. The integration processes starting in the 1950s made it clear that state borders should no longer divide but rather connect. Border theories and border region studies have always taken into consideration the geopolitical situation and expectations. Comparing the focuses of border theories reveals that the accelerating integration process in the early 1990s resulted in a shift more and more eastward, and regionalism, and more specifically cross-border regionalism, appeared as a new research area providing a basis and scope for several studies and researches. The influential power of time and (geographical) space is explained with the help of a comparative analysis of existing models and finally a complex model is suggested for the better understanding of the functional role of cross-border co-operations in Europe.

The added value of cross-border co-operations

The analysis and measuring of added value is one of the best ways of understanding the cross-border phenomenon and approach. This implies that all activities, actions and processes are seen from a cross-border perspective and actually reveals that these activities and processes in border regions always have a cross-border effect and relevance. Added value is an important element also in the integration processes of the European Union. The Association of European Border Regions (AEBR) analysed the added value of cross-border co-operations and published the results in its White Paper on European Border Regions (2006). The added value of cross-border co-operations includes six elements: (1) European added value, (2) Political added value, (3) Institutional added value, (4) Socio-economic added value, (5) Socio-cultural added value, and (6) Specific added value.¹⁶ In its White Paper (2006) the AEBR points out that there is experience from all over Europe which show that jointly developed programmes and projects can be most effectively implemented and executed if the regional and local partners on both sides of the border play a considerable role. The specific added value of cross-border co-operations to implementing the Lisbon Strategy derives from the fact that cross-border cooperation always adds value to national measures. This added value results from

- additionality of cross-border programmes and projects,
- synergies through cross-border cooperation,
- joint research and innovation,
- cross-border networking,

¹⁶ Chapter 4 and 5.4.2-3 of the AEBR's White Paper on European Border Regions, Gronau 2006, 117, accessed May 20, 2018, http://www.espaces-transfrontaliers.org/document/doc_white_paper_AEBR_EN.pdf.

- exchange of best practice and know-how,
- spin-off effects by overcoming borders,
- efficient cross-border resource management.

Forms of cross-border co-operations in Europe

The study of the types of cross-border regions allows for several approaches from the scientific point of view (deductive approach) analysing theoretical models to the practical point of view (inductive approach) comparing individual border characteristics for setting up categorising methods.

Geographically speaking the European cross-border co-operations can be categorised with respect to their geographical location using the macroregional level. According to the website of DG Regional Policy a macroregion is “an area including territory from a number of different countries or regions associated with one or more common features or challenges.” This means that the cross-border co-operations can be located in (1) Northern Europe and Baltic Sea Area, (2) Central and Eastern Europe, (3) North West Europe, (4) Alpine–Danubian Region, (5) South West Europe/Western part of the Mediterranean region, (6) South East Europe/Eastern part of the Mediterranean region.

By the term “region of regions” Bufon means the oldest cross-border regions where the individual administrative units form an institutional cross-border interest network. A high potential level of social (re)integration characterises the Central European border regions usually leading to the formation of functional cross-border systems defined by Bufon as “regions within regions”. Usually spontaneous cross-border areas characterise the Central European space. Whereas the Eastern European space still has very limited possibilities of creating more intense forms of cross-border co-operation and (re)integration. Therefore, the cross-border regions here are most often only nominal and defined as “regions under reconstruction”. His conclusion is that “border areas and border regions in Europe fall into three basic groups: the Western European, the Central European and the Eastern European”.¹⁷

Table 1. Types of interregional and cross-border co-operations

geographical scope	small	large
high co-operation intensity	integrated micro cross-border regions (EUREGIO)	Scandinavian groupings (Øresund Council)
low co-operation intensity	emerging micro cross-border regions (Transmanche Region)	working communities (Arge Alp)

Source: Perkmann, 1998

Based on the geographical scope, Perkmann uses the term micro cross-border regions for the small-scale co-operation arrangements among contiguous border authorities belonging to different nation states.¹⁸ This term is used regardless of the precise organisational setup or the nature of the participating actors. The term co-

¹⁷ Bufon and Markelj, 2010.

¹⁸ Markus Perkmann, “The Anatomy of Cross-Border Co-operation. Institutional Innovations in Regional Governance,” Second European Urban and Regional Studies Conference „Culture, Place and Space in Contemporary Europe,” Durham, 17-20 September 1998, manuscript.

operation intensity, in Perkmann's terminology, refers to the degree to which the cross-border bodies have gained autonomy vis-à-vis the single participating authorities. (**Table 1**) For estimating the co-operation intensity Perkmann relied on the catalogue of criteria proposed by the AEBR.

Accordingly, those micro cross-border regions which have a strong organisational structure are referred to as integrated, while those which have a rather loose organisational structure (lacking permanent secretariat, development plans, comprehensive co-operation schemes, etc.) are called emerging micro cross-border regions. If the cross-border regions cover extensive areas then they are either Scandinavian groupings or working communities where the main difference between the two structures lies in the intensity of co-operation explained above. In this respect the Scandinavian groupings are more organised structures, while the working communities represent the emerging co-operations.

Table 2. Main features of the European cross-border regions by macroregion

	Macroregion	Characteristics
1	Northern Europe and Baltic Sea area	concentration of cross-border regions in the very North of Scandinavia and in the Southern part of the Baltic Sea area
2	Central and Eastern Europe	half of cross-border regions in this area are members of AEBR
3	North West Europe	except from South England and Northern France, the proportion of AEBR members is high throughout the area
4	Alpine-Danubian region	In the past, there was a high proportion of large-sized amalgamations that have become AEBR members, but, in general, most of the new structures have not become AEBR members. This is a strong and complex CBC melting pot, where our Association should become even more active in the coming years.
5	South West Europe/Western part of the Mediterranean region	high proportion of members, with the Portuguese, Spanish and Southern French border regions accounting for the majority of the members
6	South East Europe/Eastern part of the Mediterranean region	some of the border and cross-border regions have become members, especially in Northern Greece, but also in Bulgaria

Source: based on information from AEBR website

At present the AEBR claims that 82 out of the approximately 202 working border and cross-border regions are members.¹⁹ On its website, the AEBR distinguishes between Members of the AEBR (80%) and Partially Members of the AEBR (20%). Based on the geographical location and AEBR membership of the smaller border and cross-border regions, the AEBR observed certain particularities and regional concentrations.

The Association of European Border Regions set up a criteria system for estimating the co-operation intensity of existing CBC arrangements:

- (1) co-operation based on some type of legal arrangement, common permanent secretariat controlling its own resources;
- (2) existence of an explicitly documented development strategy;

¹⁹ Association of European Border Regions, "List of Regions," accessed 20 May 2018, https://www.aebr.eu/en/members/list_of_regions.php.

(3) broad scope of co-operation in multiple policy areas, similar to conventional local or regional authorities.

We can make further divisions for the subcategories (e.g. mayors, entrepreneurs, doctors, teachers, football players, etc.) In general, in countries with a strong role or intermunicipal associations, cross-border co-operation is often pursued by local actors. By contrast, in countries with a two-tier regional administration and a minor role for inter-local action (such as Italy or France), cross-border regions are a domain pursued by regional authorities. Based on the geographical location and AEBR membership of the smaller border and cross-border regions, the AEBR observed certain particularities and regional concentrations. (**Table 2**)

We can consider also the legal aspects when setting up models for cross-border co-operations. Cross-border co-operations may vary not only by geographical location, size or participating regions but their operation (*modus operandi*) may be also extremely diverse taking different forms: from simple joint meetings of existing structures to the establishment of joint committees, or from legally non-binding arrangement to public-law bodies. (**Fig. 5**)

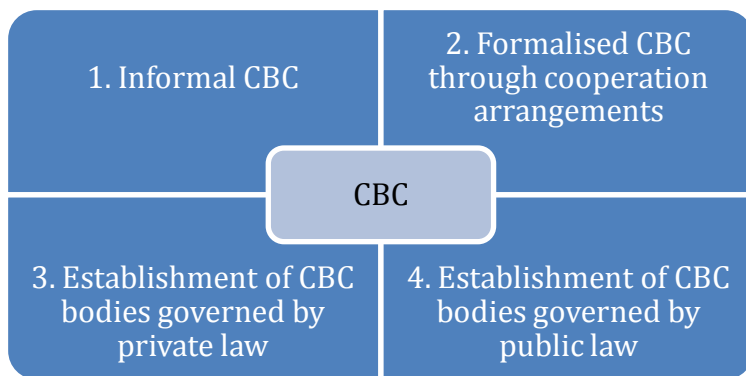


Fig. 5. Legal aspects of cross-border co-operations

What is common in all of them is that whether informal or formal (with a legal personality under public or private law) can be created under the provisions of national or international law. It is possible, therefore, to distinguish between four broad categories of CBC arrangements.

Borders in the European Union

The state borders in the European Union can be categorised along different aspects. The three basic ways of their categorisation leads to a distinguishing between:

- 1) maritime borders and land borders,
- 2) Schengen borders and non-Schengen borders,
- 3) internal borders and external borders (and temporary external borders). (**Table 3**)

Table 3. Borders in the European Union

	Number of borders	Percentage ratio of borders	Cumulative percentage ratio
internal border between two old member states	16	25.4%	25.4%
internal border between an old and a new member state	8	12.7%	38.1%
internal border between two new member state	10	15.9%	54%
temporary external border	9	14.3%	68.3%
external border along an old member state	7	11.1%	79.4%
external border along a new member state	13	20.6%	100%
total	63	100%	

In addition to these, they can be also further typified on the basis of their economic, regional or social characteristics.

Changes in the length of border types since the foundation of the EU

The EU Enlargement may be seen either as a process of four waves (1973, 1981–1987, 1995, 2004/2007/2013) or as a chain process of six events linked to separate dates (1973, 1981, 1986, 1995, 2004, 2007, 2013). The changes in the area during the history of the European Union always meant changes in the borders as well. (**Fig. 6**)

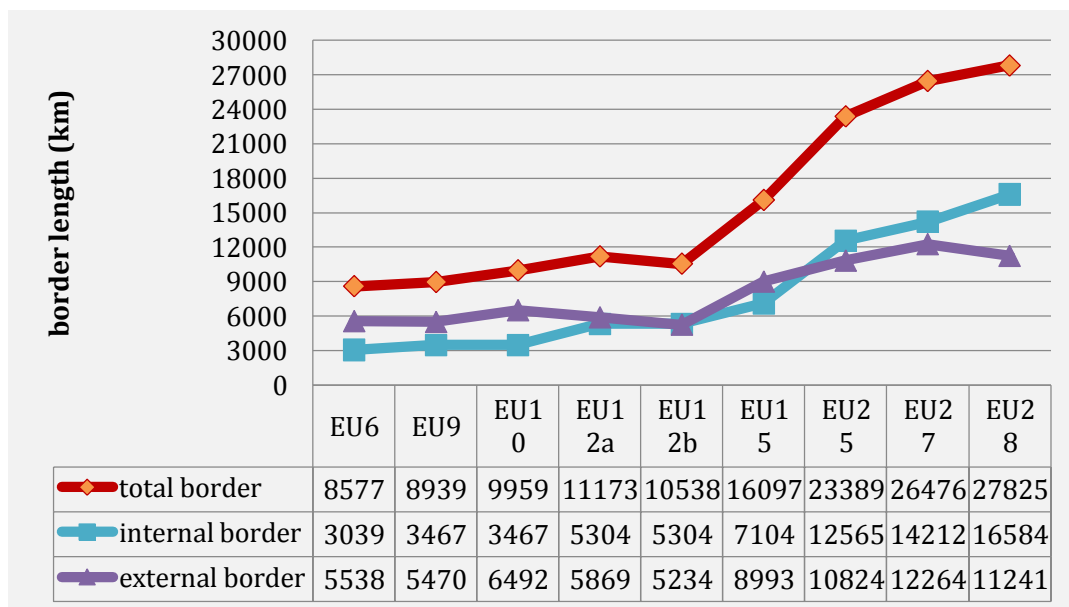


Fig. 6. Changes in the length of the borders in the European Union between 1957 and 2018 – chronological approach

The former EU enlargements resulted in changes in the quality of the borders (e.g. German–Danish, French–Spanish, German–Austrian) and thus they changed from being external borders into internal ones – while the reunification of Germany meant the total disappearance of a former border. These modifications did not only influence the whole of the integration but caused new type of problems in relation to the co-operations with the neighbouring new member states and non-member states. These changes in the area – and consequently in the borders – highly contributed to an even more intensive spread of

cross-border co-relations, and thus urged the European Integration to recognise the significance of borders, border regions and cross-border regions.

The enlargements in 2004, 2007 and 2013 resulted in changes in the borders of the European Union both in quantity and quality, and the changes in the ratio of internal and external borders are more striking than ever experienced. This also means that the length of the EU land borders increased at an extent never seen before, and the ratio of internal borders exceeded the ratio of external borders. The length of the land borders in the EU became three times more than previously, while the length of internal land borders became four times more and the length of external land borders turned one and a half times more than before 2004.

How did – and does – it influence the participation in cross-border co-operations? Respecting the activity, it may be established that the internal borders of the new member states and the external borders of the old member states should be regarded as the most active.

Table 4. Types of borders in the European Union

Type of borders	EU membership relevance	Number of borders	Length of borders
Internal borders	OMS-OMS, OMS-NMS, NMS-NMS	36 borders	16 584 km
External borders	OMS-non-MS, NMS-non-MS	30 borders	11 241 km
Temporary external borders	OMS-PMS, NMS-PMS	n.a.	n.a.
Total	OMS, NMS, PMS, non-MS	66 borders	27 825 km

Functional categorisation

This categorisation is based on a long and thorough research considering mainly the activeness of the cross-border regions. Cross-border regions are grouped here in accordance with the activities performed on their area. It takes into consideration 24 factors which determine the active operation of cross-border co-operations. The significance of this categorisation lies in the fact that it allows a complex approach to see how functional they are.

The nuisance of this categorisation is that none of the above methods took into account the year and circumstances of the accession to the European Union, and the peculiarities resulting from the thus evolving border types. The organising principle applied here is based on the hypothesis that for the analysis of the work of cross-border co-operations it is indispensable to link the year of the foundation of a cross-border co-operation to the EU enlargement waves and the years of accession, especially stressing the changes in the border interpretations and positions. This is primarily based on the fact that the creation and development of the legal and financial background of cross-border co-operations is rooted in the EU enlargement processes.

In the case of the regions of the member states concerned (with the six founding states being an exception from that) in almost 80% of the cases the establishment of the cross-border co-operation happened in the year preceding the accession of one of the member countries concerned.

This is true for all enlargement periods, but can be the most explicitly observed in the case of the countries acceding in 2004, thus confirming the hypothesis that “in Europe these co-operation forms constitute a kind of “stepping-stone” and “mini-laboratory” where the applicant countries can practice and prove their intention and ability to co-operate.

The geographical location, size and intensity indicator used by Perkmann were found relevant with respect to the cross-border co-operations in the northern, eastern and southeastern part of Europe which cover larger areas (working communities, Scandinavian groupings), while in the inner parts of the continent the euroregions with 2 or 3 member states and 5 or 6 member regions are more frequent.

Conclusions

If geography is taken as a base discipline in the study of borders – with the relevance of all other disciplines respected as well – it can be established that cross-border researches do not constitute a new discipline but it is an approach applied by the disciplines. The study of borders, border regions, cross-border regions, models and categorisation methods confirmed that the reinterpretation of borders has a very strong time and space factor which proved to be significant both in scientific and actual political terms.

All disciplines and approaches agree that the meanings of border, boundary, frontier, border region and cross-border region and their implementation have changed over many millennia. Of course, it also involved deviations from their social reality and what the various actors (individuals or states) thought they should represent. Therefore, when creating models and approaches, it is of primary importance to take into consideration the various ways of the interpretation of the phenomenon of borders, boundaries and frontiers.

Peter Haggett, Remigio Ratti and József Tóth relied on different spatial elements when creating their classic models but they all laid great emphasis on the fact and consequences of how and why borders divide and connect. In this respect, they allow for a comparison of numerous factors contributing to the formation and interpretation of borders and border areas.

The possible ways of typifying and categorising borders all over Europe relies on a wide range of aspects and criteria systems. The geographical, legal, or human factors complemented with the changes in the number of length of borders on the area of European Union led to the creation of a functional categorisation which points to differences in the cross-border co-operation activity of the various border segments. The permeability of state borders and their diminishing limiting function led to higher activity in the formation of cross-border co-operations, and the various forms of cross-border co-operations have a vital effect on the dividing or connecting role of borders. The most important factor to overcome the negative aspects of borders is the human factor and the most effective method is to make a border a regional actor with competences.

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Cross-Border Cooperation Projects under INTERREG in the EU-15 Member States in 2000–2020

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Abstract: *The European integration process has already played an important role in reducing the negative consequences of territorial, legal, and administrative discontinuities in border regions and in developing the socio-economic potential of cross-border areas in the EU. This is primarily within the scope of cohesion policy and is well reflected in financial tools such as INTERREG. The aim of this paper is to present the main areas of financial support under cross-border projects within the framework of INTERREG in the EU-15 Member States in 2000–2020. The paper consists of two main parts, the first of which introduces the issue of cross-border cooperation in Europe with a special focus on the INTERREG programme, followed by an analysis of INTERREG Cross-Border Cooperation projects implemented in the EU-15 in the analysed period.*

Keywords: *cross-border cooperation, INTERREG, European Union, EU Member States, EU-15*

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present the main areas of financial support under cross-border projects within the framework of INTERREG in the EU-15 Member States in 2000–2020 with the use of aggregated data from the keep.eu database developed as part of the INTERACT programme. The paper consists of two main parts, the first of which introduces the issue of cross-border cooperation in Europe with a special focus on the INTERREG programme, followed by an analysis of INTERREG Cross-Border Cooperation projects implemented in the EU-15 between 2000 and 2020. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied, including literature review, analysis of official documents, and statistical analysis.

Research focused on administrative and political borders in Europe has been of great interest to geographers, economists, sociologists, and political scientists for a long time. Studies on border regions are devoted to different levels of analysis and various aspects. Recently, research on cross-border cooperation has been increasingly focused on specific projects and how effective it is and on regions cooperating across the border¹. An

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¹ Robert Knippschild and Alexander Vock, “The Conformance and Performance Principles in Territorial Cooperation: A Critical Reflection on the Evaluation of INTERREG Projects,”

interesting example in this context is *Eurolimes*, the journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies Oradea-Debrecen, fully dedicated to border studies in Europe². Another important direction of research, as discussed by Pedrazzini (2005), covers the issue of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) through INTERREG³. Perkmann (2003) argues that cross-border cooperation strongly supports ‘Europeanisation’ of local and regional authorities and bottom-up implemented policies. In this context, regional governments become a significant partner in the implementation of EU policies as a strong voice in their formulation⁴.

Applying a gravitational model, Capello, Caragliu, and Fratesi (2017) show that European border regions are similarly endowed with resources as other regions, especially in terms of employment, industrial activity, human capital, knowledge, and product innovation. While, surprisingly, they have a better mix of cultural events and savings propensity than internal regions, which positively influences the social aspects of quality of life, they are characterised by lower levels of accessibility, population density, and internal trust, which can be partially explained by historical and geographical factors⁵. However, the differences between project partners from both border and non-border regions are the drivers for sustainable cross-border cooperation⁶. Border regions are often interested in cross-border cooperation when they identify an existing overlap of interests and shared historical experience that influence their regional communities⁷. Based on an analysis of twinning-cities, Płoszaj (2013) outlined some of the factors favouring cross-border cooperation, such as spatial proximity and historical and cultural factors⁸. Depending on the level of commitment, cross-border cooperation can be implemented in the following forms: (1) awareness-raising cooperation, (2) mutual-aid cooperation, (3) functional cooperation, and (4) common management of public resources/services. In this context, cross-border cooperation within INTERREG programmes is a form of functional

Regional Studies 51, no. 11 (2017): 1735–1745, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2016.1255323>.

² See *Eurolimes*, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.ceeol.com/search/journal-detail?id=378>.

³ Luisa Pedrazzini, “Applying the ESDP through INTERREG IIIB: A Southern Perspective,” *European Planning Studies* 13, no. 2 (2005): 297–317, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0965431042000321848>.

⁴ Markus Perkmann, “Cross-Border Regions in Europe: Significance and Drivers of Regional Cross-Border Co-operation,” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 10, no. 2 (2003): 153–171, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776403010002004>.

⁵ Roberta Capello, Andrea Caragliu, and Ugo Fratesi, “Measuring Border Effects in European Cross-Border Regions,” *Regional Studies* 52, no. 7 (2018): 986–996, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2017.1364843>.

⁶ Joanna Kurowska-Pysz and Katarzyna Szczepańska-Woszczyzna, “The Analysis of the Determinants of Sustainable Cross-Border Cooperation and Recommendations on Its Harmonization,” *Sustainability* 9, no. 12 (2017), accessed August 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.3390/su9122226>.

⁷ Committee of the Regions, “The European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC). State of Play and Prospects” (Brussels: European Union, 2009), accessed August 20, 2019, https://cor.europa.eu/en/engage/studies/Documents/EGTC-state-of-play/EGTC-state_of_play_and_prospects_EN.pdf.

⁸ Adam Płoszaj, “Two Faces of Territorial Cooperation in Europe: Twinning Cities and European Territorial Cooperation Programmes,” in *European Territories: From Cooperation to Integration*, ed. Grzegorz Gorzelak and Katarzyna Zawalińska (Warsaw: Scholar, 2013).

cooperation because it is based on a higher degree of commitment of local/regional political and administrative authorities and involves greater resources⁹.

Overview of cross-border cooperation in Europe with a focus on INTERREG

To today, there is no single officially accepted definition of cross-border (transfrontier) cooperation (CBC) in research and policymaking in Europe, even if its tradition goes back to the 1960s in Western Europe and the emergence of the so-called “Europe of regions”. Despite this, the common understanding of CBC underlines that it takes different forms in border areas and regions and is implemented at different political and administrative levels with the strong involvement of local and regional resources to boost territorial cohesion and socio-economic development potential¹⁰. One of the most commonly applied definitions seems to be the one proposed by the Council of Europe in *the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities* (“the Madrid Convention”) launched in May 1980. In its Article 2(1), the Convention stipulates that “transfrontier cooperation shall mean any concerted action designed to reinforce and foster neighbourly relations between territorial communities or authorities within the jurisdiction of two or more Contracting Parties and the conclusion of any agreement and arrangement necessary for this purpose. Transfrontier cooperation shall take place in the framework of territorial communities’ or authorities’ powers as defined in domestic law”, adding in paragraph 2 that, “the expression ‘territorial communities or authorities’ shall mean communities, authorities or bodies exercising local and regional functions and regarded as such under the domestic law of each State”¹¹. Cross-border cooperation can include such areas as “regional, urban and rural development, environmental protection, the improvement of public facilities and services and mutual assistance in emergencies” aiming at socio-economic progress of frontier regions and the development of the spirit of fellowship to unite the peoples of Europe¹². In addition, the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR), which dates back to the 1970s, in its *Statutes* expressed the awareness that “border regions and cross-border regions are elements for the European integration process, for the cooperation of European citizens, with a special attention to minorities”¹³. In November 1981, AEBR adopted *the European Charter for Border and Cross-Border Regions*, amended in 1995 and 2004, and then opened to review in 2011¹⁴. The Charter emphasised that cross-border cooperation is “first and foremost a European task and political objective of the European Union that needs to be implemented regionally/locally in partnership with the national

⁹ Luis De Sousa, “Understanding European Cross-Border Cooperation: A Framework for Analysis,” *Journal of European Integration* 35, no. 6 (2012): 669–687, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2012.711827>.

¹⁰ Marta Pachocka, “Importance of Migration and Border Management Issues for the Cross-Border Cooperation Poland–Belarus–Ukraine in the Period 2014–2020 under the European Neighbourhood Instrument,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 89–106.

¹¹ Council of Europe, *European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities*, Madrid, 21.05.1980, ETS No. 106, article 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, preamble.

¹³ Association of European Border Regions (AEBR), *Statutes for the Association of European Border Regions* (AEBR), Brussels, 13.11.2015.

¹⁴ Association of European Border Regions (AEBR), *Draft new Version: The European Charter for Border and Cross-Border Regions*, Gronau, 15.09.2011.

authorities on the spot”¹⁵. Even if the state’s power extends to its borders, there are differences and challenges of various nature that are beyond borders and have to be approached through cross-border cooperation with the involvement of the national and EU levels. In this context, projects implemented under EU cohesion policy play a key role.

Treaties put territorial cohesion at the centre of interest of the European Union and indicate it as one of three main aims of the EU, next to economic and social cohesion. Article 174 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) stipulates that: “In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Union shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. In particular, the Union shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions. Among the regions concerned, particular attention shall be paid to rural areas, areas affected by industrial transition, and regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as the northernmost regions with very low population density and island, cross-border and mountain regions”¹⁶.

Cohesion-aimed activities are provided under EU cohesion (regional) policy that is subject to shared competences between the EU institutions and Member States. There are 11 thematic objectives covering the Europe 2020 Strategy priorities to support growth for 2014–2020, including¹⁷:

1. Strengthening research, technological development, and innovation,
2. Enhancing access to, and use and quality of, information and communication technologies,
3. Enhancing the competitiveness of SMEs,
4. Supporting the shift towards a low-carbon economy,
5. Promoting climate-change adaptation, risk prevention, and management,
6. Preserving and protecting the environment and promoting resource efficiency,
7. Promoting sustainable transport and improving network infrastructure,
8. Promoting sustainable and quality employment and supporting labour mobility,
9. Promoting social inclusion, combating poverty and any discrimination,
10. Investing in education, training and lifelong learning,
11. Improving the efficiency of public administration.

In the 2014–2020 financial period, cohesion policy is implemented through three main funds: European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF), and Cohesion Fund. It is the ERDF that provides funding for different projects covering border regions within EU borders. Instrument for Pre-Accession Cross-Border Cooperation programmes (IPA CBC) is dedicated to cooperation projects beyond EU borders¹⁸.

Cooperation between border regions can have a European regional or international dimension. European regional cooperation focuses on the EU and its relations with

¹⁵ Ibid., 14.

¹⁶ European Union, Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, 07.06.2016, OJ C 202, Article 174.

¹⁷ European Commission, An Introduction to EU Cohesion Policy 2014–2020, June 2014, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/basic/basic_2014_en.pdf.

¹⁸ Ibid.

southern and eastern neighbours¹⁹ and it encompasses European Territorial Cooperation (ETC), known as INTERREG²⁰. INTERREG constitutes one of two objectives of EU cohesion policy in the 2014–2020 financial perspective. Its general objective is to promote the harmonious and sustainable economic, social, and territorial development of the EU, supporting implementation of joint actions between national, regional, and local stakeholders from different EU Member States. It revolves around three ways of cooperation, including cross-border (called INTERREG A), transnational (INTERREG B), and interregional (INTERREG C). It was developed in 1990 as an initiative of the European Economic Community (EEC) to fund cross-border cooperation. Only later did it encompass transnational and interregional cooperation. Since 1990, there have been five programming periods: INTERREG I (1990–1993), INTERREG II (1994–1999), INTERREG III (2000–2006), INTERREG IV (2007–2013), and INTERREG V (2014–2020), still in effect²¹. **Table 1** presents this evolution of INTERREG, including its legal status, benefiting Member States, and the commitment budget for each programming period. **Table 2** contains a brief comparison of the three main cooperation strands—cross-border, transnational, and interregional—under INTERREG V. This latter period prevails in terms of the number of specific programmes, amounting to 60. To illustrate it, **Map 1** shows the areas of the cross-border programmes co-funded by the ERDF in which each programme area is marked in a different colour and cross-hatched areas are part of two or more programme areas simultaneously.

Table 1. Evolution of INTERREG 1990–2020

	INTERREG I (1990–1993)	INTERREG II (1994–1999)	INTERREG III (2000–2006)	INTERREG IV (2007–2013)	INTERREG V (2014–2020)
Legal status	Community initiative	Community initiative	Integrated into structural funds regulation	Integrated into structural funds regulation	Own regulation
Benefiting Member States (internal borders)	11	11 then 15	15 then 25	27 then 28	28
Commitment budget (in current prices)	1.1 bn ECU	3.8 bn ECU	5.8 bn EUR	8.7 bn EUR	10.1 bn EUR

Source: European Commission, Interreg: European Territorial Co-operation, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/.

¹⁹ European Commission, Cooperation between Border Regions, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/info/eu-regional-and-urban-development/cooperation-between-border-regions_en.

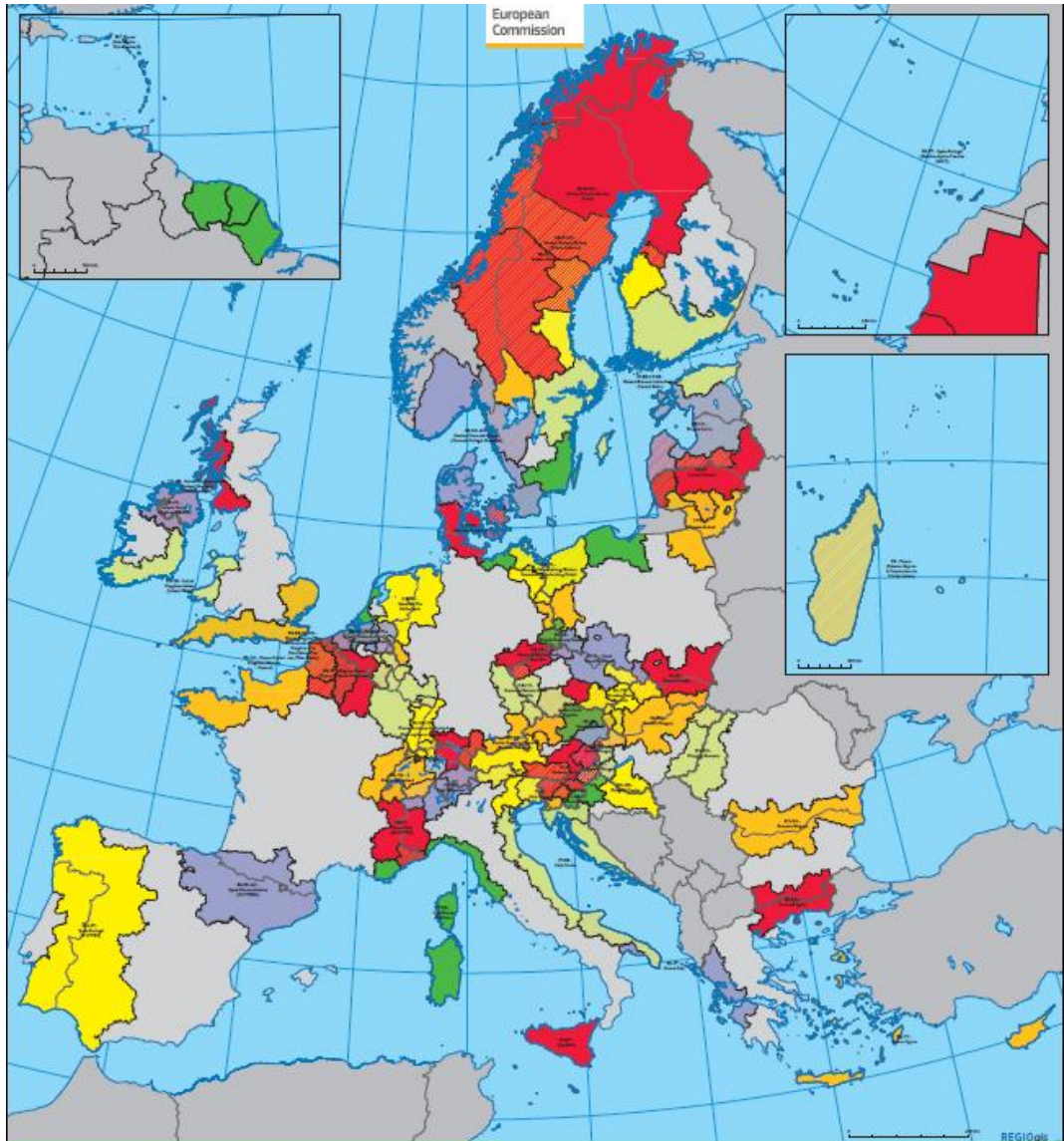
²⁰ European Commission, European Regional Cooperation, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/info/eu-regional-and-urban-development/cooperation-between-border-regions/european-regional-cooperation_en.

²¹ European Commission, Interreg: European Territorial Co-operation, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/.

Table 2. Summary of three main cooperation strands under INTERREG V

Cooperation strand	Cross-border cooperation (INTERREG V A)	Transnational cooperation (INTERREG V B)	Interregional cooperation (INTERREG V C)
Characteristics			
Scope (fund)	<p>(1) supports cooperation between NUTS 3 regions from at least two different EU Member States lying directly on the borders or adjacent to them; it is dedicated to internal borders of the EU (European Regional Development Fund)</p> <p>(2) includes INTERREG IPA Cross-Border (Instrument for Pre-Accession and European Neighbourhood Instrument)</p> <p>(3) includes INTERREG ENI Cross-Border (International Cooperation and Development)</p>	<p>involves regions from several countries of the EU forming bigger areas where it aims to promote better cooperation and regional development within the Union by a joint approach to tackle common issues; it covers such regions as the Baltic Sea, Alpine and Mediterranean, as well as some non-EU countries (European Regional Development Fund)</p>	<p>includes geographically “pan-European” programmes covering vast areas of EU Member States, as well as Norway, Switzerland, Iceland, and Lichtenstein (Interreg Europe, Interact, Urbact and Espon) (European Regional Development Fund)</p>
Number of specific programmes	(1) 60 + (2) 12 + (3) 16	15	4

Source: own elaboration based on: Interreg, About Interreg, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://interreg.eu/about-interreg/>; European Commission, Interreg: European Territorial Cooperation, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/.

Map 1. ERDF cross-border cooperation programmes in 2014–2020

Source: European Commission, Interreg A Cross-Border Cooperation, accessed August 20, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/graph/poster2014/cbc/eu28_cbc_2014_2020.pdf.

Analysis of INTERREG Cross-Border Cooperation projects implemented in the EU-15 in 2000–2020

Given the wide scope of INTERREG A projects implemented in the EU, for the purpose of this paper we decided to analyse 15 EU Member States: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (UK). The reason for this choice is two-fold: they are the so-called “old” EU members that joined the EU before 2000, which is the year opening the timeframe of the analysis in this paper, and as a

consequence, they form a rather coherent, homogeneous group in terms of the level of development, which gives them similar starting conditions for applying and implementing projects, including those focused on cross-border cooperation. To provide reliable and comparable data for our analysis, we used an aggregated database available on the website keep.eu. The platform has been developed within the framework of the INTERACT Programme²², an INTERREG initiative co-financed under the European Territorial Cooperation goal of the European Structural and Investment Funds in cooperation with 28 EU members, Norway, and Switzerland. The whole keep.eu database provides data on different projects conducted within the EU cross-border, transnational, and interregional cooperation programmes and implemented among EU members and between EU members and neighbouring countries. Programme types included in the database are divided into: INTERREG Cross-Border, INTERREG Transnational, INTERREG Networking, INTERREG-IPA Cross-Border, ENPI-ENI Cross-Border, IPA/IPA Cross-Border cooperation. The database encompasses all financing periods since 2000: 2000–2006, 2007–2013, and 2014–2020²³. Data cover 42 thematic keywords corresponding to key thematic areas and each project is assigned to one, two, or three of them²⁴. Given the aforementioned scope of the database, we focused on data regarding INTERREG Cross-Border cooperation in 2000–2020, which has the highest budget of more than 11,4 bn euros. In addition, the project keep.eu is based on data manually submitted (mostly for periods 2000–2006 and 2007–2013) and automatic importing of data into keep.eu (for the period 2014–2020) as well as retrieval of data from the programmes' websites in some cases²⁵. The system does not cover 100% of the projects implemented²⁶. Keep.eu includes 69% of overall projects conducted within the Interreg Cross-Border programme for the period 2000–2006, 93% of projects for 2007–2014, and 70% of projects for 2014–2020²⁷. One of the limitations of keep.eu data for cross-border programmes of the 2000–2006 period is that they do not fulfil the same requirements as programmes from all the

²² See more: Interact, "About," accessed June 4, 2019, <http://www.interact-eu.net/#o=about>.

²³ Keep.eu, "About keep.eu," accessed June 4, 2019, https://www.keep.eu/about-keep_.

²⁴ The thematic keywords were selected when the database was in preparation. Each project included in keep.eu is classified either with one, two, or three thematic keywords. The list of keywords is as it follows: Agriculture, fisheries, forestry; Climate change and biodiversity; Clustering and economic cooperation; Community integration and common identity; Construction and renovation; Cooperation between emergency services; Coastal management and maritime issues; Cultural heritage and arts; Demographic change and immigration; Education and training; Energy efficiency; Evaluation systems and results; Governance, partnership; Green technologies; Health and social services; ICT and digital society; Improving transport connections ; Infrastructure; Innovation capacity and awareness-raising; Institutional cooperation and cooperation networks; Knowledge and technology transfer; Labour market and employment; Logistics and freight transport; Managing natural and man-made threats, risk management; Multimodal transport; New products and services; Regional planning and development; Renewable energy; Rural and peripheral development; Safety; Scientific cooperation; SME and entrepreneurship; Social inclusion and equal opportunities; Soil and air quality; Sustainable management of natural resources; Tourism; Traditional energy; Transport and mobility; Urban development; Waste and pollution; Water management; and Waterways, lakes and rivers. For more, see: Keep.eu, "FAQ," accessed June 4, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/faqs>.

²⁵ See more: Keep.eu, "FAQ," accessed June 4, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/faqs>.

²⁶ Keep.eu does not include project, partner, or call data concerning projects that are technical assistance or somehow focus on the management of the programmes themselves.

²⁷ Keep.eu, "Representativeness of Data in keep.eu," accessed June 4, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/representativeness>.

remaining programming periods and/or strands because not all cross-border projects funded between 2000 and 2006 would be able to provide as much data as the projects from other strands²⁸. To this end, in our analysis, project data are analysed according to their lead partner(s), which constitutes a certain limitation of the research.

So far, in 2000–2020 among the analysed countries of the EU-15, Germany has implemented the highest number of projects²⁹, followed by France and Italy. It has to be underlined that Germany has developed substantially more projects than any other EU-15 country, a total of 3192. France is second with 2478 projects, and Italy third with 1764. The outstanding totals for Germany and France are the result of their activity and experience in the acquisition of financing for projects and the length of their borders, which favours involvement in a larger number of projects. The geographical factors may strongly influence the position of the UK. Being located outside the continental EU may be a crucial obstacle to the implementation of cross-border projects based on close cooperation between Member States (**Figure 1**).

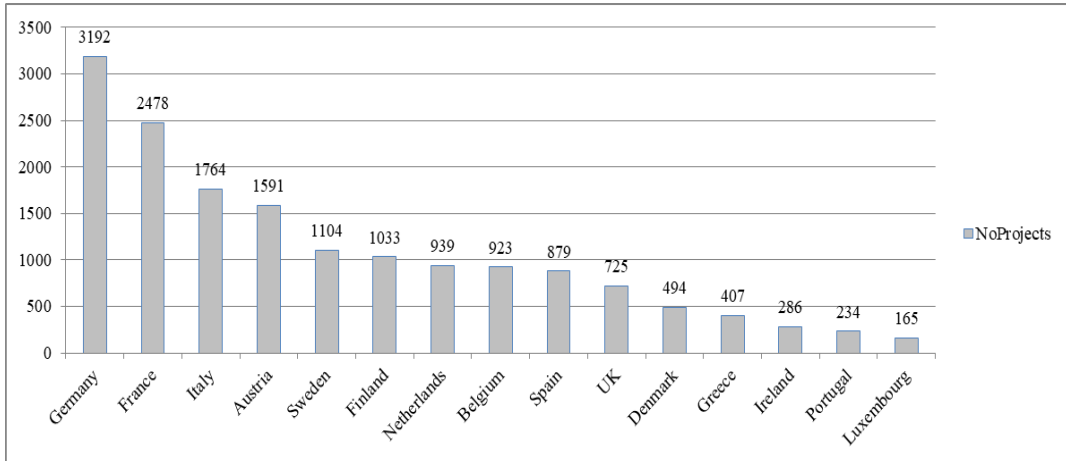
The position of the top three countries—Germany, France, and Italy—may result from two main factors. The first is the effect of the administrative division at the NUTS 3 level into 401 districts in Germany, 101 departments in France, and 107 provinces in Italy. Second, the number of neighbouring countries and length of the borders may be significant (**Table 3**).

In this context, it may be helpful to verify two determinants possibly influencing the number of projects implemented by selected countries within INTERREG Cross-Border cooperation. These are: 1) number of NUTS3 units and 2) number of directly neighbouring countries. We estimated the regression model with the use of the classical method of least squares. As a result, the number of projects implemented in the analysed period of 2000–2020 is dependent on the number of NUTS3 units (explanatory variable 1) and the number of directly neighbouring countries (explanatory variable 2). Explanatory variables 1 and 2 are statistically relevant. The number of NUTS3 units ($p=0,0018$) and number of neighbouring countries ($p=0,0001$) explain the differentiated number of projects at 88%. The states with the highest number of directly (physical border) neighbouring countries are Germany (7), Austria (5), France (4), Belgium (4), Italy (3), and Luxembourg (3), which is in line with the number of projects in general, especially in the case of Germany, Austria, France, and Italy.

²⁸ See more: Keep.eu, “FAQ.”

²⁹ This applies to projects where the country is a lead partner.

Fig. 1. Number of projects implemented within the INTERREG Cross-Border (2000–2020) in the countries of EU-15



Source: own elaboration based on: Keep.eu, “Statistics,” accessed June 10, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/statistics>.

Table 3. Number of projects, NUTS3 units and number of neighbouring countries for the countries of EU-15

Country (by number of projects)	Number of projects	Number of NUTS3 units	Number of directly neighbouring countries
Germany	3192	401	7
France	2478	101	4
Italy	1764	107	3
Austria	1591	35	5
Sweden	1104	21	1
Finland	1033	19	1
Netherlands	939	40	2
Belgium	923	44	4
Spain	879	59	2
UK	725	174	1
Denmark	494	11	1
Greece	407	52	1
Ireland	286	8	1
Portugal	234	25	1
Luxembourg	165	1	3

Source: own elaboration based on: Keep.eu, “Statistics,” accessed June 10, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/statistics>.

Data from keep.eu gives the opportunity to analyse the profiles of countries with the use of the 42 thematic keywords describing the projects. In our opinion, this may help explain the priorities of countries in project implementation. **Fig. 2** shows a great diversity in the character of the projects. The dispersion of indications suggests the lack of explicit

specialisations of the analysed countries, but points to different problems relevant to each common border. One has to remember that character of the projects within INTERREG Cross-Border cooperation implemented by EU Member States, has a very wide scope, which means that they touch many areas at the same time. Projects implemented by cooperating countries are the answer for structural problems that regions are facing, but, at the same time, it is possible to indicate some countries that stand out in selected fields defined by thematic keywords³⁰.

According to the data presented in **Fig. 2** Germany (D), France (F) and Italy (I) has the largest number of indications in several thematic areas. In the following ones, they have the highest share of indications: *Agriculture, fisheries, forestry; Climate change and biodiversity; Community integration and identity; Cultural heritage and arts; Demographic change and immigration; Evaluation systems and results; Green technologies; ICT and digital society; Improving transport connections; Infrastructure; Innovation capacity and awareness-raising; Knowledge and technology transfer; Managing natural and man-made threats, risk management; Rural and peripheral development; Scientific cooperation; Sustainable management of natural resources; Transport and mobility; Urban development; Waste and pollution; Water management*. In total, in the abovementioned thematic areas, Germany, France, and Italy considered together are characterised by a share of indication ranging from 40% to 60%. Germany has very high share of projects in the following areas: *Community integration and identity* (30%); *Construction and renovation* (39%); *Cooperation between emerging services* (35%); and, *Institutional cooperation and cooperation networks* (26%).

Apart from the top cases of Germany, France, and Italy, it is worth taking a closer look at projects implemented in other thematic areas. This part of the analysis shows specific conditions of economy and social life in surveyed countries. *Clustering and economic cooperation* is the area in which the highest share of projects was indicated by Germany (14%) and France (13%), but it is worth noting that Sweden (12%) and Finland (12%) were both ranked third. Sweden and Finland pay much attention to innovation and cooperation within the triple helix (business, science, and public administration) which is crucial for their development. These countries in their projects within the INTERREG Cross-Border programme follow their long-term priorities and they achieve the highest scores in area of innovation in the EU.

The *Coastal management and maritime issues* area is strongly determined by the geographical situation of the 15 Member States analysed (EU-15). The highest share in number of projects related to this topic was recorded by France, Italy, and the UK. These three countries considered together represent 52% of implemented projects in this field.

As mentioned above, Germany has 39% of the thematic area *Construction and renovation*, which corresponds to 128 projects. France (38 projects) and Austria (39 projects) are ranked second and third in this regard (12% each). Consequently, Germany, France, and Austria considered together cover 63% of projects related to this topic. What is more, this theme is closely connected with *Energy efficiency* and as a result, the same countries reached the highest contributions each and cover 40% of the indications. We assume that projects including these keywords overlap and complement each other. Moreover, the strong emphasis on this type of projects is part of the long-term strategy of these countries.

³⁰ More details on the number of projects implemented by each country by thematic keywords/areas can be found in: **Table 4, Table 5, Table 6**.

Cooperation between emerging services covers projects that aim at institutional cooperation and integration in the border areas. Projects focus on an increase in the level of security of citizens in neighbouring regions. Germany, France, and Austria recorded the highest share of projects concentrated on this area. They cover 54% of all projects indicated in this thematic field.

In many of the themes indicated as topics of projects, Austria has a very high share. With a total of 1591 projects, in many areas Austria is among the leaders in terms of implemented projects, for example: *Governance and partnership*, 15% (ranked second); *Institutional cooperation and cooperation networks*, 13% (second); *Regional planning and development*, 12% (third); *Soil and air quality*, 14% (third); *Tourism*, 14% (third); *Waterways, lakes and rivers*, 17% (second).

Also, Sweden and Finland are worth mentioning. In general, Sweden implemented 1104 projects and Finland 1033. It gives them fifth and sixth position, respectively, among the EU-15 members (**Fig. 1**). Both countries have a similar structure of projects, which means they have a similar number of indications for the same thematic areas. In addition, they share 319 common projects. Sweden and Finland have the outstanding share of indications in the topics *Clustering and economic cooperation*, with 12% each, third behind Germany and France, and *Traditional Energy*, in which Sweden has 29% of the contributions (first) and Finland, 21% (tied for second with Germany, also at 21%). At the same time, Sweden reached 8% in the category *Renewable energy*. Germany leads with 17%. That gives the impression that these countries put a lot of focus on the diversification of energy sources. Germany, in its Climate Action Plan 2050, underlines that among its long-term goals is the implementation of green technologies in many sectors such as transport, agriculture, and forestry. As the German Federal Foreign Office informs on its website, the country plans to achieve independence based on the diversification of energy sources in which 80% of the supply comes from renewable sources³¹. France faces another challenge as it needs to decrease its reliance on nuclear energy. The energy transformation in the country focuses on the reduction to 50% of its nuclear energy production by 2025³². Sweden, meanwhile, was evaluated by the International Energy Agency as a leader in the transformation to a low-carbon economy. This country set a very ambitious and significant goal to achieve 100% renewable electricity generation by 2040³³. A very similar situation is observed in Finland, which is among the leaders in terms of tackling climate change. It is a leader in the development of second-generation biofuels. Finland as an Arctic country may be directly affected by the consequences of climate change, so it has set very ambitious targets in terms of oil

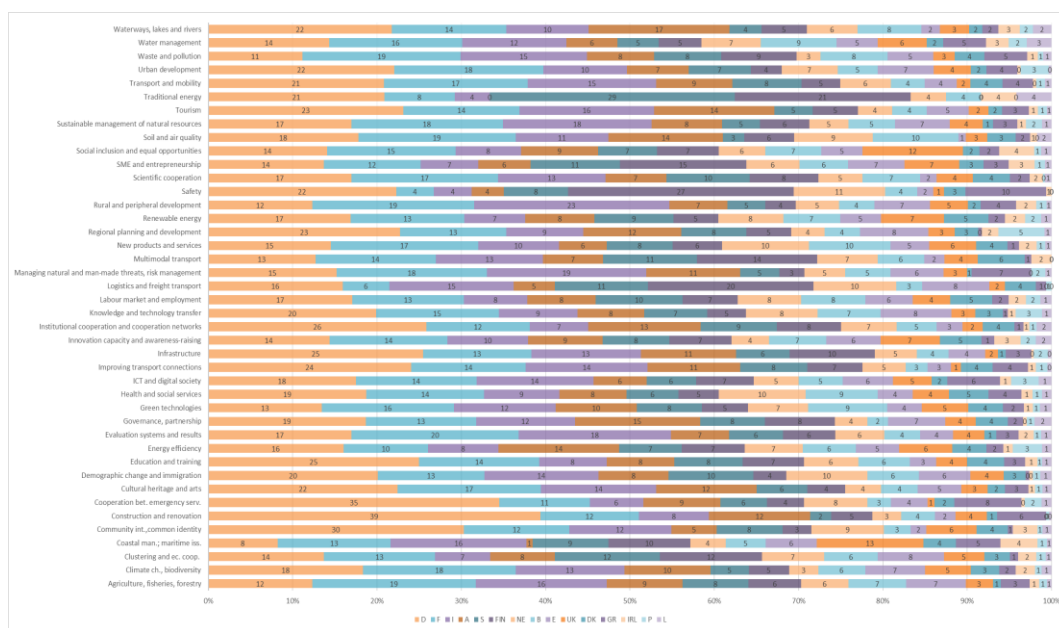
³¹ Federal Foreign Office, Independence through Diversification, 01.10.2018, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/energie/facts-on-germanys-energy-supply/2142654>.

³² International Energy Agency, Energy Policies of IEA Countries. France 2016 Review (International Energy Agency, 2016), accessed August 20, 2019, https://www.iea.org/publications/freepublications/publication/Energy_Policies_of_IEA_Countries_France_2016_Review.pdf.

³³ International Energy Agency, Sweden Is a Leader in the Energy Transition, According to Latest IEA Country Review, 09.04.2019, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.iea.org/newsroom/news/2019/april/sweden-is-a-leader-in-the-energy-transition-according-to-latest-iea-country-revi.html>.

consumption, decarbonisation of the transport sector, and innovation in energy technology³⁴.

Fig. 2. Share by country of indications in 42 key thematic areas among the EU-15 (in %)



Source: own elaboration based on: Keep.eu, Statistics, accessed June 10, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/statistics>.

Sweden is also active in projects related to *Education and training* (8%, second) and *Labour market* (10%, third). In Finland's case, we find it to be a good example of a country that implements projects developing logistics and transport. This country also achieved the highest share in three categories: *Logistics and freight transport* (20%), *Multimodal transport* (14%), *SME and entrepreneurship* (15%). France has the same share of *Multimodal transport*. Germany and Italy are also among the leaders in *Logistics and freight transport* (16% and 15%, respectively) and *Multimodal transport* (13% each). In *Logistics and freight transport* and *Multimodal transport*, a crucial determinant seems to be the geographical location of these countries. The high share of projects implemented by Finland in the category *SME and entrepreneurship* reflects its high activity in the area of clustering, which is developing there as a result of the search for synergy between industries and added value from cooperation³⁵. According to the OECD, Finland has a very favourable environment for entrepreneurs, but at the same time ongoing support for entrepreneurship is still needed, especially to activate women and youth³⁶.

³⁴ International Energy Agency, "Finland," accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.iea.org/countries/Finland/>.

³⁵ Tuomo Pentikäinen, Sakari Luukkainen, "Trade-Flow Based Industrial Clusters in the Finnish Economy - Growth Through National Synergies" (OECD, 2000), 1-2, <http://www.oecd.org/finland/2099967.pdf>.

³⁶ OECD, "Inclusive Entrepreneurship Country Policy Assessment. Finland 2017" (OECD/European Commission, 2017), 3, <http://www.oecd.org/industry/smes/FINLAND-country-note-2017.pdf>.

In terms of *safety*, Finland and the Netherlands are among the leaders in implementing projects in this area. Finland has a share of 22% and Netherlands 11%. The Netherlands and Belgium have a share of 10% each in projects devoted to the development of *New products and services*, though France (15%) and Germany (13%) have a higher share. Only in one category is the UK among the leading countries—*Social inclusion and equal opportunity* (12%)—behind France (15%) and Germany (14%).

Our analysis has shown that the big countries with the highest number of neighbouring countries play a key role in the implementation of INTERREG Cross-Border projects as lead partners. The second variable—number of NUTS3 units—was also statistically relevant for the explanation of the strong position of Germany, France, Italy, and Austria in the number of implemented projects within INTERREG Cross-Border. Both variables explained the differences between countries in the number of projects at 88%. As mentioned earlier, the data on projects collected from keep.eu are divided into 42 key thematic areas. We found a few cases of countries that stand apart in specific thematic areas:

- In 20 thematic areas Germany, France, and Italy implement the highest number of projects;
- Germany and France are active in projects implemented in the areas of *Energy efficiency* and *Renewable energy*, which is in line with their long-term strategies;
- Sweden and Finland have a relatively high share of projects connected to *Clustering and economic cooperation*; and,
- Sweden and Finland have a very high share of projects implemented in the area of *Traditional energy*.

Conclusions

The importance of the EU internal border regions is obvious as they cover 40% of EU territory, are inhabited by 150 million people, which is 30% of the EU's population, and produce 30% of the EU's GDP³⁷. The European integration process has already played an important role in reducing the negative consequences of territorial, legal, and administrative discontinuities in border regions and in developing the socio-economic potential of cross-border areas in the EU. This is primarily within the scope of cohesion policy and is well reflected in financial tools such as INTERREG³⁸.

In our paper, we have explained the importance of cross-border cooperation in the EU with a special focus on INTERREG projects. We analysed data collected from the keep.eu database of the programme type defined as INTERREG Cross-Border from 2000–2020 for 15 EU Member States, the so-called “old” EU. Two determinants possibly influencing the number of projects implemented by the EU-15 within INTERREG Cross-Border cooperation have been identified. These were: 1) number of NUTS3 units and 2) number of directly neighbouring countries. Applying a regression model with the use of the classical method of least squares, we found that the number of NUTS3 units ($p=0,0018$) and number of neighbouring countries ($p=0,0001$) explain the differentiated

³⁷ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament “Boosting growth and cohesion in EU border regions”, Brussels, 20.9.2017, COM (2017) 534 final, 2.

³⁸ See Małgorzata Dziembała, “Do EU Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes Contribute to Competitiveness and Cohesion? The Case of the Polish-Czech Borderland,” *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe* 16, no. 3 (2018): 39–67.

number of projects at 88%. Then, we analysed the profiles of the EU-15 countries with the use of the 42 thematic keywords describing the projects and identified some countries that stand out in specific thematic areas.

To conclude, the number of projects implemented by some EU-15 countries as lead partners can be partially explained by the size of their economy and the number of regions eligible for INTERREG Cross-Border funding. The size of the economy plays an important role in activity to apply for funding. CBC projects have the main aim to support a decrease in limiting factors, catalysing socio-economic growth. To achieve this goal, it is essential, in our opinion, to develop hard projects (e.g., infrastructure) in combination with soft ones (cooperation networks and innovation). This is an adequate direction to create a sustainable environment for growth. We believe that this is one of the answers to the dispersion of types of projects applied in EU Member States. INTERREG Cross-Border projects must avoid significant concentration of funds on specific aspects as it aims to maximise the positive effects from CBC while taking advantage of the opportunities that cooperation brings. Another issue is that INTERREG as a programme financed by structural funds must implement the general objectives of cohesion policy and respond to the socio-economic problems of each country.

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Table 4. Projects implemented within the INTERREG Cross-Border (2000–2020) in the countries of EU-15 by key thematic areas (1/3)

Country	ALL	Agriculture and fisheries and forestry	Climate change and biodiversity	Clustering and economic cooperation	Coastal management and maritime issues	Community integration and common identity	Construction and renovation	Cooperation between emergency services	Cultural heritage and arts	Demographic change and immigration	Education and training	Energy efficiency	Evaluation systems and results	Governance, partnership	Green technologies
Germany	3192	158	142	180	45	345	128	87	636	46	627	56	96	83	49
France	2478	248	140	174	73	142	38	27	481	29	357	35	112	58	57
Italy	1764	199	100	86	88	138	27	16	387	31	201	29	102	52	44
Austria	1591	115	79	101	4	61	39	23	337	19	201	50	39	66	35
Sweden	1104	100	35	164	49	89	8	14	171	23	203	26	36	34	28
Finland	1033	80	37	159	53	39	16	11	127	9	183	26	35	37	20
Netherlands	939	72	27	97	23	98	11	19	121	22	161	24	33	17	26
Belgium	923	87	43	84	26	36	13	7	123	14	154	22	24	11	34
Spain	879	91	55	103	33	21	8	11	146	14	78	18	22	30	15
UK	725	41	42	63	69	68	12	2	89	9	92	22	21	16	20
Denmark	494	12	26	40	21	42	4	6	58	6	110	14	8	17	15
Greece	407	44	15	13	29	7	19	20	79	1	63	7	15	8	9
Ireland	286	14	18	28	24	33	0	1	22	1	36	4	10	2	4
Portugal	234	12	6	15	6	7	1	5	24	2	14	12	5	4	3
Luxembourg	165	7	9	9	3	12	1	3	31	3	28	4	7	9	5

Source: Keep.eu, “Statistics,” accessed June 4, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/statistics>.

Table 5. Projects implemented within the INTERREG Cross-Border (2000–2020) in the countries of EU-15 by key thematic areas (2/3)

Country	Governance, partnership	Green technologies	Health and social services	ICT and digital society	Improving transport connections	Infrastructure	Innovation capacity and awareness-raising	Institutional cooperation and cooperation networks	Knowledge and technology transfer	Labour market and employment	Logistics and freight transport	Managing natural and man-made threats, risk management	Multimodal transport	New products and services
Germany	83	49	231	164	103	169	78	590	211	141	26	82	16	117
France	58	57	172	134	58	85	76	280	154	109	9	96	18	141
Italy	52	44	110	130	62	86	52	158	99	62	24	102	16	77
Austria	66	35	98	59	47	75	48	304	84	67	8	60	9	46
Sweden	34	28	76	55	34	42	43	207	79	85	18	25	14	63
Finland	37	20	59	64	28	67	40	173	49	54	32	16	18	47
Netherlands	17	26	127	50	22	33	24	151	90	62	16	26	9	83
Belgium	11	34	105	49	11	25	37	108	79	63	5	29	7	78
Spain	30	15	51	56	12	29	35	70	89	46	13	34	3	37
UK	16	20	53	43	5	10	38	55	30	37	3	15	5	45
Denmark	17	15	58	17	16	6	27	86	35	41	6	3	7	30
Greece	8	9	48	59	18	20	8	24	6	16	2	38	1	11
Ireland	2	4	16	12	4	2	17	16	10	17	0	0	3	17
Portugal	4	3	14	31	6	11	10	20	33	14	1	9	0	8
Luxembourg	9	5	14	14	2	3	10	40	12	11	0	4	0	6

Source: Keep.eu, “Statistics,” accessed June 4, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/statistics>.

Table 6. Projects implemented within the INTERREG Cross-Border (2000–2020) in the countries of EU-15 by key thematic areas (3/3)

Country	Regional planning and develop.	Renew. energy	Rural and peripheral develop.	Safety	Scientific cooperation	SME and entrepreneur.	Social inclusion and equal opportunity.	Soil and air quality	Sustainable mgmt. of natural resources	Tourism	Trad. energy	Transport and mobility	Urban develop.	Waste and pollution	Water mgmt.	Waterways, lakes and rivers
Germany	162	70	41	35	131	189	125	21	229	664	5	104	60	35	59	69
France	90	56	64	7	134	159	135	22	243	396	2	85	48	59	65	43
Italy	65	30	77	7	98	94	69	13	238	459	1	76	27	47	51	31
Austria	83	34	23	6	56	86	81	16	113	409	0	45	20	25	25	53
Sweden	55	39	15	12	76	146	62	3	61	131	7	41	20	25	20	12
Finland	38	22	12	42	63	207	65	7	79	154	5	23	10	28	21	17
Netherlands	28	32	17	17	40	87	49	11	63	116	1	30	18	9	29	19

Country	Regional planning and develop.	Renew. energy	Rural and peripheral develop.	Safety	Scientific cooperation	SME and entrepreneur.	Social inclusion and equal opportunity.	Soil and air quality	Sustainable mgmt. of natural resources	Tourism	Trad. energy	Transport and mobility	Urban develop.	Waste and pollution	Water mgmt.	Waterways, lakes and rivers
Belgium	30	28	14	6	53	80	59	12	74	118	1	20	13	25	37	24
Spain	58	20	22	3	15	92	43	1	88	143	0	19	18	17	20	7
UK	22	31	15	2	33	90	106	3	53	67	0	8	12	8	24	11
Denmark	20	22	5	4	34	40	17	4	16	47	0	19	5	11	8	5
Greece	3	8	14	15	18	41	21	2	39	91	0	18	10	16	21	6
Ireland	14	10	8	1	12	42	37	1	14	31	1	2	1	4	11	8
Portugal	39	8	4	0	2	17	7	0	26	31	0	5	9	2	9	5
Luxembourg	6	5	2	0	6	11	11	2	15	15	1	4	1	3	12	7

Source: Keep.eu, “Statistics,” accessed June 4, 2019, <https://www.keep.eu/statistics>.

II. Methodologies of Evaluation in Cross-Border Cooperation

Agnieszka KŁOS (Warsaw) ◀▶ The Development of the Lower Silesia Region on the Example of the Implementation of Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes between Poland and Saxony 2007–2013

Florentina CHIRODEA, Cosmin CHIRIAC (Oradea) ◀▶ University of Oradea, Actor in Cross-Border Cooperation at the Romanian – Hungarian Border (2000–2018)

Constantin-Vasile ȚOCA (Oradea) ◀▶ University of Oradea and University of Debrecen. Pole of Knowledge in Cross-Border Cooperation (1990–2018)

Khrystyna PRYTULA, Olena PASTERNAK (Lviv) ◀▶ Features of the Formation and Functioning of Value Added Chains in the EU-Ukraine Cross-Border Area

The Development of the Lower Silesia Region on the Example of the Implementation of Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes between Poland and Saxony 2007–2013

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Abstract. *The article presents the problems revolving around sustainable development in borderland regions on the example of the Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland–Saxony 2007–2013. It explores the issues of developing borderland areas covering cross-border cooperation between the citizens and the institutions in the neighbouring regions, i.e. Lower Silesia and Saxony. It also outlines the main problem areas in those regions and provides an assessment of projects implemented in the years 2007–2013. Finally, the author presents the current objectives that promote sustainable development in the above-mentioned territories and aim to strengthen economic and social cohesion.*

Keywords: *European Union, cross-border cooperation, transnational cooperation, interregional cooperation, European Territorial Cooperation*

Introduction

The changes taking place in all Member States are, among others, the result of the cohesion policy of the European Union which strives to equalize development opportunities in the socio-economic sphere and to reduce the gap between levels of development of the various regions. One of the objectives of cohesion policy in 2007–2013 that supported sustainable development was the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC), which was a continuation of cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation programmes implemented under the Community Initiative INTERREG III in 2004–2006.

The aim of this study is to present the opportunities for cooperation and joint initiatives for economic and social growth in the borderland areas on the example of the implemented Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland-Saxony 2007–2013, all in the context of the notion of sustainable development. The paper outlines the problem areas where joint project co-financed from the ERDF funds, the objectives of the Programme and an assessment of the support received by beneficiaries from the Lower Silesia and Saxony regions. In addition, it also presents the current (i.e. 2014–2020) objectives that promote sustainable development of the aforementioned area and aim to strengthen economic and social cohesion.

This paper is not a closed study. Since European Cross-Border Cooperation programmes are currently being implemented, it may be subject to continuation. The main research methods employed in this study were the analysis and synthesis of the subject literature and programme documents.

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1. The definition of sustainable socio-economic development.

Sustainable development is “a process aimed at meeting the development aspirations of the present generation without compromising the aspirations of future generations”. This definition incorporates a vision of development that takes into account the human population, the world of animals and plants, ecosystems, and natural resources of the Earth: water, air, energy resources. It treats the most important challenges facing the world – such as combating poverty, gender equality, security and human rights, education for all, health, intercultural dialogue – in an integrated way. The creation of a fully sustainable model of living requires differentiated actions in the various regions of the world. At the same time, it is necessary to integrate the actions covering in the following areas:

1. Economic growth and equal distribution of its benefits.
2. Preserving the environment and natural resources.
3. Social development¹.

In a report called “Our Common Future” developed by the World Commission on Environment and Development of the United Nations, sustainable development is defined as “the needs of the present generation that can be met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”². However, in literature, this notion can be defined and understood quite multifariously. According to W. Pearce and R.K. Turner „sustainable development” consists in maximizing the net benefits of economic development, but it entails not only growth in real per capita incomes but also in other elements of social welfare and must include the necessary structural changes in the economy and society³. According to B. Piontek, “the essence of sustainable and balanced development is ensuring a lasting improvement in the quality of life of current and future generations by shaping the right proportions between the three types of capital: economic, human and natural”⁴. Whereas Partha Dasgupta describes sustainable development as “an economic programme along which the average well-being of present and future generations, taken together, does not decline over time”⁵.

According to the definition put forward by D. Pearce, A. Markandya and E. Barbier, “sustainable development includes the creation of a socio-economic system that will provide support for the following objectives: increasing real incomes, raising the level of education, improving human health and, in general, the quality of life”. This approach emphasises the importance of quality of life as the basic goal and effect of sustainable development⁶.

¹ Polski Komitet ds. UNESCO, “UNESCO a Dekada Edukacji dla Zrównoważonego Rozwoju” [[UNESCO and the decade of education for sustainable development]], accessed August 17, 2016, <http://www.unesco.pl/edukacja/dekada-edukacji-nt-zrownowazonego-rozwoju/unesco-a-zrownowazony-rozwoj/>.

² United Nations, *Report of World Commission of Environment and Development: Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 230.

³ David W. Pearce, R. Kerry Turner, *Economics of Natural Resources and the Environment* (Baltimore, MD, Washington: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 189.

⁴ Barbara Piontek, *Koncepcja rozwoju zrównoważonego i trwałego Polski* [The concept of Poland's balanced and sustainable development] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2002), 27.

⁵ Partha Dasgupta, “Measuring Sustainable Development: Theory and Application,” *Asian Development Review XXIV* (2007): 7.

⁶ Monika Stanny and Adam Czarnecki, *Zrównoważony rozwój obszarów wiejskich Zielonych Płuc Polski. Próba analizy empirycznej* [Sustainable development of rural areas in the Green Lungs of

When analysing the various definitions, a difficulty arises in capturing the meaning of the term “sustainable development.” However, combining them, it can be concluded that the aim of sustainable development is to introduce changes and modernise the economy by transforming the structure of industrial production and developing technologies and modern management systems, while at the same time observing environmental standards and preserving natural resources for future generations⁷.

In 1974, the United Nations, in order to strengthen its activities at the socio-economic level, and especially those targeting sustainable development, went on to tighten its cooperation with the countries of the European Communities. Thereby, under the Amsterdam Treaty, the European Union, as an international organization guided by fundamental values and pursuing to implement UN objectives, took the first step towards integrating sustainable development into the priorities of its activities. Since then key documents have been developed by the EU to serve as a priority legal basis for its Member States, all to create favourable conditions for a dynamically growing and competitive economy that is capable of ensuring sustainable and balanced development, offering more jobs, promoting social cohesion and the respect for the environment in each of the EU countries. Said documents include, among others, the Lisbon Strategy, covering the economic and social area, the Sustainable Development Strategy, covering the ecological sphere, and Europe 2020 – a strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth.

Sustainable development is, therefore, one of the priorities of the policies pursued by the EU. According to the Treaty on European Union, EU institutions strive towards, inter alia, the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment. The main tool setting out specific objectives and actions, aimed primarily at achieving fully sustainable development, is the EU's long-term Sustainable Development Strategy. The goal of “sustainable development” covers a wide range of issues such as managing, among others, economic and natural resources and levelling social disproportions. These goals are achieved through the implementation of cohesion policy.

2. The concept of European Territorial Cooperation

European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) has been a part of cohesion policy since 1990. It is an instrument that is designed to solve problems which transcend national borders and to jointly develop the potential of diverse territories. Actions taken within the framework of ETC are financed from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) through the three key components:

- cross-border cooperation,
- transnational cooperation,
- interregional cooperation⁸.

Poland. An attempt at an empirical analysis] (Warsaw: Instytut Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2011), 23.

⁷ Bazyli Poskrobko, Stefan Kozłowski, *Zrównoważony rozwój. Wybrane problemy teoretyczne i implementacja w świetle dokumentów Unii Europejskiej* [Sustainable development. Selected theoretical issues and implementation in the light of EU documents] (Białystok – Warsaw: Komitet „Człowiek i Środowisko” przy Prezydium PAN, 2005), 41.

⁸ European Parliament, “Europejska Współpraca” [European cooperation], accessed March 28, 2019, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/pl/FTU_3.1.5.pdf.

The uniqueness of the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) programmes as compared with other European Union instruments lies in their international character. Support is granted only to actions carried out jointly by partners from different countries. All territorial cooperation programmes cover at least two EU countries. Through negotiations, the partner countries designate one that shall act as the Managing Authority. However, it should be pointed out that all crucial decisions within the programmes, including the selection of projects, are made with the participation of all the countries involved in a given programme. Also, the participants of a project must represent the different countries. Such a solution leads to these programmes promoting the establishment of partnerships between entities from all over Europe. Poland had its first experiences with cross-border cooperation even before joining the Union, mainly under the PHARE CBC Programme. Then, from 2004, the country has participated on equal terms with other EU members in the implementation of Community Initiative INTERREG III programmes⁹.

In the 2007–2013 financial perspective the Interreg III Initiative components A, B and C were replaced with three strands: cross-border, transnational and interregional respectively.

At the same time, a different project, namely the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), an initiative of the European Commission, was also implemented. Its main goal is to develop cooperation between the European Union and the partner countries from outside the EU. The difference between the abovementioned three types of cooperation is the territorial scope within which joint ventures can be implemented:

- areas adjacent to country borders in the case of cross-border cooperation,
- large groupings of European regions from several or a dozen or so countries in the case of the transnational cooperation programmes, and
- all EU regions for interregional cooperation programmes¹⁰.

Cross-border programmes serve mainly to build links between communities across borders. Their implementation strengthens cooperation through increasing the number of joint initiatives covering, among others, environmental protection, infrastructure development, cultural exchange, and contacts between young people. In turn, transnational programmes provide an opportunity to support more innovative projects on issues relevant in areas belonging to several countries. They foster integrated EU development by initiating plans and concepts leading to the implementation of transnational projects. Finally, interregional cooperation, which covers the entire EU, serves the exchange of experience and good practices, and thus strengthens the potential of institutions and local governments regarding the mechanisms that support regional development¹¹.

In the 2007–2013 financial perspective from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), Poland received EUR 557.8 million for the implementation of 12 European Territorial Cooperation programmes and EUR 173.3 million for the European

⁹ Portal Funduszy Europejskich [European Funds Portal], “Programy Europejskiej Współpracy Terytorialnej” [European territorial cooperation programmes], accessed March 28, 2019, [https://www.ewt.2007-](https://www.ewt.2007-2013.gov.pl/WstepDoFunduszyEuropejskich/Strony/czysafundusze.aspx)

2013.gov.pl/WstepDoFunduszyEuropejskich/Strony/czysafundusze.aspx.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

Neighbourhood and Partnership Instruments. Polish beneficiaries could obtain co-financing up to 85% of eligible project costs¹². Those projects were the following:

- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme South Baltic 2007–2013:** the budget was joint and totalled EUR 60,735,659 from the ERDF. The Polish contribution from the ERDF amounted to EUR 25,000,000.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland (Lubuskie Voivodeship) – Brandenburg 2007–2013:** the allocation for the programme amounted to EUR 124,500,317 from the ERDF for the years 2007–2013 (no breakdown by national allocations). The contribution of the Polish side to the programme was EUR 50,097,251.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme between the Republic of Poland and the Slovak Republic 2007–2013:** the allocation for the programme amounted to EUR 157,407,763 from the ERDF (no breakdown by national allocations). Poland's contribution to the programme was EUR 85,907,763.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Germany/Mecklenburg–Vorpommern–Brandenburg–Poland 2007–2013:** the budget of the programme totalled EUR 132,812,670 from the ERDF. Poland's contribution amounted to EUR 49,971,489.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme between the Czech Republic and the Republic of Poland 2007–2013:** the budget was joint and totalled EUR 219,459,344 from the ERDF (no breakdown by national allocations). The Polish contribution amounted to EUR 115,779,344.
- **Baltic Sea Region Transnational Cooperation Programme 2007–2013:** the budget was joint and totalled EUR 228,834,499 (no breakdown by national allocations) with EUR 208,034,499 coming from the ERDF, EUR 8,800,000 from the ENPI and EUR 12,000,000 as a national contribution from Norway. Poland's contribution amounted to EUR 47,693,624.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland–Belarus–Ukraine 2007–2013:** the budget of the programme was EUR 186,201,367 with no given budget breakdown for particular countries. Poland's contribution to the programme, that is the contribution from the funds of the European Regional Development Fund, amounted to EUR 114,452,942.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Lithuania–Poland–Russia 2007–2013:** the budget was joint and totalled EUR 132,130,000 (no breakdown by national allocations).
- **Central Europe Programme:** the ERDF participation in the Program amounted to EUR 246,011,074.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland–Saxony 2007–2013:** the budget was joint and totalled EUR 105,111,000 from the ERDF. Poland contributed EUR 70,061,674 from the ERDF funds.
- **Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland–Lithuania 2007–2013:** the budget was joint and totalled EUR 71,688,850 from the ERDF. Poland contributed EUR 41,717,453 from the ERDF funds.

¹² Portal Funduszy Europejskich [European Funds Portal], “Programy Europejskiej Współpracy Terytorialnej” [European territorial cooperation programmes], accessed on 28.03.2019, <https://www.ewt.2007-2013.gov.pl/WstepDoFunduszyEuropejskich/Strony/Finansowanie.aspx>.

- **Interregional Cooperation Programme INTERREG IV C:** the budget of the programme was EUR 321,000,000 from the ERDF¹³.

Programmes under the European Territorial Cooperation are also being implemented in the current financial perspective (i.e. 2014–2020). In principle, financial support through the cross-border cooperation component can be granted to all internal and external, land and maritime borders of the EU (regions separated by a maximum of 150 km, or in the case of outermost regions, also more than 150 km). The areas covered by transnational cooperation are defined by the Commission, taking into account macro-regional and sea-basin strategies, and with Member States having the option of adding adjacent territories. Interregional cooperation extends over the entire territory of the European Union. The outermost regions may combine cross-border cooperation and transnational cooperation actions in a single cooperation programme. Third countries may also participate in cooperation programmes. In such cases, the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) and the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA II) can also be used to finance cooperation actions¹⁴.

3. Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Poland–Saxony 2007–2013 – an assessment of the support

The transition process to joint Programme implementation in the Polish and Saxon support area, which started in 2004, proved to be very demanding in terms of time required and its learning process. The Programme, carried out in the years 2004–2006, contributed significantly to the intensification of a wide range of cross-border contacts or the establishing of new contacts between entities. Also, the scope of cooperation between Polish and German offices was extended. In addition, structural deficits related to the specific border location were reduced. However, some strategic goals, such as improving employment and stabilizing the demographic situation, were also impossible to achieve within the realms of the Programme. First of all, there were no grounds for such projects, and secondly, other external factors had (and still have) a much stronger impact on economic development, unemployment and migration than the Interreg Programme could. Nevertheless, it can be generally assessed that thanks to the supported actions it was possible to implement overarching objectives – like the improvement of cross-border development and the strengthening of the Polish-Saxon borderland area – in an effective manner¹⁵.

Following the enlargement of the European Union to 27 Member States, there was, on the one hand, an increase in existing inequalities, but, on the other hand, a release of significant potential to strengthen economic competitiveness and internal cohesion. The cross-border targeted “European Territorial Cooperation” objective aimed to foster greater integration of territories while addressing the main aspects of the Lisbon Strategy. The cohesion policy was to contribute to sustainable and balanced development in the particular support areas and to help mitigate the specific effects of border proximity. This objective of territorial cooperation was also notably emphasized in the Community Strategic Guidelines for Cohesion. As such it was subjected to thorough socio-economic

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ European Parliament, “Europejska Współpraca.”

¹⁵ Program Operacyjny Współpracy Transgranicznej Polska – Saksonia 2007–2013 [Operational Programme of Cross-Border Cooperation Poland-Saxony 2007–2013], CCI-Code 2007CB163PO018, amended version of 28 June 2011, adopted by the Monitoring Committee on 28 June 2011, approved by the European Commission on 27 March 2012, 28.

analysis so as to include these objectives in the Operational Programme of Cross-Border Cooperation Poland-Saxony 2007–2013 and to devise a development strategy that is based on them and adapted to the situation in the support area. The results of this analysis indicated that due to the process of integration of spatial structures of the cross-border area of Poland and Saxony, it was necessary to take action in various fields and improve the general living conditions. Furthermore, the concept of residents identifying with the common borderland area became particularly important¹⁶.

The overarching objective of cross-border cooperation under this programme is divided into two strategic objectives and each of those has been assigned its designed priority axis (**Table 1**).

Table 1. Strategic objectives and their priority axes

Strategic objective	Priority axis
Ensuring the competitiveness of the support area by equalizing framework conditions for the elimination of economic and structural inequalities	<i>Priority axis 1:</i> Cross-border development
Residents identifying with the support area thanks to the strengthening of cooperation	<i>Priority axis 2:</i> Cross-border social integration

Source: Program Operacyjny Współpracy Transgranicznej Polska – Saksonia 2007–2013, 30.

Priority axis 1 covers infrastructure in the fields of economy, science, tourism, transport and communication, the environment as well as spatial order and regional planning. Whereas priority axis 2 encompasses those domains of support which in various ways are to contribute to the improvement of social framework conditions in the support area. On the one hand, greater funding has been envisaged for the infrastructure projects covered by priority axis 1 than the projects covered by priority axis 2. On the other hand, those projects with a particular purpose of strengthening cooperation have been assigned the appropriate strategic importance. The share of resources envisaged for priority axis 1 was set at 42.58% and at 51.42% for priority axis 2¹⁷. The programme covered the following areas:

- in the Lower Silesian Voivodship: the Jelenia Góra-Wałbrzych subregion, i.e. powiats (districts): Bolesławiecki, Lubanski, Lwówecki, Złotoryjski, Jelenia Góra, Kamienna Góra, Jaworowa, Wałbrzych, Świdnica, Ząbkowice, Kłodzko, Dzierżonów, Strzelin, and Jelenia Góra, a city with powiat rights;

- in the Lubusz Voivodeship: Zielona Góra subregion, i.e. powiats (districts): Żarski, Żagańskie, Krosno, Zielona Góra, Nowosolski, Wschowa, Świebodzin, and the city of Zielona Góra;

- on the German side: Görlitz district (which includes the former districts of Niederschlesischer Oberlausitzkreis and Löbau-Zittau and the former urban district of Görlitz) (**Illustration 1**)¹⁸.

The allocation for this programme was EUR 70.06 million. The beneficiaries of the programme could be:

- local government entities or their organisational units,

¹⁶ Ibid., 28–30.

¹⁷ Ibid., 30.

¹⁸ Euroregion Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr, “Program Operacyjny Współpracy Transgranicznej Polska–Saksonia 2007–2013” [Operational program for cross-border cooperation Poland–Saxony 2007–2013], accessed April 03, 2019, <http://euroregion-snb.pl/program/plsn>.

- government administration bodies,
- national and landscape parks / governing bodies of protected areas, National Forest Holding, State Forests with their organisational units,
- scientific entities,
- cultural institutions,
- higher education institutions and other public institutions performing educational or research activities,
- schools and educational establishments,
- units of the emergency response system,
- other units of the public finance sector,
- non-profit NGOs,
- churches and other religious associations, and corporate persons of churches and religious associations,
- business environment institutions / institutions and organisations supporting the development of entrepreneurship and innovativeness,
- small and medium-sized enterprises as well as enterprises of rural economy and forestry,
- euroregions¹⁹.

Conducted socio-economic analysis indicates that there are clear differences in development between the Polish and Saxon sides as regards general welfare and infrastructure. Actions for which there is a need on one side of the support area only were not included. In such instances, other instruments must be employed. Obstacles in economic relations result from a lack of language skills, difficulties in finding reliable partners and in obtaining information about the market. In the area of research and development (R&D) it is necessary to strengthen the existing and develop new cooperation structures. The situation in tourism is marked by the fact that a diverse interregional offer on a transnational scale constitutes a special opportunity for the support area. To ensure that this unique opportunity is seized, entities should step up communication between each other, combine offers and communicate them to tourists in a more targeted manner.

The socio-economic analysis has also shown that as regards culture the demand is particularly limited. In turn, therapeutic tourism and spa healthcare services are among the domains that in the longer term constitute an economic factor with increasing potential for some parts of the support area²⁰.

Based on conducted socio-economic analysis, the intensification and support of economic contacts (including agricultural and forestry economy) and/ or scientific contacts were identified as priority objectives towards actively achieving sustainable territorial development in the Polish-Saxon area. The point is, above all, to enable the creation and development of cooperation and networks as well as to strengthen or broaden contacts in business and research to, inter alia, seek out reliable partners. By improving the conditions for entrepreneurship development the market access barriers for small and medium-sized companies are to be eliminated. The basis for such actions are, for instance, trainings and information and consultancy services for entrepreneurs as well as initiatives targeted at developing language skills. Economic development through knowledge exchange involves joint use of scientific institutions and technological development

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 35–36.

centres. The technology transfer between technology providers (such as universities, higher education institutions, non-university scientific institutions from the business environment) and its users (mainly SMEs) was to become more active and efficient thanks to research and development projects²¹.

Under the Operational Programme of Cross-Border Cooperation Poland–Saxony 2007–2013, the following were implemented:

- 5 projects within Domain 1.1 Economy and science for a value of EUR 2,439,345.12,
- 17 projects within Domain 1.2 Tourism and spa healthcare for a value of EUR 10,569,643.66,
- 4 projects within Domain 1.3 Transport and communication for a value of EUR 9,144,279.53,
- 16 projects within Domain 1.4 Natural environment for a value of EUR 9,956,405.90,
- 4 projects within Domain 1.5 Spatial order and regional planning for a value of EUR 1,830,805.86,
- 15 projects within Domain 2.1 Education and training for a value of EUR 8,696,242.72,
- 14 projects within Domain 2.2 Culture and art for a value of EUR 8,860,199.26,
- 10 projects within Domain 2.3 Social infrastructure for a value of EUR 9,341,436.89,
- 9 projects within Domain 2.4 Public safety for a value of EUR 4,460,776.56,
- 7 projects within Domain 2.5 Development of partnership cooperation for a value of EUR 2,280,582.9,
- 3 projects within Domain 2.6 Small Project Fund for a value of EUR 3,994,058.41²².

In view of the strategic importance of the development of border regions, Interreg programmes are implemented in the current 2014–2020 financial perspective and will be implemented in the upcoming 2021–2027 financial perspective as well. At present work is also underway on a new legislative package. The implementation of projects under cross-border programmes contributes to a positive impact on the economic and social dimensions of society, however, it also exposes further lacks, financial gaps and areas which require investments. Currently, in the years 2014–2020, the programme is based on four priority axes:

- I Common natural and cultural heritage
- II Regional mobility
- III Cross-border education
- IV Partnership cooperation and institutional capacity.

The goal continues to be the deepening of cooperation to overcome development barriers in the Polish–Saxon border area. It is important to promote intermodal transport through combining private motor vehicle transport with collective rail or bus transport as well as with cycling or typical tourist means of transport (connection points for canoe routes, horse trails, walking trails etc.) by expanding the necessary infrastructure. The

²¹ Ibid., 36.

²² Dolny Śląsk, “Europejska współpraca terytorialna” [European territorial cooperation], accessed April 03, 2019, <http://www.umwd.dolnyslask.pl/ewt/wspolpraca-transgraniczna/saksonia/realizowane-projekty/>.

expected outcome is the improvement in cross-border travel and shortening travel times between towns in the border area by connecting the support area to the TEN-T network. Measures taken under the programme should contribute to the increase of population mobility, and in consequence to greater participation of citizens in the socio-economic life of the region. Furthermore, the programme proposed the development of the cross-border educational offer, adjusted to the needs of the common labour market and taking into account the necessary strengthening of the innovation potential. The idea is to create educational programmes for higher education institutions, as well as vocational and continuing training for employees, in order to improve the qualifications adapted to the needs of the Polish and German employers from the support area. Another important issue is the overcoming of socio-cultural and language barriers, which are still a significant obstacle to cooperation. Public administration and institutions that have experience in this type of activity have a key role to play in this respect, with their task being to create lasting cooperation platforms. Within the realms of the programme, the following types of projects and initiatives are implemented:

- a) regular projects – within priority axes I – IV,
- b) flagship projects – within priority axes I, III and IV,
- c) the Small Project Fund umbrella project – carried out under priority axis IV and
- d) microprojects – initiatives carried out under the Small Project Fund²³.

Conclusions

Interregional cooperation between Poland and Saxony was initiated in the 2004–2006 financial perspective during which period both sides were building human resources capacities and shaping a regional development strategy. It was at that time that the first projects were implemented and mutual public trust between sides and confidence in administration were built. Those first experiences showcased the potential for further development of regions on both sides of the border, which in turn translates into the socio-economic strengthening of the region. The analysis of the transregional Programme adopted for the 2007–2013 financial perspective and the analysis of types of completed projects clearly indicate that both regions seek potential for economic and social development and scout for gaps in regional development in an attempt to fill them. In the current 2014–2020 financial perspective the INTERREG Poland-Saxony Cooperation Program is also implemented, under which projects concerning natural and cultural heritage, regional mobility, cross-border education as well as partnership cooperation and institutional potential are being supported. The implementation of those may strengthen the current development trend of the region.

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University of Oradea, Actor in Cross-Border Cooperation at the Romanian – Hungarian Border (2000–2018)

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Abstract. *Higher education institutions in many parts of Europe are in a changing stratus. First due to their inability to respond quickly to the rapid changes in society, generated by globalization and the fourth industrial revolution. Other causes that most universities face are acute lack of funding, problems with maintaining the quality of research and education, changing generations of teachers and researchers. In such circumstances, the need to identify alternative sources for financing education and research becomes more and more prominent, which gives the university a new function, that of "bridge" between the global flows of knowledge, science and technology, on the one hand and the local needs of economic development, on the other hand. The case study presented in this paper start by looking at data from specialized literature, in order to establish the theoretical framework on the evolution of the role played by universities in the global context created by the four industrial revolutions. Next, we shall identify the role and degree of involvement of the University of Oradea in the development of cross-border cooperation between Romania and Hungary, one of the mechanisms.*

Key words: *universities; development; border regions; cross-border cooperation;*

Introduction

Adopted in June 2010, by the European Council, as a successor to the Lisbon Strategy, the Europe 2020 Strategy brought to the attention of analysts and decision-makers three mutually reinforcing priorities, aimed at turning Europe into a smarter, more sustainable and more inclusive place to live. The first priority referred to the development of an economy based on knowledge, research and innovation; secondly, the promotion of resource-efficient, green and competitive markets was also proposed; thirdly, policies aimed at fostering job creation and poverty reduction were put forward for consideration. The eight indicators, assumed by the European Commission as targets to be achieved over a decade, turned out to be, in fact, variables that significantly depended on the ability of each Member State to: invest in the resources and the engines of development policies, encourage research, promote innovation and higher education, while also reiterating economic, social and territorial cohesion. The latest Eurostat report on the achievement of the eight indicators underlines the importance of coordinating the efforts of the Member States in the context of current differences in terms of economic and social development among the states¹. In particular, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which have

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¹ Eurostat, *Smarter, Greener, More Inclusive? Indicators to Support the Europe 2020 Strategy* (Luxembourg: Publication Office of the European Union, 2018), 15–18.

joined the European Union in the last three waves of accession, are states that, during the last twenty-eight years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, have faced changes as regards their social, economic and institutional systems. Their departure from the political-economic paradigm imposed by the Soviet system coincided with the emergence of Porter's "competitive advantage" theory. In 1990, Porter noted that the economic prosperity of a nation is no longer proportional with the abundance of resources and cheap labour; instead, it has become increasingly based on creativity and scientific innovation. Currently, many countries are involved in the so-called "big brain race," a competition for novelty in the fields of knowledge and innovation, with governments adopting increasingly competitive and comprehensive strategies to improve the position of states in the global economy².

Jason J. Lane has pointed out that, in a global market, Porter's theory of economic development does not imply the existence of standards adopted by all nations, but rather that innovation should be supported through highly localized processes. Differences in national values, culture, economic structures, institutions and histories contribute to competitive success, with many national and regional leaders paying more attention to strategies for strengthening global competitiveness as a means of increasing national economic prosperity³. Alessandra Ricciardelli has stated that, over the last decades, as terms such as knowledge and information have entered the vocabulary of decision-makers, the idea that technological progress follows particular paths, influenced by the socio-geographical context, history and local culture, has found echoes in the academic community as well. The specialists in the regional economy have elaborated and tested the theory of the endogenous development of an area, demonstrating that this would be based on the way in which different actors contribute to the improvement of knowledge and to the exchange of knowledge⁴.

In this context, the university, a specialized institution whose main object of activity is the production, reproduction and dissemination of knowledge, can make an important contribution to both sustainable development and to the knowledge-based economy. Moreover, as shown by many studies in the field, the success of some regions is also due to the location of a strong higher education institution in the territory, and the regions that have improved their economic foundations have often succeeded based on a collaboration between the business environment and local university. Young minds and highly skilled workforce, formed inside universities, produce innovative ideas that can bring a direct contribution to local economic development. In addition, marketable technologies, patents, licenses, spin-out companies, the knowledge generated by fundamental university research are highly desirable and essential resources for the progress of society in a certain area/region⁵. Therefore, the entire scientific community agrees that universities have a relevant role to play in the region; they have also become topics of discussion for decision makers in any economy, regardless of the stage of development in which a particular area might be. Many studies, conducted under the

² Jason E. Lane, "Higher Education and Economic Competitiveness," in *Universities and Colleges as Economic Drivers. Measuring Higher Education's role in Economic Development*, ed. Jason E. Lane and Bruce Johnstone (New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 2–4.

⁴ Alessandra Ricciardelli, *The Role of Universities in the Europe 2020 Strategy. The Case of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo* (Springer, 2017), 21.

⁵ Shiri M. Breznitz, *The Fountain of Knowledge. The Role of Universities in Economic Development* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 1.

umbrella of the triple helix, were based on case studies that demonstrated the role of the academic system in underdeveloped countries, in developing countries or in countries with very efficient economies. The same studies have shown that the potential role of universities and research centres as development engines has often been neglected by governments, in favour of the mechanisms for the rapid growth of competitiveness. However, an economy built on the ability to generate and exploit knowledge requires policies that target science, technology and innovation, whose long-term impact is diffuse, rather than concentrated and visible, but certainly essential⁶.

However, higher education institutions in many parts of Europe are in a state of crisis. A first cause is their inability to respond quickly to the rapid changes in society, generated by globalization and the fourth industrial revolution. Other causes that most universities face are acute lack of funding, problems with maintaining the quality of research and education, changing generations of teachers and researchers. In such circumstances, the need to identify alternative sources for financing education and research becomes more and more prominent, which gives the university a new function, that of “bridge” between the global flows of knowledge, science and technology, on the one hand and the local needs of economic development, on the other hand⁷.

The case study presented in this paper focuses on the verification of the hypothesis stated above and has as a general objective the identification of the role and degree of involvement of the University of Oradea in the development of cross-border cooperation between Romania and Hungary, one of the mechanisms. The University of Oradea is also regarded as agent in the stimulation of the economic development in the border region between the two countries. In this context, our research aims to start by looking at data from specialized literature, in order to establish the theoretical framework on the evolution of the role played by universities in the global context created by the four industrial revolutions. Next, we shall identify the programs of cross-border cooperation, conducted between 2000 and 2019 and financed by the European Union, in which the University of Oradea was involved. Thus, the study aims at a quantitative analysis of the projects financed by means of the cross-border cooperation programs in which the University of Oradea played the role of leader, partner or beneficiary, respectively a qualitative analysis of the data regarding the results of the projects and their correlation with the main development indicators in the eligible area.

The role of universities in the development of economies based on knowledge, research and innovation

The word development has become a major theme in academic and political discourse since the early 20th Century, being employed, in most cases, in definitions that involved economic growth and industrialization. After the Second World War, the concept started to be more often used in Western academic and public environments in order to characterize a process of societal change, based primarily on economic modernization. Ricciardelli argues that the definition should not be limited only to the economic dimension, which is much more complex if we consider other concepts such as globalization, human rights or welfare. Thus, the researcher proposes a “generally valid”

⁶ Bo Göransson and Claes Brundenius, “Background and Introduction,” in *Universities in Transition. The Changing Role and Challenges for Academic Institutions*, ed. Bo Göransson and Claes Brundenius (Springer, 2011), 3–4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

definition in which the term development “has a dynamic connotation and a multifaceted profile, which includes processes of change, growth or evolution with social, cultural, gender, political, environmental and economic dimensions”. Referring to various well-known theories, Ricciardelli highlights two models regarding the development of a nation. The first of these is based on the theory of endogenous factors, which emerged after 1980, and explains economic progress in relation to socio-economic factors, essentially to human capital. In order to achieve a growth of GDP/capita, the model involves reducing government spending, lowering inflation, strengthening legislation or increasing foreign trade and raising the level of education. The state of democracy and political freedom are not determining factors for the countries where both are consolidated, but in the end, institutions that manage administrative rules and business operations come to bring a significant contribution. The second model draws on the neo-classical theory of development and bases economic growth on the level of economies, accumulation of capital, labour force and technological progress, considered as being external factors⁸.

In both models, the importance of tertiary education in development is regarded by Ricciardelli as a “well-known axiom”⁹ in deciphering the role that universities play in knowledge-based economies, starting from the finding that these are organizations whose mission is to manage knowledge – seen as a product that can be accumulated, imported, exploited and distributed¹⁰. Dabić et al. considers that a first way to face this challenge is influenced by the intensification of the employers’ demand for workers with high levels of qualification and is imposed every time by the industrial revolutions¹¹. This phenomenon forces universities to mass-produce highly educated citizens, human capital theories showing that an educated person is more productive, therefore contributing more to the economic development of a region. The mechanisms for increasing the number of highly qualified workers are diverse, starting from extending access to higher education, reversing the “brain drain” phenomenon, focusing attention on the concept of the “educational hub,”¹² and continuing with the idea of collaboration with the business and the industrial environments in the provision of training and curricula development. In addition, the globalization of the need for a highly skilled workforce has led to the transfer of specialized knowledge and academic dissemination methods to other entities outside the university sphere, financed by industry or by consulting companies. The heterogeneous production of knowledge has further increased competition on an international market where universities must perform in order to attract the best teachers and the best students. For anyone, the general premise is that states must align their tertiary educational interest with national economic strategies¹³.

The primary mission of universities, that of preserving and disseminating knowledge, respectively of raising human capital through teaching and learning, can be found in a traditional curriculum, but also in a wide variety of educational programs that support the needs of industry and the business environment. In contrast, the second major

⁸ Ricciardelli, 17–18.

⁹ Ibid., 90.

¹⁰ Marina Dabić, Jadranka Švarc and Miguel González-Loureiro, *Entrepreneurial Universities in Innovation – Seeking Countries. Challenges and Opportunities* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 22.

¹¹ Ibid., 26.

¹² Lane has argued that behind any educational hub there is actually an educational infrastructure, able to reduce the number of students that go for studies abroad, while being capable of attracting students from other countries. See also Lane, 12.

¹³ Ibid., 11–16.

component of the academic activity, that is the production of knowledge based on research, emerged at a time when technology ceased to be empirical and became scientifically grounded, first in chemistry, then in the field of electricity. The first modern university, founded by Wilhelm von Humboldt in Berlin, also had in its composition the first institute as an auxiliary institution, which integrated all the academic research. The collapse of this model of science-based university began in the 1960s, when the number of academic institutions increased significantly and became the subject of government intervention and bureaucracy. Universities are fundamentally changing today, with the ones rated at the highest standards seeking funding alternatives in the private sector, in order to compensate for the government cuts in the budget allocated to research¹⁴.

The need for interaction between science and a research-based economy has led to the situation when both basic and fundamental research is not always the generator of marketable knowledge. In addition, current academic management no longer supports scientific curiosities without any practical application, while the simple extension of university research towards the technology transfer departments or towards incubators for companies no longer improves the chances of universities to control their own destiny. Thus, a number of new forms of alliances between universities and industry, at either the national or the international level (strategic partnerships, cooperative programs, consortia, technological platforms, etc.) have emerged, in response to an increased interest, identified among the business environment, for access to fundamental research, sources of technology and competitive human resources. Moreover, Lane argues that the need to commercialize the research results generated by universities has led to the development of revenue-generating practices such as: mass dissemination of ideas; increasing the number of rapidly growing clusters between companies and university researchers; spin-off or spin-out incubators for private companies, with the view of marketing academic intellectual property; providing research laboratories or other spaces for prototype development; providing business consultancy or assistance¹⁵. The third generation of universities has adopted this model of capitalizing on research, thus becoming entrepreneurial universities. Applied research, the mix of science and entrepreneurship, the integration of university research into business were essential for the emergence of the knowledge industries (IT and biotechnology), which not only led to a new paradigm and world socio-economic order, but completely changed peoples' lives¹⁶.

During the last two decades, the interaction between universities and industry has increasingly drawn the attention of decision makers, academic managers and company managers, the governments of industrialized countries launching numerous initiatives to link the academic environment to industrial innovation. Thus, the concept of the triple helix, introduced by Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff in 1997, is embodied in a relationship established among university, industry and governments, which has the form of evolved communication networks. The theoretical model does not promote equality among the three actors involved in innovation and does not take into account the sectoral differences or the proportion of each of the actors' contribution. The result of the interconnected

¹⁴ Dabić, Švarc, and González-Loureiro, 28, 48.

¹⁵ Thomas Gais and David Wright, "The Diversity of University Economic Development Activities and Issues of Impact Management," in *Universities and Colleges as Economic Drivers. Measuring Higher Education's Role in Economic Development*, ed. Jason E. Lane and D. Bruce Johnstone (New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), 34–36.

¹⁶ Dabić, Švarc, and González-Loureiro, 53.

activities of the actors involved in the network reflects, in fact, the development of the infrastructure aimed at promoting entrepreneurship and the transformation of knowledge into well-being, namely the entrepreneurial university. Jacob and Orsenio demonstrate that, in the case of an economy based on functional innovation, this triple coalition must evolve from interest for entrepreneurship to a type II triple helix, which involves focusing on evaluation and the identification of criteria for validating knowledge¹⁷. Goransoon identifies the following forms in which this type of collaboration among university, industry and government has materialized¹⁸:

- Consulting services offered individually by the members of the academic body to companies. These micro-level collaborations are based on projects funded from different public or private funds, and can have an either formal or an informal format. The interaction started at this level can evolve into other forms of relationship, based on trust as regards consulting capabilities.

- Extended technical support offered by universities to industry. In general, the results of the academic-industrial research (tools and techniques for industry, modelling and simulation, theoretical predictions) are less interesting from the perspective of the industrial researchers, who focus more on experience and tacit knowledge of the phenomena. In exchange, for the academic environment, these represent an important basis for articles or participation in professional networks at national and international level. Thus, mechanisms of personnel mobility between sectors, between organizations or in the labour market are activated, the knowledge flow gains consistency, and the dissemination of knowledge in the society is done by means of the most efficient method.

- Financing provided by the industry to universities. Companies that do not have the resources or expertise in a particular field can finance university departments in order to ensure technological progress in a particular area of interest. Governors at national, regional or macro-regional level also use the mechanism; it relies on offering grants or financing projects through different programs, in order to facilitate the achievement of public policy objectives.

- Research projects carried out in partnership between university and industry. In this case, each partner comes with a contribution in his or her area of expertise. In recent years, in order to stimulate collaboration between university and industry, governments have initiated programs and funded joint research and development projects.

- Complete development of industrial products in universities with financing provided by industry. This type of cooperation occurs when there is a high level of confidence in the competences of the universities and their ability to respect the budget and delivery terms. The university can become a direct participant in the market by investing in spin-off companies and taking over production activities.

A closer analysis of these forms of collaboration shows that, in fact, the transition has been made from the linear model of innovation, which assumes that the results of the basic research feed the applied research and the development of saleable products, to an interactive model of innovation. The latter includes, in addition to the interaction between science – industry and the flow of knowledge and mutual learning between these sectors, a series of activities that are not of scientific nature. Among such activities, one can mention

¹⁷ Prasada Reddy, “The Evolving Role of Universities in Economic Development: The Case of University – Industry Linkages,” in *Universities in Transition. The Changing Role and Challenges for Academic Institutions*, ed. Bo Göransson and Claes Brundenius (Springer, 2011), 35–36.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

designing, technologizing and improving the manufacturing processes, conducting research on market needs, promotion and selling products on the market, obtaining feedback from users in order to create potential for improving the performance of products and services in the next design round. Studies have shown that, often, these activities play a more important role in reducing costs and improving performance, as compared to the role played by science in the field of innovation. As Dabić has pointed out, “science and technology remain the main engine of the economy, but the skills and expertise to use scientific and technological discoveries are crucial.” Therefore, interactivity ensures the efficiency of the innovation system and the successful conversion of knowledge into commercial products. The literature offers numerous concrete examples of developed countries in which both the scientific and the innovation systems have undergone major changes in the last 20 years, starting from the connection between research (knowledge production), education (dissemination and transmission of knowledge) and innovation (the use and marketing of knowledge). This cycle of knowledge production has a direct impact on the creation of new and better jobs, based on intellect¹⁹.

Finally, if we consider society as a whole we need to bring into the equation that describes the relationship between universities, industry and governors another actor, namely civil society. Carayannis and Campbell first proposed the model, called the quadruple helix, in order to emphasize that policies and strategies that refer to knowledge and innovation must also take into account the important role of the citizen in achieving the programmed goals. The two researchers argue that, on the one hand, the public reality is built and communicated through media or media systems, and on the other hand, the citizens of a country share a culture, a system of values or a lifestyle that can be influenced by the creative industries (theatre, film, dance, music, etc.)²⁰. From this perspective, universities can contribute to the vitality of the community in which they are located by providing a creative cultural environment and numerous recreational resources (botanical gardens, facilities for stimulating sports performance, attractive campuses for artistic events, etc.). The academic environment can assist authorities and NGOs in finding solutions to different local problems (urban or regional planning, public health, environmental protection, etc.) or can become involved in the assessment of community needs. In addition, universities can make investments in academic infrastructure, student dormitories or places for staff accommodation, they can channel local preferences for goods and services or employment with considerable consequences for the community in which they are located. In this way, an indirect role of universities in shaping community or regional identity has been outlined²¹.

In 2010 Carayannis and Campbell launched the quintuple helix model as a “pivotal force and drive for progress,” which summed up social (societal) interactions and academic exchanges in the form of a “cooperation system of knowledge, know-how and innovation for more sustainable development”²². The model involves interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary interconnections among five subsystems²³:

¹⁹ Dabić, Švarc, and González-Loureiro, 23.

²⁰ Elias G. Carayannis, David F. J. Campbell, “‘Mode 3’ and ‘Quadruple Helix’: Toward a 21st Century Fractal Innovation Ecosystem,” *International Journal of Technology Management* 46, no. 3-4 (January 2009): 218–219.

²¹ Lane, 21.

²² Elias G. Carayannis and David F. J. Campbell, “Triple Helix, Quadruple Helix and Quintuple Helix and How Do Knowledge, Innovation and the Environment Relate to Each Other? A Proposed Framework for a Trans-disciplinary Analysis of Sustainable Development and Social

1. the tertiary educational system, which holds or forms human capital (graduates, teachers, researchers, academic entrepreneurs, etc.) through the production and dissemination of knowledge;

2. the economic system, represented by companies producing goods and services, which concentrate the economic capital;

3. the environment, with a major importance for sustainable development, which offers natural capital (air, water, soil, plants, animals, etc.);

4. media-based and culture-based public, which offers social capital (values, traditions and customs) on the one hand, and information capital (news, social networks, etc.) on the other hand;

5. the political system (the governors), as organizer and administrator of the general conditions of functioning of a state, is a provider of political and legal capital (laws, plans, strategies, policies and public programs).

The model involves a circular movement of knowledge between the five subsystems. On the one hand, it serves as a resource for the companies and the advanced economies based on knowledge, and on the other hand, the knowledge production generates a new expertise, which in turn becomes a resource by the action of the different actors that introduce it into the circuit²⁴.

Therefore, in all the models presented above, universities have a role, a mission, functions and objectives that are clearly defined by the needs of a national economy attempting to become globally competitive. However, the operation of a university in a region does not guarantee economic success, because it does not have control over historical factors and the local context, but exerts only a certain level of control over resources and procedures for knowledge transfer. On the other hand, the quintuple helix model applied at the regional level provides the conditions for a sustainable, knowledge-based and globally competitive development²⁵. In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the emergence of transition economies in the early 1990s coincided with the beginning of the transformation of the scientific system in developed countries²⁶. Therefore, these countries had to adapt on the fly their educational system to the new models of collaboration between the main actors involved in the development process²⁷.

University of Oradea – actor in Romanian–Hungarian cross-border cooperation

Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC) in the European Union could be developed as a result of policies, programs and other specific instruments designed to support development in communities living in the proximity of borders. In the early 1960s, CBC relied more on the needs and will of local actors than on the support of the European Communities. The involvement of local decision-makers, as well as of the public or

Ecology,” *International Journal of Social Ecology and Sustainable Development* 1, no. 1 (January – March 2010): 62.

²³ Elias G. Carayannis, Thorsten D. Barth, and David F.J. Campbell, “The Quintuple Helix Innovation Model: Global Warming as a Challenge and Driver for Innovation,” *Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship* 1, no. 1-2 (2012): 4–6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁵ Breznitz, 14–15; Julia Gremm et al., *Transition towards a Knowledge Society* (Springer, 2018), 70.

²⁶ Dabić, Švarc, and González-Loureiro, 1.

²⁷ Andrei Marga, *University Reform Today*, 4th Edition, revised (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2005), 220–230.

private sectors of knowledge production and dissemination, have contributed substantially to the success of the financial support offered, since 2000, to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as part of the European Union's enlargement strategy²⁸. Eager to consolidate their young democracies and ensure their economic progress, these countries became quite familiar with the principles of accessing funds meant at supporting the achievement of the proposed objectives. The intentions of accession to the European Union initially materialized in partnerships that took the form of multiannual programs comprising commitments from the applicant states regarding democracy, macroeconomic stability and nuclear security and the implementation of a national program for the transposition of the *acquis communautaire*. Instead, the EU provided financial support to assist countries in the pre-accession stage through three instruments: the pre-accession structural instrument (ISPA); the pre-accession agro-cultural instrument (SAPARD); the Program of Community aid (PHARE)²⁹.

Between 1990–1993, concentrated its efforts on those sectors that contributed directly to the transition to a market economy. In 1994, at the initiative of the European Parliament, a new budget of 150 MECU was made available to support cooperation between Phare countries and the EU's border regions. Although infrastructure projects continue to have the largest share of the program, other sectors such as tourism, trade, water treatment were also included³⁰. As the 10 candidate countries finished the accession process and became EU member states, they could also participate in other Community initiatives. One of them, INTERREG III³¹, aimed at developing cross-border cooperation and helping regions at the external borders and EU internal policies to overcome the problems arising from their isolation.

In particular, the border between Romania and Hungary has undergone a continuous evolution, from the closed border status in the context of the events in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989, then to the EU's external border in 2004, when Hungary joined the common space, until the internal border status of the European Union (since 2007, the moment of Romania's accession). At present, this is an active border, the framework of freedoms and rights given by membership of the European Union, which guarantees the free movement of goods and services, citizens and capital, ensuring the conditions of economic and cultural cooperation between communities located on both

²⁸ Constantin-Vasile Țoca and Klára Czimre, “Cross-Border Cooperation at the EU Internal and External Borders,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre, and Vasile Cucerescu, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 8–9; Constantin-Vasile Țoca, *Romanian–Hungarian Cross-Border Cooperation at Various Territorial Levels, with a Particular Study of the Debrecen – Oradea Eurometropolis* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2013), 31.

²⁹ European Commission, “Agenda 2000: For a Stronger and Wider Union,” 15 July 1997, accessed September 9, 2019, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:l60001>.

³⁰ European Parliament, “The Phare Programme and the Enlargement of the European Union,” 4 December 1998, accessed September 9, 2019, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/briefings/33a1_en.htm.

³¹ European Commission, “Interreg III (2000–2006),” 23 May 2000, accessed September 9, 2019, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:g24204>. See also István Süli-Zakar and Ioan Horga, ed., *Regional Development in the Romanian–Hungarian Cross-Border Space – From National to European Perspective* (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2006).

sides of the border³². The number of collaborations has increased over 25 years due to the programs funded by the European Commission to support cohesion policy, in particular, those promoting cross-border cooperation (PHARE and INTEREG), providing the basis for implementing joint actions between different local or regional actors in the member states³³. The eligible area for the implementation of cross-border cooperation projects comprises four counties from Hungary and four from Romania (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar, Békés and Csongrád, Satu Mare, Bihor, Arad and Timiș), covering an area of 50 thousand of square km. For the period of implementation of the first programs of cross-border cooperation, the demographic and economic indicators were below the average of the national ones, but also below the average of the European ones. The eight counties have as main form of relief the plain, about half of the population living in urban areas, county capitals. The number of cities in the four Hungarian counties is significantly higher than in Romania, but the largest city in the eligible area is Timișoara. The employed population was mainly hired in the fields of agriculture and forestry, followed at a great distance by workers in industry, construction and services. The unemployment rate in the eligible area is above the national averages, a large number of unemployed persons being registered in industrial areas. The level of GDP / inhabitant was low and mainly associated with agricultural activities³⁴. The development of SMEs was a strategic objective for both the Romanian and Hungarian authorities, as a solution for closing the old factories and economic recovery³⁵. In the eligible area, three major universities operate (Debrecen, Szeged, Timișoara) and several environments (from Oradea, Arad and Nyíregyháza), most of them being financed by central authorities.

In this context, at the summer session of the National Council of Rectors (July 5-7, 2001, Cluj-Napoca), the three pre-accession programs mentioned above were presented to the Romanian higher education institutions. The request represents a proof that the governors were aware of the ability of the universities to get involved in achieving the objective of Romania's accession to the European Union. In addition, the projects proposed for funding could connect the academic environment to the socio-economic development needs of the regions and paved the way for partnerships with institutions from the university networks. The University of Oradea began accessing the funds in 2003, the year in which the implementation of the project “Action Learning for SMEs in Bihor, Sălaj and Satu Mare counties – a new model of entrepreneurial school in the field of human resources” was financed with the sum of 375,000 euros through the PHARE

³² Țoca and Czimre, 11. See also *Cross-Border Partnership: With Special Regard to the Hungarian-Romanian Tripartite Border*, ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar (Oradea, Debrecen: University of Oradea Press, University of Debrecen Press, 2010).

³³ Vasile Cucerescu, “EU Cross-Border Cooperation in Eastern Europe,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre, and Vasile Cucerescu, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 109.

³⁴ Agenția de Dezvoltare Regională Nord-Vest [North – West Regional Development Agency], “Raport anual. Anul 2001. Extras” [Annual Report. Year 2001. Extract], Februarie 2002, 5, accessed September 11, 2019, http://www.adrnord-vest.ro/Document_Files/Prezentare-Agentie/00000118/4hbhg_Raport_anual_2001_qjqaj9.pdf; Luminița Șoproni, “The Roumanian–Hungarian Cross-Border Cooperation in the Regional Press of Bihor County,” in “Media, Intercultural Dialogue and the New Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Fabienne Maron, Renaud De LA Brosse, and Luminița Șoproni, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 3 (Spring 2007): 76–86.

³⁵ Amalia Sturza, “Cross-Border Cooperation and Neighbourhood Programs between Romania and Ukraine,” in “From Smaller to Greater Europe: Border Identitary Testimonies,” ed. Mircea Brie and Kozma Gábor, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 2 (Autumn 2006): 91.

2000 program: Economic and social cohesion. The project brought together representatives of the business environment (the Local Council of SMEs from Oradea and Sălaj, the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture Satu Mare, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Bihor, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Sălaj) and experts in human resources management from the University of Oradea and Salford University, UK (The Revans Institute for Action Learning & Research), with the aim of developing the regional human resource in the context of industrial restructuring. For one year, training courses were organized for the employees of the various economic agents from Satu Mare, Sălaj and Bihor counties, the academic environment contributing with the expertise in the field of economic and political integration in the EU. The aim was also that of adjusting local and regional strategies so as to bring the economy to European standards and facilitate the marketing of Romanian products in the Member States³⁶.

Good practices continued, over the next few years, since another 52 projects funded through cross-border cooperation programs were obtained (see **Table 1**).

Table 1. Projects funded through cross-border cooperation programs between 2003 and 2019, in which the University of Oradea was either leader or partner

CBC Programme	Number of the financed projects	Value of financing (Euro)
PHARE CBC RO/HU (2000)	1	375.000
PHARE CBC RO-HU (2004 – 2006)	6	902.587
HUNGARY – ROMANIA CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME (2007 – 2013)	41	15.543.012
INTERREG V-A ROMANIA – HUNGARY PROGRAMME (2014 – 2018)	5	1.834.998,16
Total	53	
Total Euro		18.655.597,16

The 53 projects had an implementation duration ranging between 6 and 36 months. In 2011, a number of 19 projects (see **Chart 1**) were registered and implemented. Actually, from the beginning of the budgetary exercise 2007–2013, Romania has become a member state of the European Union, which coincided with a prolific period for the academic environment of Oradea, when 83% of the total value of project financing was attracted (see **Chart 2**).

³⁶ Anca Dodescu et al., *Ghid practic. Action Learning* [Practical guide. Action Learning] (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2004), 11–18; Ioan Horga et al., *10 ani de Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene* [Ten years of International Relations and European Studies] (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2013), 43.

Chart 1. Number of projects implemented/year between 2003 and 2022

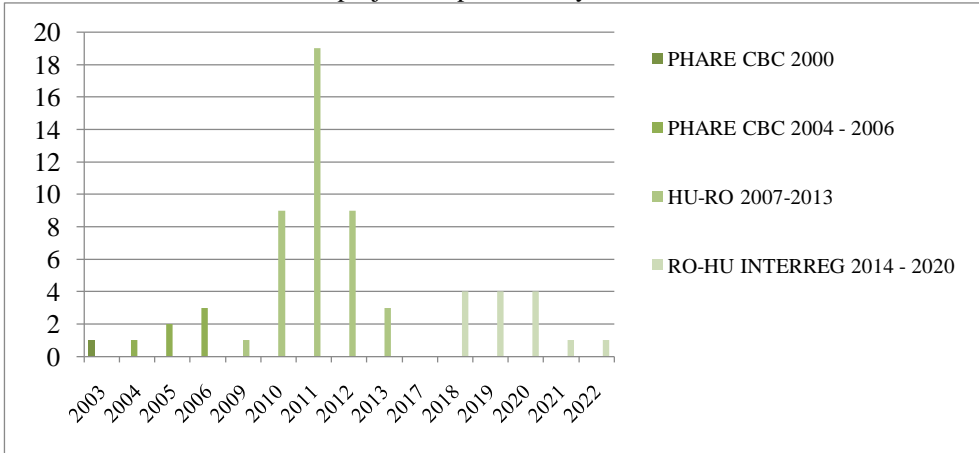
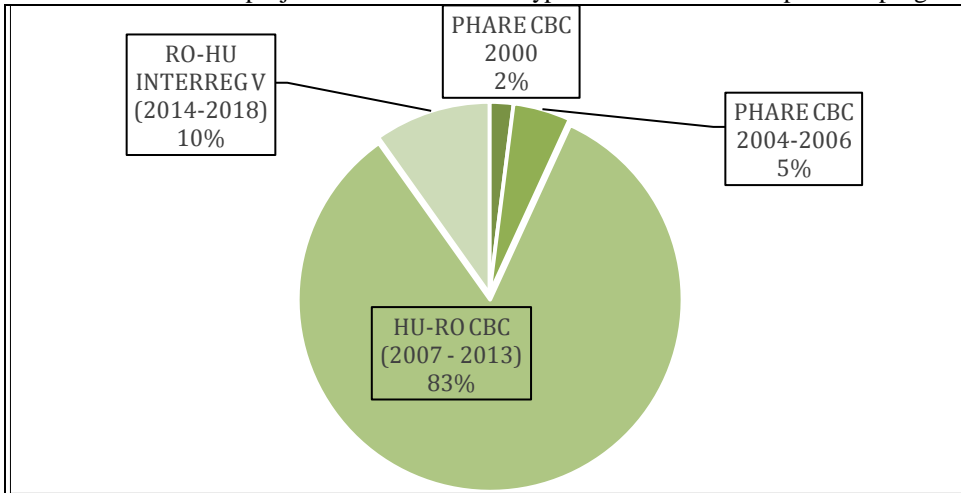


Chart 2. The value of projects financed on each type of cross-border cooperation program

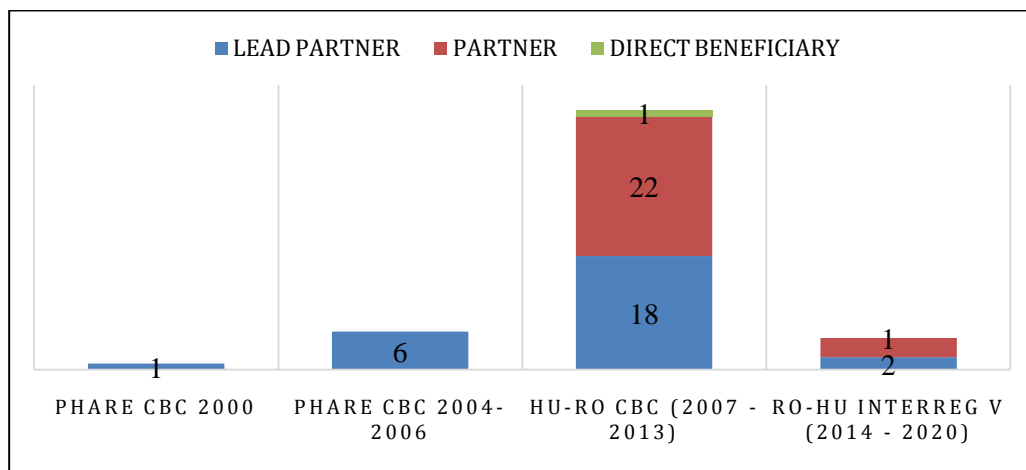


For almost half of the projects (27), the University of Oradea was a leader, and in one case, 50 students were direct beneficiaries of the information activities in the field of protected areas and of exploring the tourist routes developed by the project (**Chart 3**). The 55 projects led to the creation of solid partnerships with:

- higher and pre-university institutions (Debrecen University, Partium University, Szent István University, University of Szeged, West University of Timișoara, Érmelléki Folk-High School);
- research centers (Institute for Nuclear Research, Halászati is Öntözési Kutatóintézet, Bay Zoltán Alkalmazott Kutatási Közalapítvány Biotechnológiai Int.);
- local public authorities (Gyula Város Önkormányzata, Oradea Metropolitan Area, City halls of Oradea, Marghita, Salonta, Beiuș, City Hall of Aleșd, Bihor County Council, Berettyóújfalú Local Council)
- representatives of the business environment (Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Bihor, Hajdú-Bihar, Sălaj and Satu Mare);

- NGOs (Aqua Crisius Angling Association, Bihor Destination Management Agency, Bihor Mountain Rescuers Association)

Chart 3. The number of projects in which the University of Oradea was a leader / partner / beneficiary



The quantitative analysis above highlights the high number of partners from the field of tertiary education and research centres. Institutional cooperation is a natural phenomenon if we take into account the fact that all these entities have similar strategic objectives resulting from the roles assigned to them by society and governors. In addition, the value created by the projects financed from the cross-border cooperation programs is the network that was formed between the 7 universities and the 3 research organizations. Within this network, a research and development infrastructure emerged. It was materialized into a laboratory for testing polluted waters; a research centre on the influence of urban green spaces on the health of the inhabitants; a research platform for smart materials; common research platforms; a mobile laboratory for water testing in river basins; a rare plant conservation centre; the e-laboratory for applied engineering sciences; high speed internet services between the university centres in Oradea and Debrecen; the e-health application. This infrastructure formed the basis for conducting joint research in the following areas:

- geothermal – identifying the potential of geothermal waters in the eligible area and developing technologies for their use as alternative energies;
- medical – radiation therapy for cancer, treatments for degenerative diseases;
- economic – study of predictability indicators with impact on regional development, research of the financial contagion phenomenon, in terms of risk and stochasticity for a healthy regional economy, joint R&D programs in the field of new public management;
- engineering – engines with a single running regime;
- agriculture and environmental protection – the implementation of European directives for soil management, new methods and systems for monitoring fermentation processes, conservation and protection of ecosystems endangered by lack of water, influence of technological elements on stored maize and wheat;

- social – examining the interactions between different types of identities from a philosophical and sociological perspective.

Another dimension of project activities was the dissemination of knowledge. In this regard, the implementation teams focused on three directions:

- the formation of a specialized workforce in niche fields, in accordance with the requirements of the business environment. In this respect, one can mention the joint master program in advanced mechatronics systems; short-cycle training packages; the training of researchers in non-linear dynamics; doctoral study programs in the field of Geography; training programs; an advanced training program in neurosciences; digital competence development of managers in the field of decision making;

- development of civic competences: introducing in the curricula of future teachers some courses of intercultural education and education for tolerance.

- workshops, conferences, exhibitions, demonstrations for the general public..

The third category of activities was intended to support the development of the business environment in the eligible area. A number of actions were aimed at offering courses through e-learning platforms for vulnerable groups of citizens (unemployed, Roma, young people from rural areas). The purpose was to increase their chances of employment by acquiring foreign language skills and IT skills. Other activities were aimed at supporting the local business environment by providing consultancy in the creation of thematic tourist products, developing a system for analysing the financial health of economic operators in the eligible area, based on common performance indicators, advising rural youth in their efforts to integrate into the local labour market or to establish a bilingual basis of terms in the field of Commercial and Consumer Law.

The last type of activity consists of actions aimed at improving the efficiency of higher education and strengthening the links with public authorities and the business environment. Thus, starting from the evaluation of the transformations that occurred, after the Bologna process, in universities across the eligible area, common solutions were found, aimed at increasing the quality of the services offered to the local communities.

At the end of this analysis, it may be worth pointing out that 6% of the funds destined for cross-border cooperation programs from 2000–2013 were attracted by the University of Oradea, and for the period 2014–2019 a percentage of 1.35% of the total eligible expenses approved for financed projects was contracted. We can deduce the relevance of the activities and of the results obtained if we review the main socio-economic indicators from the end of the fiscal year 2007–2013. Thus, across the territory of the eight counties there is no large urban agglomeration, only urban centres of national or regional importance. One-third of the population is located in the county's capital cities, and 62.1 percent of the population lives in cities. In all counties, one can identify negative demographic phenomena such as lower birth rates, migration of people able to work to cities or regions with a higher standard of living, a mortality rate above that of the birth rate. Regarding the economic development indicators, 11.3% of the national GDP is achieved in the eligible area. In the Romanian counties an important contribution to the formation of the GDP is brought by the inputs from industry (especially those of the construction sector), while in the Hungarian counties a large part of the GDP comes from services (especially those related to the public administration and the community-related services). At the same time, the agricultural sector remains a serious contributor to the formation of the regional GDP. Industrial parks and business incubators primarily represent the business infrastructure. The first incubator was established in 1990 through the PHARE program. Over the course of the 30 years taken into account in this study,

many incubators have ceased their activity once the European aid was completed. Bihor is the only county out of the eight counties that has reached the level of share of GDP achieved by trade, hotels, restaurants and transport³⁷.

Conclusions

The new conditions from the end of 1989, the political changes in Central and Eastern Europe since the 1990s, their proximity and association with the European Union have broadened and deepened cross-border cooperation. In the case of these borders, firmly closed previously, there was a need for cross-border cooperation programs that would address all aspects of daily life: economy, work, free time, culture, social problems, territorial planning, environment, etc. In keeping with the objectives of the cohesion policy, the programs aimed firstly to help eligible Central European border regions overcome specific development problems, stemming from their relative isolation within the national economy, whilst preserving the interest of the local population and respecting environmental concerns. Secondly, they encouraged the creation and development of cooperation networks on both sides of the borders while also forging links between these networks and wider EU connections. Thirdly, they attempted to bring a contribution in overcoming large disparities in living and growth standards at the EU's external borders. Fourthly, they accelerated the transformation process in Central European countries and their approximation to the EU. Fifthly, they contributed to the strengthening of good neighbourliness as recognized by the Stability Pact³⁸. The many regions at the internal or external border of the EU understood the advantages of cross-border cooperation quite quickly and developed joint projects that turned into partnerships, which finally aimed at limiting disadvantages in border areas, reducing economic differences, developing infrastructure, increasing population incomes³⁹. The existence of tertiary education in these areas, which lie next to borders, is not a guarantee of development. However, educational institutions have proven to be key players in the success of cross-border programs. Besides the control over the resources and the procedures of knowledge transfer, the interuniversity communication and cooperation, practiced and consolidated over time, have often been used as a starting point in solid cross-border partnerships. In addition, the relationships developed among academia, industry and government have facilitated the success of cross-border cooperation programs.

In the case of the University of Oradea, the data presented above reflect its involvement in solving the socio-economic problems of communities in the area eligible for the cross-border cooperation programs between Romania and Hungary. Most of the 53 projects implemented aimed at improving the social and economic cohesion in the border region, the didactic capacities and the expertise of the academic environment being channelled towards finding solutions in punctual problems targeting the majority of the important items regarding regional wellbeing (education, health, environment, alternative energies, labour market, technology, communications, leisure time). A substantial part of

³⁷ MEGAKOM Development Consultants, *Strategic Territorial Analysis. Strategic Planning Based on the Analysis of the Eligible Programme Area of Hungary and Romania CBC Programme*, 5 June 2014, accessed September 19, 2019, 39–77, http://huro-cbc.eu/uploads/editors/file/Planning%202014+/STA_AV1_031213_JTS.pdf.

³⁸ European Parliament, 9.

³⁹ European Commission, Association of European Border Regions, *Practical Guide to Cross-Border Cooperation*, Third Edition 2000, 5–16, accessed September 11, 2019, https://www.aebr.eu/files/publications/lace_guide.en.pdf.

the actions resulted in research activities, the results obtained being transferred to the target groups through workshops, conferences or communications sessions. The chosen tools do not ensure the direct and rapid implementation of the research results (see the theoretical models presented), therefore that role of "bridge" between the global flows of knowledge, science and technology, on the one hand and the local needs of economic development, on the other is at an early stage and requires consolidation strategies.

The interuniversity network created through partnerships with the higher education centres in the eligible area has been successfully used in the programs created for the preparation of a human capital that would be capable of professional performance and aware of European values. In order to train the skills and abilities that facilitate the integration of vulnerable groups (unemployed and young people from the rural area) in the labour market, the infrastructure and the university human resources have shown availability as regards the beneficiaries.

The beneficiaries of most of the projects were the communities from the Bihor and Hajdú-Bihar counties. A small part of the projects had as main purpose the idea of either supporting the business environment in the eligible area or improving the links with the local authorities. Again, we can notice the low use of modern instruments of cooperation with economic agents (incubators, clusters, technology transfer centres).

In conclusion, the role of the University of Oradea in the development of the area located on both sides of the Romanian-Hungarian border is undeniable. In collaboration with the University of Debrecen, it stands out as an active actor, in a territory corresponding to the Euroregion Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar.

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University of Oradea and University of Debrecen. Pole of Knowledge in Cross-Border Cooperation (1990–2018)

*Constantin-Vasile ȚOCA**

Abstract. *Romania and Hungary, in the light of its recent history, we cannot discuss about sustained cooperation, especially before 1989 when a closed border can be discussed, and particularly at academic level exchanges are not at a very high level. The Romanian Revolution of 1989 brought about a defrosting of relations in general and with neighbours in particular, primarily by opening borders, access to the neighbouring country and the west, and implicitly this also facilitated the development of cross-border relations in the area of university cooperation in the counties of Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar, and in particular the two university centers on the Romanian–Hungarian border, the University of Oradea (Romania) and the University of Debrecen (Hungary). Under the proposed article, we will try to highlight the academic creative power focused on cross-border cooperation between the two university centers, the main dimensions that have been achieved, the active participation of researchers from across the European continent, the added value of the research proposed, and not least the emphasis of the two university centers as a hub of knowledge in cross-border cooperation, with the period of our research extending from 1990 and ending in 2018.*

Keywords: *Cross-Border Cooperation, pole of knowledge, University of Oradea, University of Debrecen*

Making an incursion into the history of cross-border cooperation in its original form, it started in 50, namely in 1958 when local and regional authorities in Germany and the Netherlands decided to start a cross-border cooperation structure at the borders of the two countries. It was named EUROREGIO¹, with Dutch Twente and Ostelderland involved in this structure and on the other side of the border, the German Westmuensterland and Grafschaft Bentheim.

Over time, cross-border cooperation has developed mainly in Western Europe, at the level of the Romanian–Hungarian border before 1989 there is no concerted cooperation, only from 1990 we can discuss about sustained cooperation at the level of Romania and Hungary, notably in the years to follow the European Union's support through cross-border cooperation funds that will operate on the Hungarian Romanian border: Phare CBC, the Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Hungary–Romania 2007–2013, and starting with 2014 Interreg V-A which will run until 2020, according to the European fiscal year 2024–2020, which corresponds to the Europe's development strategy, called Europa 2020.

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¹ Willem Molle, “Half a Century of Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe. Insights from the Cases of the EUREGIO and the EMR,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre, and Vasile Cucerescu, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 23–25.

At the level of Romania and Hungary, the counties of Bihor (RO) and Hajdú-Bihar (HU), a Euroregion was established, which was called Euroregion Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar in 2002, at the level of the county, but this structure of cross-border cooperation was not very effective in cooperation. However, this form was the basis for the following forms, structures, funds for cross-border cooperation, a structure needed in the development of efficient cross-border cooperation at the level of the two counties in general as well as at the level of the Oradea (Romania) and Debrecen (Hungary) municipal communities.

The two counties later, on the basis of European funds, demonstrate their efficiency in attracting structural funds, and we can discuss and conclude that in the history of cross-border cooperation in various forms, they have created cooperation relationships so that European cross-border financing instruments have worked together effectively and attracted funds from the two counties in order to achieve sustainable development and improve the quality of life of citizens in the two neighbouring areas.

Another form of cooperation on both sides of the border has been materialized through the European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC), another instrument linked to cooperation.

In this case, we are discussing about Eurometropolis Lille – Kortrijk – Tournai, formally established on 28 January 2008 in the form of the EGTC, cooperation at the level of the regions concerned has been in place since 1991 when cross-border holding Conference of Inter-municipal organizations took place, so that during the years of cooperation, a series of joint projects are implemented based on the identification of common needs, on one side and another of the border.

In this direction, Eurometropolis has focused on 4 major objectives, as follows²:

- Cross-border consistency,
- Consultancy, dialogue and political debate,
- Facilitation, project management and implementation,
- Quality of citizen's life.

In order to underpin the theoretical dimension underlying cross-border cooperation, by trying to move toward the education/academic field, which we are interested in in our research, we will refer to a few specialists in the field who will put the elements of cross-border cooperation into context.

In addition to these forms of cooperation over time at European level, other forms of cross-border cooperation have been defined as follows³:

- 1974, Resolution on Co-operation between Local Communities in Frontier Areas (Resolution 74),
- 1980, European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (with outline agreements, contract and statues),
- 1983, European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter (The Torremolinos Charter),
- 1985, European Charter of Local Self – Government,
- 1987, Legal Declaration on Cross-Border Co-operation,

² Constantin-Vasile Țoca, *Romanian-Hungarian Cross-Border Cooperation at Various Territorial Levels, with a Particular Study of the Debrecen – Oradea Eurometropolis (European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation – EGTC)* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2013).

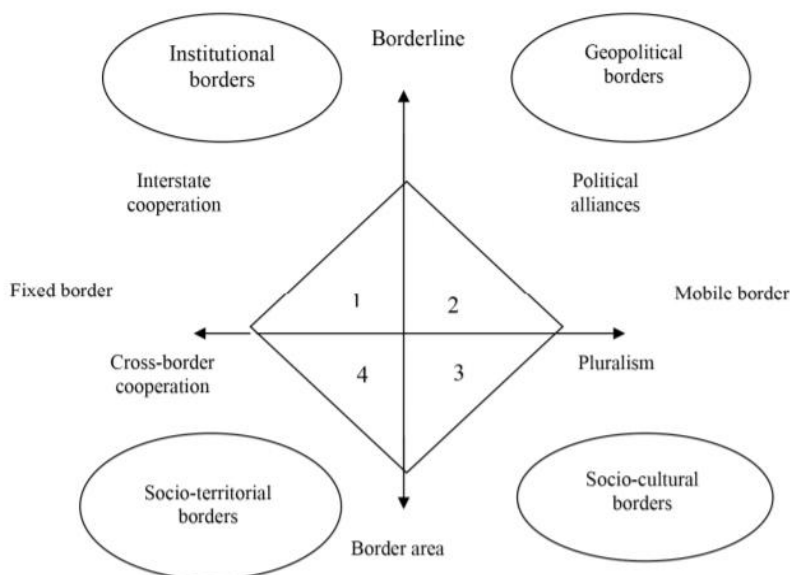
³ Klára Czimre, *Cross-Border Co-operation: Theory and Practice* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi, 2006), 45.

- 1988, Community Charter for Regionalization,
- 1995, European Convention on Transfrontier Television,
- Additional Protocol to the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities,
- 2002, Strategies for Promoting Cross-Border and International Co-operation in an Enlarged EU,
- 2004, Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a European grouping of cross – border co-operation (EGCC).

Another interpretation of borders, and this is why we look at the different types of border cooperation and consider 4 large dimensions of analysis, such as⁴:

- Political: state nation, sovereignty, nationalism, economic policy, geopolitics, regional resettlement, cross-border regionalization;
- Economic: flows, cross-border interaction, spatial annihilation;
- Cultural: identity, national culture, ethnicity, environment, peace and feminist, migrations;
- Regional: demarcation of regions, regions and social structures, regions as a result of history, regional identity.

Fig. 1. Typology of the cross-border cooperation proposed by Remigio Ratti



Source: István Süli-Zakar, *Társadalomföldrajz – területfejlesztés II* [Social geography – Spatial development] (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetem Kiado, 2003), 443.

Legend:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. National economy | 2. Colonialism |
| 3. Liberalism, multilateral exchanges | 4. Integration, cooperation |

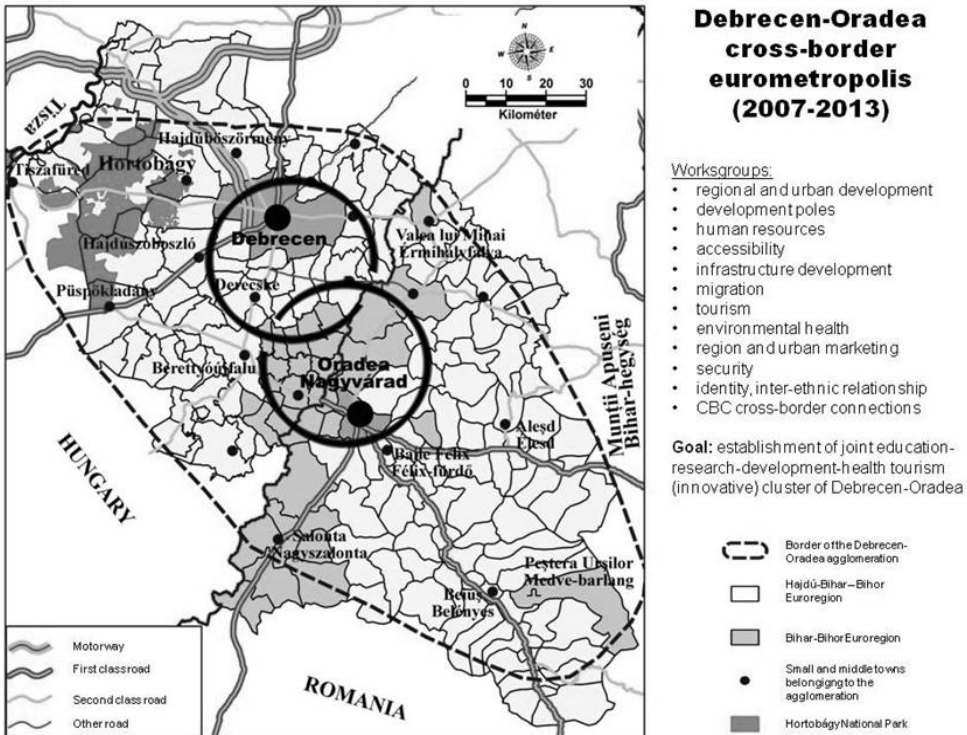
⁴ Klára Czimre, *Studia Geographica. Euroregionális fejlődés az EU csatlakozás küszöbén különös tekintettel Magyarország eurorégióira* [Studia Geografica. Euroregional development at the verge of EU integration with a special regard on Hungary's euroregions] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi, 2005), 9.

Thus Remigio Ratti proposes a typology of cross-border cooperation, which identifies four large dimensions taking into account 4 main indicators: borderline, mobile border, fixed border and border area, as follows:

- Institutional borders, where they identify interstate cooperation,
- Geopolitical borders, where there are political alliances,
- Socio-cultural border where we have pluralism,
- Socio-territorial borders where cross-border cooperation is involved

Moving forward, taking into account cross-border cooperation at the Romanian–Hungarian border, and especially at the level of Bihar County – Hajdú-Bihar, based on the theoretical dimension above mentioned by Prof. István Süli-Zakar⁵ based on its research in this field, proposes at the level of Debrecen and Oradea communities a possible European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC), Eurometropolis Debrecen – Oradea, and proposes several working groups to focus on the human needs of two communities that rely on: regional and urban development, human resources, accessibility, infrastructure development, migration, tourism, environmental health, region and urban marketing, security, identity, inter-ethnic relationship, CBC cross-border connection.

Fig. 2. Debrecen-Oradea cross-border Eurometropolis (2007–2013)



Source: István Süli-Zakar, “The Role of the Euroregions and Eurometropolises in the Etheralisation of the Borders in the Eastern Periphery of the European Union,” in “Europe and the Neighbourhood,” ed. Dorin Ioan Dolghi, Gilles Rouet, and Zsolt Radics, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 7 (Spring 2009): 144.

⁵ István Süli-Zakar, “The Role of the Euroregions and Eurometropolises in the Etheralization of the Borders in the Eastern Periphery of the European Union,” in “Europe and the Neighbourhood,” ed. Dorin Ioan Dolghi, Gilles Rouet, and Zsolt Radics, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 7 (Spring 2009): 143–144.

A common main purpose for a future Debrecen Eurometropolis – Oradea (2007–2013) is to establish a common cluster aimed at education – research – development – Innovative medical tourism at the level of the two cross-border communities.

In support of this approach by Prof. István Süli-Zakar, we come in support with another research that has been conducted at the level of the communities of Debrecen and Oradea at the level of 3 target groups: students, institutions and public opinion, namely the sample Representative at the level of Oradea.

For what we are interested in the educational dimension, the educational, academic-oriented research, we can view three relevant indicators, two of which are related to the educational part, namely the mobilities and the joint project at the level of the two counties, with a percentage of more than 50% for each of the three indicators as follows: information points 53,36%, organization of mobility 52,7% and common projects 59,6% at the Romanian side, and the other side of the border in Hungary information points 54,16%, organization of mobility 56,2% and common projects 60,2%⁶.

On the other hand, another quantitative result, which puts in the value of cross-border cooperation at academic level and more specifically between the University of Oradea (Romania) and the University of Debrecen (Hungary), even represents the programme of cooperation Cross-Border Hungary – Romania 2007–2013, where according to the projects implemented by the two neighbouring university centres, there was sustained cooperation that materialised by attracting more than EUR 20 million. From the point of view of the number of projects implemented by the University of Oradea, the University of Debrecen we have a distribution of 19 with 22 projects. And as budgets of implemented projects identify, an attraction of 9 816 349 euros at the University of Oradea and 10 779 436 euros at the University of Debrecen⁷.

Starting from the theoretical basis of cross-border cooperation set out at the beginning of the Article, by understanding the concept of CBC, its typology, going further and by customizing co-operation at the level of Romania and Hungary, the counties of Bihor (Romania) and Hajdú-Bihar (Hungary), the cities of Oradea (RO) and Debrecen (HU), and not least in the educational/academic field, which we focus on it mainly, identifying the two big university centers of Oradea and Debrecen, respectively.

A brief history of Romanian-Hungarian university collaboration, and especially of the two university centers representing our case study, starts from 1990, when Romanian-Hungarian relations have moved from closed borders to open borders, which has also been possible cross-border cooperation.

Cross-border co-operation is mainly the result of two university personalities, István Süli-Zakar (University of Debrecen, Hungary) and Ioan Horga (University of Debrecen, Romania). The two teachers have developed a series of co-operation, capitalize on conferences, conference volumes, books or even students from Oradea who studied at the PhD School led by Professor Süli-Zakar. Based on these collaborations in 2006, the two university professors lay the foundation stone for the Institute for Euroregional Studies Oradea – Debrecen (ISER/IERS), which is mainly aimed at studying the borders

⁶ Toca, 111.

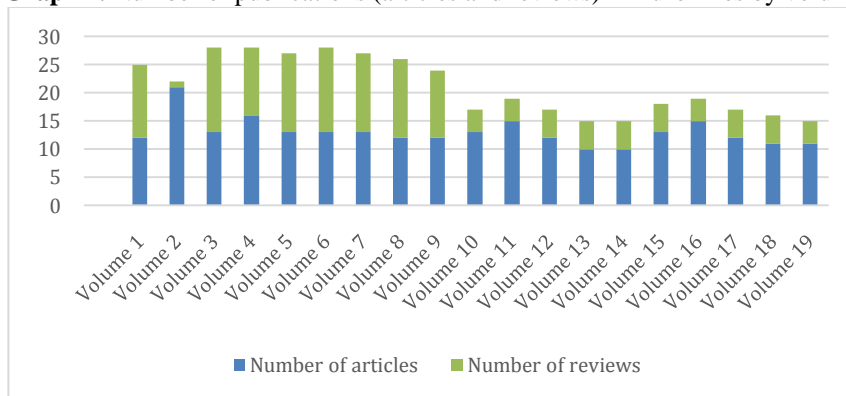
⁷ Hungary-Romania Cross-Border Cooperation Programme 2007–2013, “Financed Projects,” accessed July 02, 2019, http://www.huro-cbc.eu/en/financed_projects.

in its various aspects such as: social, economic, political, educational, as well as other areas of cross-border interest.

In this institute, *Eurolimes* magazine was also born, a magazine that was rated in international databases, and started to edit the first apple in the spring of 2006. 10 years after *Eurolimes* magazine was in the 20th shoulder of the magazine, Klára Czimre, makes a retrospective of the value he brought to the magazine. As statistical data of the magazine from its appearance to the number 20, in autumn 2015, 247 articles were presented by 317 authors plus 156 reviews of various books with specific characteristics in border analysis in general⁸.

In order to view a more accurate statistics on the appearance of the first 19 numbers of the *Eurolimes* journal, we will present a graph shown in this respect, according to **Graph 1**.

Graph 1. Number of publications (articles and reviews) in *Eurolimes* by volume



Source: Klára Czimre, “Reflections on *Eurolimes*: Ten Years and Twenty Issues,” in *Eurolimes: Theoretical Approaches and Borders’ Assessment*, ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 20 (Autumn 2015): 196.

In another order of ideas taking into consideration the fields, the theme on which the articles were written in *Eurolimes* we have a well-defined and at the same time diversified palette, which covers a very large area of border topics, as follows⁹:

- EU borders: internal versus external 21%,
- Institutional aspects 16%,
- Social and economic borders 16%,
- Intercultural and multicultural border issues 16%,
- Security dimension 11%,
- Border theories 10%,
- Border communications 10%.

⁸ Klára Czimre, “Reflections on *Eurolimes*: Ten Years and Twenty Issues,” in “*Eurolimes: Theoretical Approaches and Borders’ Assessment*,” ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 20 (Autumn 2015): 195.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.

The international coverage of the origin of first-volume authors is diversified, so 28% comes from Romania, and from Hungary we have 15%, the rest comes from European countries or different parts of the world, even from Chile or the USA¹⁰.

By going further along the cross-border cooperation line, especially at the level of those that give university under our investigation, the University of Oradea (Romania) and the University of Debrecen (Hungary), we would submit to our research all the volumes that were edited following international workshops, colleagues' books from the two university centers, or collaborations on a topic of common interest that resulted in all these types of books or volumes being edited by the two university centers on the topic of CBC.

As we have previously remembered the main promoters of this academic collaboration Prof. Ioan Horga, University of Oradea, and Prof. István Süli-Zakar, University of Debrecen, which we can say, that there were two people for a common goal, anticipating the motto of the Hungarian Cross-Border Cooperation Programme Hungary – Romania 2007–2013, “Two countries, one goal joint success!” The ultimate goal of this inter-academic cooperation and, in particular, through the grant of the Institute of Euroregional Studies, Eurolimes and events organised on CBC to develop at the level of the University of Oradea and the University of Debrecen a “Pole of Knowledge in Cross-Border Cooperation.”

Based on our research we have identified as a period of cooperation, as the first occurrence of a common volume, where Hungarian and Romanian colleagues published in the year 2001 and our research ends in the year 2018.

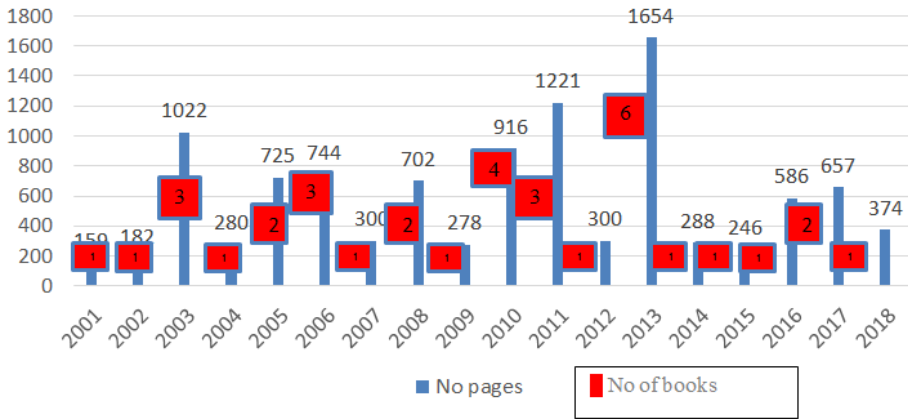
Thus taking the main indicators, the period 2001–2108 the number of volumes edited during each year, the number of pages that resulted, the most frequently used keywords, which incorporated both theoretical approaches to the cooperation and practical methodological dimension, where a number of results of the various research undertaken by colleagues from Oradea or Debrecen or other university centres have been presented, we have some relevant indicators for this cross-border academic cooperation as follows:

- 10344 pages edited,
- Volume with the shortest number of pages 156,
- The richest volume in terms of the number of pages counted 586 and was edited in the year 2016,
- The highest number of edited books took place in the year 2013, when we retrieve a number d 6 common books edited,
- The most used keywords in the edited common volumes were: cross-border cooperation, region, Euroregion or migration.

As quantitative data reported in two relevant indicators, the number of books edited annually and the number of pages annually resulting from the publication, is an impressive one and we will present it in **Graph 2**.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Graph 2. Volumes and number of pages edited by University of Oradea and University of Debrecen in the period 2001–2018



Source: Own development based on research results

As we can see from the graphical representation of **Graph 3**, there is a constant publication of a common book/volume at the level of the two neighbouring universities, but we also have 3 years (2005, 2008 and 2017), where the number of bilateral occurrences doubles. A more intensive activity with 3 annual appearances we have at the level of 2003, 2006 and 2011.

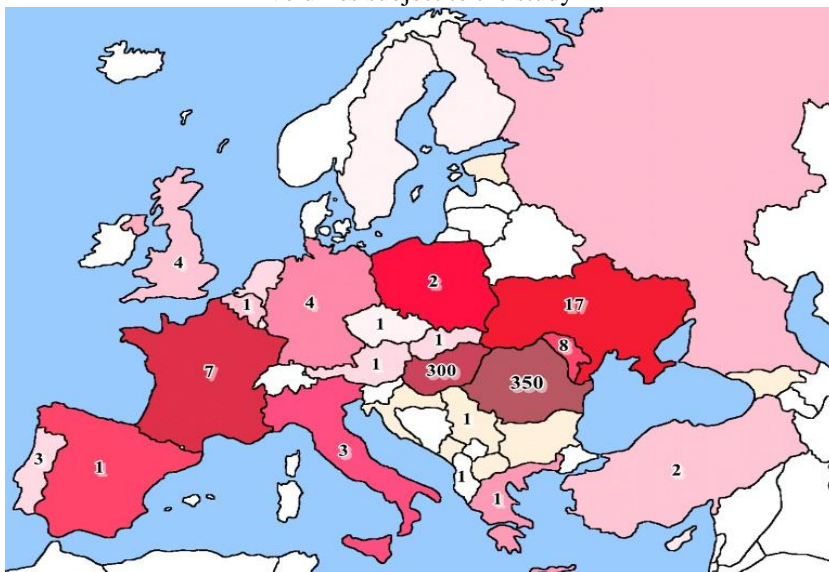
A fruitful year is 2010 when 4 volumes are published, and the most prolific year is 2013 when we have 6 volumes published, also this year we have a maximum number on published pages and more precisely 1654 pages edited.

If we look at the quantity of the academic contribution of the two university centers, the most prolific year taking into account the number of published pages, is the year 2013, with a total of 1654 pages, and a number of 6 volumes edited, the average per volume being of 275 pages, but if we take the average for the period 2001–2018, we have an average of 295 pages per volume, which is, that although it is the year with the highest editorial activity of the period submitted to the research, it is 20 pages per volume below the total average.

If we are viewing the year 2016, when we have as a common result editing only one volume, but it counts within its 586 pages, a dedicated volume in Honorem Professor Ioan Horga¹¹, who has viewed the European space as a whole through the border perspective as well as other topics of European interest.

¹¹ Mircea Brie, Alina Stoica, and Florentina Chirodea (eds), *The European Space: Borders and Issues. In Honorem Professor Ioan Horga* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2016).

Map 1. The geographic distribution of the authors that have contributed to the editing of the volumes subject to the study



Source: Own development based on the research of volumes edited between 2001–2018

As a geographical diversity of authors who contributed to the common volumes, there are more than 700 authors who have signed individual articles, or in collaboration with one or more colleagues from the same country or other countries, with the majority of colleagues in Europe. The main authors were from Romania and Hungary, a multitude of subjects having as a common element the Romanian–Hungarian border, or the borders of Romania and Hungary with their neighbours.

As statistical data on the authors we identify 350 authors of the Romanian side, 300 on the Hungarian side as well as authors from other countries such as: Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, United Kingdom, Italy Greece, Turkey, Russia, Serbia, Albania, etc. To view the geographic distribution map below is **Map 1**.

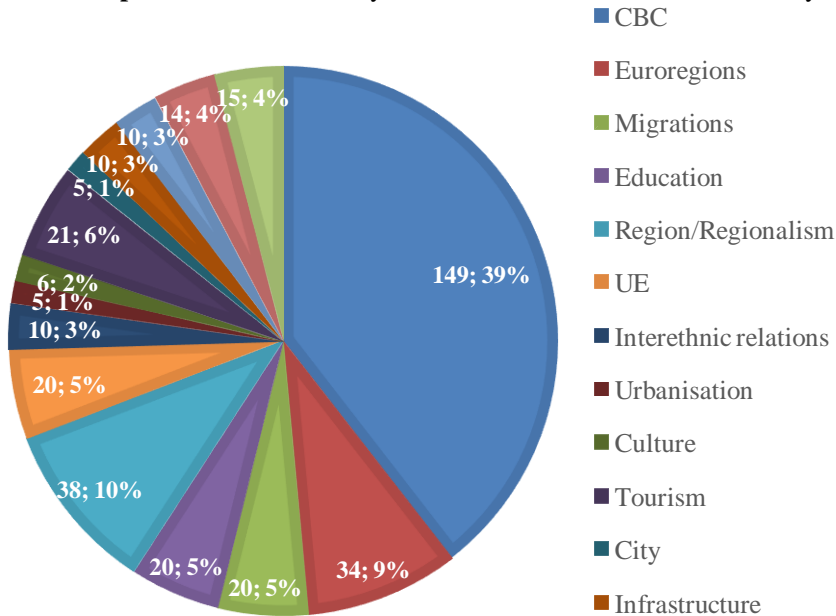
In addition to dedicated teachers or researchers in the field of border studies, as authors, also young researchers, doctorates or students at the level of their bachelor or master level have been involved in the development of volumes.

Based on the 35 volumes edited at the University of Oradea and the University of Debrecen, we have identified a number of research directions, of the most up to date and which are oriented towards the study of borders as well as the various areas that are to be found and apply to Europe's internal or external borders as follows:

- Cross-border cooperation, CBC methodologies, History of CBC,
- Border region, External and internal borders, EU borders,
- Competitions of towns on the two sides of border,
- Euroregion, Carpathian Euroregion, Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar Euroregion
- Regional differences / development,
- Human resources,
- Political geography,
- Social geography, Demography

- Development of settlements,
- Interethnic relations / connections / intercultural dialogue,
- Transport / infrastructure,
- Migrations,
- Tourism in border region,
- Economy in border region, Globalisation,
- International law.

Graph 3. The most used key words in the articles on the border study



Source: Own development based on the research of volumes edited between 2001–2018

Starting from these great research directions in the field of CBC, we have gone further with qualitative research and focused on another important indicator, trying to identify the most used keywords throughout the articles edited in the common volumes, As shown in **Graph 3**.

Further we will try to identify the most important keywords, or indicators that are directly related to borders and cross-border cooperation.

Thus, the great direction of research identified as Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC), where a number of authors wrote, using a number of key words, indicators aimed at this research direction, and thus recalling of the most important of them, and in parenthesis passing the frequency of their occurrences: cross-border cooperation (52), border (19), evaluation of CBC (14), Eastern Partnership EP (8), European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation EGTC (5), Romania – Hungary CBC (5), Hungary – Slovakia (3), Hungary – Ukraine CBC (2), new frontiers (3), Schengen borders (4), external borders (2), internal borders (1), transfrontalier cooperation (1), transnational cooperation (1), International relationship (1), the frontier relations at the crossing points (1), Debrecen – Oradea Cross-Border Cooperation (19), Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar Cross border cooperation (8).

As we can see from the results achieved the main direction of CBC research also attracts a number of other important indicators on this dimension, where a number of authors address this direction, so that we continue to make a review of authors who have published articles that have reached these indicators.

Professor Ioan Horga, one of the promoters of the collaboration of the two university centers in Oradea and Debrecen, is one of the main contributors to the Directorate of Cross-Border Cooperation CBC, he is reaching a number of topics and indicators specific to the field of research as follows: The Europe from exclusive to inclusive border approach, where it identifies several problems at European level, but also provides sustainable solutions through EU internal reforms, defining the European citizenship through an inclusive process, by reconciling the historical memory, building a common memory and in accepting diversity as dimension of a dynamic deontological code in which the notion of frontier has the meaning of dialog rather than of dispute¹²; European Union between the constraint of borders and global competition, the actuality of hard borders and the re-examination of soft border and EU need to deal with an even more complex global competition¹³; role and importance of borders in the regionalisation process of Romania¹⁴; frontiers and the multi – faces and multi-perspectives the European borders, and how the study of frontiers can provide further knowledge¹⁵; a bold and at the same time interesting approach refers to deepening/widening EU building versus Debordering/Rebordering of European frontiers¹⁶.

On the other hand, his counterpart professor emeritus István Süli-Zakar also made a remarkable contribution to the field of cross-border cooperation in general and especially to Romanian-Hungarian cooperation. Mr Professor's contribution had several directions for research of the Romanian-Hungarian border, firstly had a theoretical and historical approach to borders¹⁷, on the other hand the regional dimension, regions of

¹² Ioan Horga and Dana Pantea, "Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers," in "Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers," ed. Gerard Delanty, Dana Pantea, and Károly Teperics, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 4 (Autumn 2007): 6–11; Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie, "Europe between Exclusive Borders and Inclusive Frontiers," *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai. Studia Europaea* (2010): 63–86.

¹³ Ioan Horga, "European Union between the Constraint of Borders and Global Competition," in "European Union between the Constraint of Borders and Global Competition," ed. Ioan Horga and Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) Supl. 3 (2011): 5–13.

¹⁴ Ioan Horga and Ana Maria Costea, "The Role of the Borders in Romanian Regionalization," in "Regionalization in Globalization," Supplement No. 1, *Transylvanian Review XXIV* (2015): 163–174.

¹⁵ Ioan Horga, "New Narration of the EU Frontiers," in *The Image of the Other in the European Intercultural Dialogue*, ed. Dana Pantea, Ioan Horga, and Mircea Brie, 37–59, accessed July 16, 2019, <http://eiab.de/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/The-Image-of-the-Other-in-the-European-Intercultural-Dialogue.pdf#page=37>.

¹⁶ Ioan Horga, "Deepening/Widening EU Building versus Debordering/Rebordering of EU Frontiers," in "Communicating the EU Policies beyond the Borders," ed. Ioan Horga, Ariane Landuyt, Supplement of *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) (2013): 25–35.

¹⁷ Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, "Still Eurolimes!" in "Eurolimes: Theoretical Approaches and Borders Assessment," ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 20 (Autumn 2015): 5–19; Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Cross-Border Partnership with Special Regard to the Border* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadója, 2008): 7–12; Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Cross-Border Partnership with Special Regard to the Hungarian – Romanian – Ukrainian Tripartite Border* (Debrecen / Oradea: University of Debrecen Press, University of Oradea Press, 2010).

Europe, regional policy and Cohesion, as well as regional development from the national perspective to the European perception, and not least the Neighbourhood Policy¹⁸, even an analysis by which it brings out a number of problems at the level of Romanian–Hungarian cross-border cooperation¹⁹.

Also in analysing the concept of Border and Cross-Border Cooperation, we have another important author, Luminița Șoproni that addresses the Romanian-Hungarian border as a connection or delimitation element for the post-adhesion of Romania and Hungary process, this being a research question, a working hypothesis²⁰.

As part of cross-border cooperation, Euroregions have been an important form of cross-border cooperation since 50, and have been promoted and made operational in the Western European countries. Romania has become active and has developed such forms of cross-border co-operation mainly after 1989. For our target area, the Romanian–Hungarian border we take a look at three major Euroregions:

-The Carpathian Euroregion, which was established in 1993 on the proposal of 6 chambers of commerce and industry in the Euroregion, being one of the largest Euroregions in Europe with the participation of 5 countries,

-Euroregion Bihor Hajdú Bihar, established in 2002 at the initiatives of the Bihor County Council and local self-government Hajdú – Bihar,

-The Euroregion Danube – Criș – Mureș – Tisa, established in 1977 at the initiatives of 9 members, county councils and an autonomous province of Serbia, in total being a participation of three neighbouring countries, Hungary, Romania and Serbia.

The Euroregions present at the Romanian-Hungarian border, in particular, as well as Romania's Euroregions with neighbouring countries, have been a favourable ground for future cross-border research aimed at these forms of cooperation, the Euroregions. Thus a number of authors took in their scientific analysis Euroregions.

István Süli-Zakar has paid particular attention to the Carpathian Euroregion, and he is also an expert of this Euroregion, dedicating a series of studies through which he put on the map of European regions this Euroregion as an example of cross-border²¹

¹⁸ Edited by István Süli-Zakar, Ioan Horga, *Regional Development in the Romanian – Hungarian Cross-Border and Space from National to European Perspective* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadója, 2006); Ioan Horga Iordan Gh. Bărbulescu, Adrian Ivan, Mykolia Palinchak, István Süli-Zakar, eds, *Regional and Cohesion Policy. Insight into the Role of the Partnership Principle in the New Policy Design* (Debrecen/Oradea: University of Debrecen Press/University of Oradea Press, 2011); István Süli-Zakar, “Regions for the United Europe,” in “Europe and Its Border: Historical Perspective,” ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 1 (Spring 2006): 16–33; Ioan Horga, Grigore Silași, István Süli-Zakar, and Stanisław Sagan, eds, *The European Parliament. Intercultural Dialogue and European Neighbourhood Policy* (Oradea: University of Oradea Press, 2009).

¹⁹ István Süli-Zakar, “The Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation in the Hungarian – Romanian Border Region,” in *Regionalism and the Europe of the Future Experiences, Challenges and Possibilities* (Copenhagen, Christiansborg Palace, Denmark, 1994), 33–44.

²⁰ Luminița Șoproni and Ioan Horga, “The Romanian – Hungarian Border, Link or Delimitation for the Post-adhesion Process of Romania and Hungary?” in “Europe and Its Economic Frontier,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, Angelo Santagostino, and Ernő Molnár, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 8 (Autumn 2009): 43–56.

²¹ István Süli-Zakar, *A Kárpátok Eurorégió a régiók Európájában* [The Carpathian Euroregion in the Europe of the Regions], *Educatio* (Budapest Oktatáskutató Intézet [Institute for Educational Research]) VI, no. 3 (1997): 438–452; István Süli-Zakar, James Corrigan, and Csaba Béres, “The

cooperation, from another perspective the historical dimension of Euroregion, its evolution is being analysed, the teacher performing a series of qualitative and quantitative content analyses at 5 years, 15 years after the establishment of the Euroregion²², regional development in the Euroregion being another target dimension, here meeting 5 partner countries there being a very large analysis space²³, the analysis of socio-geographic transition in the Carpathian Euroregion²⁴, cultural identity and diversity²⁵, human mobility, minorities migration²⁶.

Another Euroregion on the Romanian-Hungarian border, the Euroregion Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar, has raised the interest of many Romanian and Hungarian researchers who have addressed this form of cross-border cooperation from different point of view/areas of cross-border interest such as: the quality of environmental factors,²⁷ the field of media, in

Carpathian Euroregion (An Example of Cross-Border Co-operation),” *European Spatial Research and Policy* 4, no. 1 (1997): 113–124.

²² István Süli-Zakar, “A Kárpátok Eurorégió 5 éve. Eurorégiókról dióhéjban” [5 years of the Carpathian Euroregion. About of our Euroregion in a Nutshell], in *A Kárpátok Eurorégió 5 éve* [The Carpathian Euroregion for 5 years] (Nyíregyháza, 1998), 52–58; István Süli-Zakar, “Euroregion Karpacki w Europie Regionów” [The Carpathian Euroregion in the Europe of Regions], in *Piec lat dialogue I wspólracy Euroregion Karpacki 1993–1998* [Carpathian Euroregion 1993–1998. Five years of dialogue and cooperation], ed. Piotr Helinski (Krosno, 1998), 87–93; István Süli-Zakar and David Turnock, “The Carpathian Euroregion 1993–1998,” *Regions* (Regional Studies Association, London, UK) no. 221 (1999): 31–38; István Süli-Zakar and Klára Czimre, eds, *Carpathian Euroregion. Borders in the Region – Cross-Border Cooperation* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2001); István Süli-Zakar, *Kárpátok Eurorégió 15 év a határokon átívelő kapcsolatok fejlesztéséért / Carpatian Euroregion: 15 years for Development of Cross-Border Cooperation / Evroregion Karpati – 15 Rokiv za rozvitok transkordonnih vidnosin* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2008).

²³ István Süli-Zakar and David Turnock, “Regional Development in the Carpathian Euroregion,” *Regions* (Regional Studies Association, London, UK) no. 222 (1999): 24–29; István Süli-Zakar, Klára Czimre, and Károly Teperics, “Regionalism in Central Europe: The Study of the Carpathian Euroregion from the Aspect of Human Relations,” in *Regional Potentials in an Integrating Europe* (Bilbao, Spain: Regional Studies Association, 1999), 139–140.

²⁴ István Süli-Zakar, “Socio-geographical Transition in the Rural Areas of the Carpathian Euroregion,” *GeoJournal* 46, no. 3 (1999): 193–197; István Süli-Zakar, “Regionalism and Cross-Border Cooperations in the Carpathian Basin,” *Hungary towards the 21st Century*, ed. Zoltán Kovács (Budapest: Geographical Research Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences Budapest, 2000), 71–85.

²⁵ István Süli-Zakar, Klára Czimre, and Károly Teperics, “Cultural Identity and Diversity in the Carpathian Euroregion,” in *Cultural Uniqueness and Regional Economy: The Labour Market in a Regional Context* (CURE3-Conference 22-24 November 2000, Leeuwarden/Ljouwert, The Netherlands, ed. Engbert Boneschanker (Leeuwarden/Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 2000), 87–88.

²⁶ István Süli-Zakar, Klára Czimre, and Károly Teperics, “Human Mobility on the Area of the Carpathian Euroregion: Migrating Minorities,” in *Human Mobility in a Borderless World?* (Conference of the International Geographical Union Study Group “Global Change and Human Mobility”), ed. Armando Montanari (Loreto Aprutino, Pescara: Università “G. d’Annunzio” Dipartimento di Economia e Storia del Territorio, 2001), 164–172.

²⁷ Ambrus Attila, *Calitatea factorilor de mediu în Euroregiunea Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar* [Quality of environmental factors in the Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar Euroregion] (Oradea: Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2010).

the context of cross-border cooperation, and as a target group of research Bihorean media in the regional context²⁸ is being analysed.

Among the authors who approached cross-border cooperation at the level of this Euroregion, Cristina Dogot²⁹ emphasized effective cooperation at the level of Euroregion Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar through various joint actions highlighting good neighbourly relations in the first place, and hence the efficiency of cross-border results in this area.

The analysis of Euroregions is also complemented by other authors who highlight a number of elements such as the legal dimension of this form of cross-border cooperation³⁰, which is not covered by the NUTS European system, objectives and main areas of activity, the typology Of Euroregions, case studies of this form of cross-border cooperation, examples of cross-border and cross-border cooperation, and other elements of the EU's³¹ internal or external borders, as well as other defining Euroregions.

A very interesting and important research niche that is directly linked to border regions and directly related to peripheral studies, so that János Péntzes of the University of Debrecen addresses the concept of periphery and the theories of this concept from several points of view, such as the importance of peripheral areas and their importance in the reconstruction of Central Europe³², the delimitation of peripheral areas, by identifying dilemmas on one side, as well as the opportunities on the other hand, with the study areas of the periphery being carried out at the borders of Hungary and beyond³³.

The cross-border educational dimension occupies a leading place in the area of cross-border cooperation, where a number of subjects of interest are addressed for learning mobility Cross-border in various fields of study³⁴, analysis of the various

²⁸ Luminița Șoproni, “The Romanian – Hungarian Cross-Border Cooperation in the Regional Press of Bihor County,” in “Media, Intercultural Dialogue and the New Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Fabienne Maron, Renaud de La Brosse, Luminița Șoproni, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 3 (Spring 2007): 76–85.

²⁹ Cristina-Maria Dogot, “La collaboration transfrontalière dans l’Eurorégion Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar,” in *L’Europe Unie: Revue d’études européennes* no. 1 (2007): 40–42.

³⁰ Alexandru Ilieș and Marius Tătar, “Euroregions with Territorial Romanian Participants,” in *Tájak-Régiók-Települések – Tisztelegés a 75 éves Enyedi György akadémikus előtt* [Landscapes, regions, municipalities – A tribute to 75 years old Enyedi György academician] (Debrecen, Kiado Didakt Kft, 2005), 47–50; Alexandru Ilieș, *România. Euroregiuni* [Romania. Euroregions] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea 2004), 5–27.

³¹ Constantin-Vasile Țoca and Klára Czimre, “Cross-Border Cooperation at the EU Internal and External Borders,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre, and Vasile Cucerescu, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 20 (Autumn 2016): 7–20.

³² János Péntzes, “The Dimensions of Peripheral Areas and Their Restructuring in Central Europe,” *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin* 62, no. 4 (2013): 373–386.

³³ János Péntzes, István Zoltán Pásztor, and Patrik Tátrai, “Demographic Processes of Developmentally Peripheral Areas in Hungary,” *Stanovištvo* 53, no. 2 (2015): 107–111, accessed July 13, 2019, <https://www.idn.org.rs/ojs3/stanovnistvo/index.php/STNV/article/view/88/79>.

³⁴ Károly Teperics, “Educational Cooperations along the Hungarian–Romanian–Ukrainian Border,” in “From Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers,” ed. Gerard Delanty, Dana Pantea, and Károly Teperics, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 4 (Autumn 2004): 37–45; Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Teperics Károly, and Czimre Klára, “The Role of the Universities of Oradea and Debrecen in Attracting Foreign Students in the Field of Medicine,” accessed July 10, 2029, https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/62062/1/MPRA_paper_62062.pdf; Károly Teperics and Czimre Klára, “Study-Driven Migration in the Modern World Economy,” in *Third Mission of Higher*

European instruments promoting studies at European level³⁵, such as the Lifelong Learning Policy, or Erasmus, basic elements of European educational policies³⁶.

From the point of view of university educational institutions on the Romanian-Hungarian border, walking along the historical line, we cannot fail to remember an important moment of academic life in Oradea, through the prism of the legal Academy which in its history represents an essential educational pillar at the Romanian-Hungarian border³⁷.

From an economic point of view, the cross-border dimension is also well represented at the borders of Europe in general³⁸, of Romania, and not least at the Romanian-Hungarian border³⁹, as well as the introduction of a key concept at global level

Education in a Cross-Border Region, ed. Gabriella Pusztai, Adrian Hatos, and Tímea Ceglédi, (Debrecen: Center for Higher Education Research and Development – Hungary (CHERD-Hungary), University of Debrecen, 2012), 80–93; Károly Teperics, Klára Czimre, and István Zoltan Pásztor, “Crossing Borders in Education: Information Flow in the Hungarian – Romanian Border Region,” in “Communication and European Frontiers,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, George Tsourvakas, and Klára Czimre, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 12 (Autumn 2011): 148–160; Klára Czimre, Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Roland Hegedűs, and Károly Teperics, “Impacts of Study-Driven International Migration on Cross-Border Co-operations – Case Study: Debrecen-Oradea,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre, and Vasile Cucerescu, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016).

³⁵ Mariana Buda, “European Studies – Different Developments at the Region Borders,” accessed July 26, 2019, https://mpr.aub.uni-muenchen.de/63032/1/MPRA_paper_63032.pdf.

³⁶ Florentina Chirodea and Constantin-Vasile Țoca, “Promoting Intercultural Dialogue through Lifelong Learning,” accessed July 20, 2019, https://mpr.aub.uni-muenchen.de/62064/1/MPRA_paper_62064.pdf.

³⁷ Florentina Chirodea, *Învățământul superior la granița de vest a României Mari. Academia de Drept din Oradea (1919–1934)* [Higher Education at the Western Border of Great Romania. Oradea Academy of Law (1919–1934)] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011), 7–28; Florentina Chirodea, “Higher Education Institutions at the Romanian – Hungarian Border Prior to the War: Academy of Law Oradea,” in *Cross-Border Partnership: With Special Regard to the Hungarian – Romanian – Ukrainian Tripartite Border*, ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar (Oradea: University of Oradea Press, 2010), 89–94; Florentina Chirodea, “The Role of Universities from the North–Western Romania in the Development of Regional Knowledge-based Economies,” accessed July 13, 2019, https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/42430/ssoar-transview-2014-Suppl.%202-chirodea-The_role_of_universities_from.pdf?sequence=1; Florentina Chirodea, “Academy of Law from Oradea during the Period of Transition from the Hungarian to the Romanian Authorities (1919–1921),” accessed July 18, 2019, <https://ideas.repec.org/p/pr/a/mprapa/44856.html>; Florentina Chirodea, “The Study Documents – Sources for a History of the Interwar Higher Education in Transylvania. Case Study: The Oradea Academy of Law,” accessed July 18, 2019, https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/42207/ssoar-2012-chirodea-The_study_documents_-_sources.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y&lnkname=ssoar-2012-chirodea-The_study_documents_-_sources.pdf.

³⁸ Luminița Șoproni and Constantin-Vasile Țoca, “The Role of the Economic Borders in Contemporary International Relations,” *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Studia Europaea* no. 2 (2017): 121–134.

³⁹ Luminița Șoproni, “The Romanian – Hungarian Border, Link or Delimitation for the Post-Adhesion Process of Romania and Hungary?” *Analele Universității „Constantin Brâncuși” din Târgu-Jiu, Seria Litere și Științe Sociale* no. 1 (2010), accessed July 19, 2019,

in the survey of borders, namely globalization. On the other hand, the global economic crisis is being considered and proposed as an assumption, cause for redefinition of borders and financial communication⁴⁰, or on the other hand, the importance of international institutions and, in particular, those with an economic profile, in the economic creation of regions as well as regional development⁴¹.

As research shows, the economic factor is one of the important and essential elements in the development of the regions, an element which touches on an indicator that shows the quality of life of citizens living in a given region, and in our case, the regions which are on the one side of the internal or external borders of the European Union.

Another important area of cross-border research, which is directly related to the economic field, is marketing, and a concept specific to the cross-border area is territorial marketing.

A series of research has been carried out in this direction targeting the two neighbouring cities, the Romanian-Hungarian border Oradea and Debrecen⁴², focusing on the importance of territorial marketing its role in the development of cross-border regions.

Another niche researched at the level of the Bihor-Hajdú Bihar Euroregion is tourism, which is analysed from several points of view: health tourism: medical, fitness and wellness tourism, professional tourism, eco-tourism, heritage and cultural tourism, country-hunting-and fishing tourism, bicycle-water-and equestrian tourism, mountain

http://www.utgjiu.ro/revista/lit/pdf/2010-01/26_LUMINITA_SOPRONI.pdf; János Péntzes and Ernő Molnár, “Analysis of the Economical Potential in Bihor and Hajdú-Bihar Counties,” in “Europe from Exclusive Border to Inclusive Frontier,” ed. Gerard Delanty, Dana Pantea, and Károly Teperics, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 4 (Autumn 2007); János Péntzes, Gergely Tagai, and Ernő Molnár, “Effects of Unifying Economic Space on the Border Areas of Hungary,” in *Dimensions and Trends in Hungarian Geography: Dedicated to the 31st International Geographical Congress, Tunis, 12-15 August 2008*, ed. Ádám Kertész and Zoltán Kovács (Budapest: Geographical Research Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2008), 223–238.

⁴⁰ Luminița Șoproni, “The World Economic Crisis – Key Moment for Redefining the Borders of Financial Communication,” in “Communication and European Frontier,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, George Tsourvakas, and Klára Czimre, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 12 (2011): 135–147.

⁴¹ Zsolt Radics, “The Effect of Free-Trade Organizations on the Economic Formation of Regions and the Regional Development in Central Europe,” in *Problemi Regionalnog razvoja Hrvatske i susjednih zemalja – knjiga sazetaka* [Regional development problems in Croatia and neighbouring countries – book of abstracts] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko Geografsko Društvo, 2002), 21.

⁴² Luminița Șoproni, “Branding a Border City: The Territorial Marketing Strategy of the City of Oradea,” in “Territorial Marketing at the European Borders,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, Klára Czimre, and Khristina Prytula, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 25 (Spring 2018): 13–25; Gábor Kozma and Ernő Molnár, “Role of Border Regions in the Economic Development of Debrecen,” in “Territorial Marketing at the European Borders,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, Klára Czimre, and Khristina Prytula, *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 25 (Spring 2018): 31–37; Gábor Kozma, “Place Marketing in Hungary: The Case Study of Debrecen,” in *European Spatial Research and Policy* 16, no. 1 (2009): 59–74; Gábor Kozma, *Place Marketing: For Geographers and Geography Teachers* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2006); Gábor Kozma, “The Use of Cross-Border Cooperation and Border Location in Place Marketing,” in *Challenges and Perspectives in the Regional and Euroregional Issues in the New Europe*, ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar (Oradea/Debrecen: Institute for Euroregional Studies Oradea-Debrecen, 2006), 153–160.

tourism, caving, spa tourism, educational tourism: general educational tourism, adult study tours, international and domestic university and school students travel, foreign study trips and excursion organized by language schools, school excursion, student exchange programs, international student mobility, shopping tourism, etc.⁴³

With the migratory wave from conflict zones and in particular the conflict in Syria, but also in the African countries area⁴⁴, with Europe, a number of researchers allocate particular attention to the borders and especially to external border security European Union as well as at internal borders, all of which relate to a secure EU⁴⁵ external borders. Thus, the migration phenomenon involves a series of research among the most diverse including a high-performance monitoring system for migrants⁴⁶, SIS, VIS, EURODAC. Here stands out the concept of security that can be said to be a trigger factor, and at the same time a result of changes in the borders of the European Union. Alongside the above-mentioned systems an important role in border control and the implication of migrants' flow is the institutional dimension, here recalling FRONTEX.

The contemporary period in which we live is also assimilated to the age of speed, modern technologies and in particular communications using ICT, and digitisation elements, the increasing computerization of all the elements that are found in the day life, with the aim of making all everyday things work as effectively as possible and making them more effective. Thus, there are a number of topical areas at European level that are implicitly

⁴³ Constantin-Vasile Țoca, 87–88; Zsolt Radics, Balázs Kulcsar, and Gábor Kozma, “Communication between Settlements in the Center Part of Hungarian-Romanian Border – Tourism and Renewable Energy,” in “Communication and European Frontiers,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, George Tsourvakas, and Klára Czimre, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 12 (Autumn 2011): 121–130; Gábor Kozma, Gábor Michalkó, and Zsolt Radics, “Tourism and Local Governments in Hungary: The Position of Tourism in Local Council Committees of Local Governments,” *Polish Journal of Sports and Tourism* 19 (2012), accessed July 13, 2019, <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/pjst.2012.19.issue-3/v10197-012-0020-3/v10197-012-0020-3.pdf>.

⁴⁴ Edina Lilla Mészáros, “The Dilemma of Securitisation of the EU’s Southern Borders: Shall We Let Them In or Shall We Keep Them Out, or the European Way of Dealing with the North African Immigrants,” in “A Security Dimension as Trigger and Result of Frontiers Modifications,” ed. Giuliana Laschi, Alexis Vahlas, and Dorin I. Dolghi, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 15 (2013); Dorin I. Dolghi and Federica Oliva, “The Integration of Western Balkans in the European Union. A Securitization Approach,” in “Communication and European Frontiers,” ed. Luminița Șoproni, George Tsourvakas, and Klára Czimre, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 12 (Autumn 2011): 107–120.

⁴⁵ Edina Lilla Mészáros, “Security Dimension of New EU External Communication: The Duplicity of Borders as Surveillance and Access Points,” in “Communicating the EU Policies beyond the Borders. Proposals for Constructive Neighbour Relations and the New EU’s External Communication Strategy,” ed. Ioan Horga and Ariane Landuyt (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2013), 209–236.

⁴⁶ Edina Lilla Mészáros, “An Assessment of the Existent Databases and Instruments for Registering and Monitoring Immigrants in the EU: The Schengen Information System (SIS), the Visa Information System (VIS), Eurodac and the Creation of Frontex,” in “Migration at the European Borders,” ed. Florentina Chirodea, Marta Pachoka, and Kozma Gábor, *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 23-24 (Spring-Autumn 2017); Edina Lilla Mészáros, “What Prospects of EU Membership for the Western Balkan Countries in the Midst of the Current Refugee/Migration Crisis?”, Supplement no. 1, *Research and Science Today* (2017): 61–78.

affecting borders, cross-border cooperation such as: electronic borders, digital Agenda for Europe, cyberspace, digital policies as an important tool the contemporary period⁴⁷.

In conclusion, we can say that based on the research carried out at the level of the two cross-border university centers, the University of Oradea and the University of Debrecen, there has been an ever stronger link since the fall of communism since 1990. However, according to the results, sustained academic collaboration started with 2001, and especially after 2007 with the setting up of the Institute for Euro-Regional Studies, so that after 2001 more than 35 volumes have been written with CBC topics, related areas identified and associated key words, study directions in this cross-border field.

The multitude of articles and researchers mainly Romanians and Hungarians from the two university centers, but also researchers or teachers in Europe, managed to provide a range of case studies, solutions, indicators to enhance existing cross-border collaboration, and based on case studies and best practice examples to recommend a range of solutions for future cross-border and more efficient cooperation across borders in general and in the counties of Bihor – Hajdú-Bihar, and Debrecen and in Oradea in particular.

So the results obtained in 2001–2018, recommend the two university centers, the University of Oradea and the University of Debrecen, as the Pole of knowledge in Cross-Border Cooperation, as well as an example of good practice in studying CBC.

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⁴⁷ Mirela Mărcuț, “Social Inclusion and Social Frontiers in the Digital Age – How Can EU's Digital Agenda Help?” in “The Social Frontiers of Europe,” ed. Mircea Brie, Klára Czimre, and Bogumiła Mucha-Leszko, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 17 (Spring 2014); Mirela Mărcuț, “Digital Policies as Instruments in the European Integration Process,” *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene* IX (2017), accessed July 29, 2019, http://analerise.igri.ro/resurse/reviste/2017/Anale_2017.pdf#page=169; Mirela Mărcuț and Luminița Șoproni, “Permeable Frontiers and Impermeable Boundaries at the Digital Level: The Digital Agenda for Europe, the EU's Electronic Frontier,” in “Permeability and Impermeability of Socio-economic Frontiers within European Union,” ed. Violaine Delteil, Cristina-Maria Dogot, and Philippe Perchoc, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 13 (Spring 2012).

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Features of the Formation and Functioning of Value Added Chains in the EU-Ukraine Cross-Border Area

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Abstract. *In today's globalised world, the key to a successful development of the country is its entry into the global value chains (GVCs). The processes of globalisation cause competition that is not only between the countries of the world, but between regions, cities and even companies. The European integration intentions of Ukraine, which were updated with the signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, opened the door for greater access of Ukrainian enterprises to the world market. Ukraine has had the opportunity to participate in certain stages of production chains, including large multinational corporations. In this context, the article analyses theoretical principles and practical recommendations for increasing the participation of cross-border regions of Ukraine in GVCs.*

The article deals with various scientific approaches to the evaluation of the participation in GVCs. The classification of GVCs is proposed. The place of Ukraine in the world according to separate indicators of the World Competitiveness Index, which concern the participation of countries in GVCs, is outlined. The research of foreign economic activity of the largest enterprises of the border regions of Ukraine has been carried out. Special attention is paid to their cooperation with Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Belarus and Moldova. The role of clusters, including cross-border ones, in GVCs has been outlined. Recommendations for activating the participation of cross-border regions of Ukraine in GVCs are proposed.

Key words: *cross-border space, global value chains, cross-border clusters, globalization, cross-border cooperation*

Introduction

The role of regions is rapidly continuing to grow in conditions of dynamic development of global economy, activation of integration processes in global economic space and intensification of interregional cooperation. Border location of territories, opening of European markets starting from 2014 and available production capacity of development, etc. are meant to become the competitive advantages of Ukrainian regions that border EU Member States. However, strengthening of borders transparency and attractiveness of labour markets and educational services are the factors that boost the processes of outflow of qualified workforce and youth to the border areas of adjoining

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countries and impact the forming of exports with insignificant value added. It is a serious threat to economic security of the country and its regions.

Disparities in the capacities of regions' development and ability to adapt to current challenges of external market conditions as well as quick change of technological modes stipulate both forming and strengthening of unequal development of Ukrainian regions. Analysis of GRP per capita level across regions compared to average rate in Ukraine in 2000–2016 shows that almost each second region is depressive (if the rate is less than 75% of the average rate in Ukraine) and each fourth resident of the country lives in such regions. In four out of six border regions adjoining EU Member States, the rate ranges between 42–67% of the average rate in Ukraine. Only in Lvivska and Odeska oblasts, it amounts to 80–90%. Evaluation of regions' diversification by the level of socio-economic development based on the calculated variation coefficient of GDP per capita, which demonstrates the deviation from the average rate in Ukraine, shows that regions' differentiation tended to grow in each of the examined periods (excluding the crisis years 2009 and 2011–2013). An aggregate is quantitatively homogeneous if variation coefficient is below 10%, and variability is significant if it exceeds 25%. It exceeded the threshold value in every year under research. Poor capacity of internal regional markets, the urgency of structural and technological modernization of industry, the need to improve the labour productivity stipulates the search for new mechanisms to stimulate socio-economic development of regions, including the border ones.

The paper aims to research theoretical foundations and develop practical recommendations in terms of forming of global value chains in the EU-Ukraine cross-border space.

Integration into global value chains (GVCs) is the modern feature of the countries' economic development. It is stipulated by globalisation of economic processes and development of digital technologies. We understand global value chain as the consequence of interconnected types of activity related to creation of added value (from the idea of production of some goods or services to their delivery to final consumers) located at least in two countries.

Nowadays we can allocate two major arguments for the importance of analysis of GVCs' forming and functioning¹. In the first place, GVCs open new opportunities for the developing countries to expand their participation in global trade and export diversification. Historically, developing countries usually export raw materials or products with low added value. Therefore, establishing of the full cycle of production of a certain product would require time and substantial financial and human inflows. At the same time, an opportunity to integrate into certain parts of value chain allows developing countries to export mostly manufactured goods. Nevertheless, only several developing countries are deeply integrated into GVCs. China serves as one of the most vivid examples. Moreover, analysis of added value in trade and GVCs allows avoiding the "double counting" and evaluation of real trade volumes. Almost 28% of gross exports consist of added value imported by countries for further inclusion in goods and services to be exported.²

¹ World Bank Group et al., *Global Value Chains and Development. Measuring and Analyzing the Impact of GVCs on Economic Development*, accessed May 15, 2019, https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/gvcs_report_2017.pdf.

² United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), *Global Value Chains and Development. Investment and Value Added Trade in the Global Economy. A Preliminary Analysis*, accessed May 10, 2019, https://www.unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/diae2013d1_en.pdf.

Despite some controversial nature of modern tendencies of integration into global value chains, trade within GVCs accounts for about 60–67% of global trade in terms of added value. It shows the importance of such phenomenon.

After World War II, the paces of global trade growth had exceeded several times the GDP growth up to 2012. Afterwards the paces almost converged. In the first place, production fall in various countries in complex GVCs was the reason³. In the second place, unlike the components of economic growth of previous periods, after-crisis revival of economy was caused mostly by traditional trade for meeting internal demand and internal production in the United States of America and several large developing economies like China. Thirdly, participation in simple GVCs was uneven: it was growing in some developed economies and falling in most developing countries.

Global financial crises resulted in strengthening of protectionism tendencies in the countries' foreign economic policies. In addition to that, import substitution processes intensified in most developing countries along with technological innovations and reorganization. It deepened the international division of labour primarily among large developed countries like Japan and the USA. These tendencies also impact the changes in sectoral structure of production: in particular, the shares of primary and secondary markets slightly grow.

Researching the preconditions of emergence of global value chains in Ukraine and in the world we can name the following of them:

- globalization processes;
- signing the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (for Ukraine, in particular);
- processes of foreign trade liberalization;
- development of information and communication technologies;
- development of outsourcing;
- fragmentation of production processes;
- development of creative industries;
- innovations.

Classification of value chains

With the purpose of further research of possible value added types and their identification, we deem it necessary to classify them:

1. By integration type:
 - *vertically integrated* – consolidation with other companies located on the consequent stages of technological process of production and sales;
 - *horizontally integrated* – expansion of economic activity scales through consolidation with producers of the same products (competitors);
 - *mixed* – have peculiar elements of vertical and horizontal integration.
2. By the level of participation in production cycle:
 - *with complete vertical integration* – integration at all stages of industry chain;
 - *with partial vertical integration* – integration only at some stages of industry chain;
3. Depending on the entities in technological process:
 - *chains with direct integration* – integration with mediators, i.e. forming of the networks of products distribution with the view to secure the sales control;

³ World Bank Group et al.

- *chains with reverse integration* – integration with suppliers with the view to control the delivery of raw materials for production.
4. By the chain driving entity (by G. Gereffi)⁴:
 - *producer-driven* – peculiar to high technology industries;
 - *buyer-driven* – formed around large retail companies or successful brands.
 5. By the level of complexity (by J.T. Mentzer)⁵:
 - *direct supply chain* – involves a company and its supplier and clients;
 - *extended supply chain* – involves a company, its supplier and clients at several levels;
 - *ultimate supply chain* – comprises all organisations involved in the flows from the initial supplier to final consumer.
 6. By key governance types (by G. Gereffi)⁶:
 - *market chains* – where the cost of the search for new partner is low;
 - *modular chains* – where products are manufactured according to detail specification of a customer;
 - *rational chains (chains based on relations)* – where there is a complex cooperation of seller and buyer;
 - *captive chains* – where small suppliers depend on large buyers;
 - *hierarchy chains* – where governance is vertically integrated.
 7. By key governance types (by R. Kaplinski)⁷:
 - *chains with legislative governance* – with established rules and conditions of participation;
 - *chains with controlled governance* – with systemic control of functioning of all links;
 - *chains with executive governance* – with support to participants of a chain to adhere to general rules.

Research of Ukraine's position in the world by certain parameters of Global Competitiveness Index

Currently the search for the methods to evaluate the participation of countries and regions in GVCs is a relevant issue for scientists. It is related to globalization of production that causes repeated accounting of the cost of products that cross the borders for further processing.

There are two main approaches to the measurement of GVC participation:

- *is based on the collection of survey data for a specific firm or product;*
- *is based on IO tables:*
 - the World Input-Output Database (WIOD) – provides world input-output tables for each year since 1995 covering 43 countries;

⁴ Gary Gereffi, "The Governance of Global Value Chains," *Review of International Political Economy* 12, no. 1 (2005): 78–104.

⁵ John T. Mentzer, *Supply Chain Management* (Thousand Oaks, CA, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001), 56–73.

⁶ Gereffi, 78–104.

⁷ Raphael Kaplinsky, "Spreading the Gains of Globalization: What Can Be Learned from Value Chain Analysis," *IDS Working Paper* (2000): 1–37.

- OECD/WTO Trade in Value Added database: harmonised national Input-Output Tables (IOTs). This includes all OECD countries and 28 non-member economies;
- Asian Development Bank, multi-regional input-output tables (ADB-MRIO);
- IDE Jetro, Asian International Input-Output Tables (AIIOTs);
- Eora multi-region IO database;
- EXIOPOL.

Nowadays there is the system of GVC indices that includes three indices covering the features of GVC functioning⁸:

- Production Length Index that encompasses the average number of production stages and complexity of value chain;
- GVC Participation Index;
- GVC Position Index, i.e. positioning of a certain production stage regarding the initial and final links of the chain.

The indices are calculated by Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. Due to insignificant role of Ukraine in forming of international production networks and low level of participation in GVCs, there are no available calculations for the country.

The importance of GVC research is emphasized by inclusion of parameters directly related to Global Competitiveness Index calculated annually by World Economic Forum (**Table 1**).

Ukraine is ranked 94th out of 137 countries in the world by the width of value chains (**Fig. 1**). 3.5 value out of 7 possible shows poor participation in GVCs or participation in the chains with low level of production processing. The wider the chain is the larger is the share of added value in the structure of production and the higher is the efficiency of production process.

Japan, Austria, Switzerland and USA show the highest rates of value chain width (6.1-5.7). Neighbouring countries Moldova, Hungary and Romania are in the same rate range as Ukraine (3.6-3.3). It is also worth mentioning that some African countries have the same value chain width rates as Ukraine, namely Ethiopia and Nigeria (3.5-3.3).

Table 1. *Certain parameters of the countries' participation in Global Value Chains*

Country	<i>width of value chain</i>		<i>condition of clusters development</i>		<i>complexity of production process</i>		<i>level of the use of marketing</i>		<i>number of local suppliers</i>	
	ranking	value	ranking	value	ranking	value	ranking	value	ranking	value
Ukraine	94	3.5	108	3.1	72	3.7	74	4.4	63	4.6
Czech Republic	42	4.3	52	3.9	31	4.8	43	4.7	20	4.9
Moldova	110	3.3	134	2.6	106	3.2	109	4.0	121	3.8
Hungary	98	3.5	90	3.5	84	3.5	134	3.3	128	3.6
Slovakia	52	4.0	57	3.8	30	4.8	76	4.4	99	4.1
Romania	87	3.6	119	3.0	94	3.4	100	4.1	122	3.8
Poland	64	3.8	64	3.8	49	4.2	47	4.7	45	4.7
Russia	71	3.8	88	3.5	64	3.9	59	4.5	83	4.4
Georgia	75	3.8	127	2.9	88	3.5	85	4.2	129	3.6
Greece	72	3.8	121	3.0	58	4.0	82	4.2	89	4.2
Austria	2	5.9	18	4.9	7	6.1	20	5.2	8	5.4
Belgium	13	5.3	19	4.8	8	6.0	11	5.5	14	5.1
Sweden	5	5.7	16	5.0	5	6.1	8	5.5	36	4.8

⁸ World Bank Group et al.

Country	width of value chain		condition of clusters development		complexity of production process		level of the use of marketing		number of local suppliers	
	ranking	value	ranking	value	ranking	value	ranking	value	ranking	value
Switzerland	3	5.8	12	5.1	1	6.5	3	5.8	1	6.3
Finland	19	5.1	17	5.0	6	6.1	87	4.2	78	4.4
France	10	5.4	21	4.7	17	5.6	12	5.4	19	5.0
Germany	7	5.6	4	5.4	10	5.9	6	5.5	4	5.7
Italy	11	5.3	8	5.3	25	5.2	52	4.6	12	5.2
Japan	1	6.1	11	5.1	2	6.4	22	5.1	1	6.2
USA	4	5.7	1	5.7	9	5.9	1	6.0	3	5.7
Bulgaria	82	3.7	70	3.7	71	3.7	107	4.0	76	4.5
China	29	4.5	27	4.6	39	4.5	57	4.6	52	4.7
Canada	39	4.3	24	4.6	18	5.6	27	5.0	28	4.9
Congo	133	2.6	111	3.1	131	2.5	68	4.4	125	3.7
Egypt	56	3.9	56	3.9	70	3.8	104	4.1	85	4.3
Ethiopia	93	3.5	86	3.6	102	3.3	132	3.6	123	3.7
Honduras	100	3.4	80	3.6	98	3.4	54	4.6	91	4.2
Mozambique	123	3.1	114	3.1	130	2.6	119	3.8	130	3.5
Nigeria	107	3.3	97	3.4	118	3.0	45	4.7	64	4.6

Source: developed by authors based on ⁹

Another parameter that shows the level of GVCs development is the condition of clusters development. Clusters' role in global value chains is to connect small and medium enterprises in the network for cooperation with international market through horizontal links. Accumulation and quick expansion of advanced knowledge, technologies, skills and innovations are the features of clusters. This is the reason the clusters have advantages and development incentives. Ukraine is ranked 108th with 3.1 rate.

It is interesting that the gap between the rates of the use of marketing and the width of chains differs by the groups of countries. If the level of marketing development in Ukraine and in other less developed countries like Honduras, Mozambique, Nigeria, Congo and the countries – neighbours of our country (Slovakia, Romania, Poland, Moldova, Russia) significantly exceeds the rate of value chains width, the rates in well developed countries are balanced (Switzerland, France, Germany, USA).

Currently, Ukrainian export structure is mostly based on raw materials. State Statistical Office notes that almost 70% of export of goods (\$ 25.3 billion) consists of agricultural products, products of metallurgical and chemical industries, mineral products, wood, raw materials for light industry¹⁰. Such export structure is peculiar to the countries with low-income level. It is necessary to transfer to high innovation – and knowledge – intensive processing production in order to receive more benefits from integration into global value chains.

Let's examine the level of integration of Ukrainian border regions' economies and the economies of neighbouring EU Member States – Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania – in 2010–2018.

Analysis shows that Zakarpatska oblast was the leader in the period under research by the level of integration with the economies of neighbouring EU Member States in terms of export. In particular, the share of exports to Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in the overall volumes of the region's exports had been consistently growing

⁹ World Economic Forum, "The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018," accessed May 5, 2019, <http://reports.weforum.org/global-competitiveness-index-2017-2018/>.

¹⁰ "Tendentsiyi rozvytku zovnishn'oyi torhivli Ukrainy" [Trends of foreign trade development in Ukraine], accessed May 10, 2019, <http://www.me.gov.ua/Documents/List?lang=uk-UA&id=354d699d-4648-4112-a81a-919a80555fb7&tag=TendentsiiRozvitkuZovnishnoiTorgivliUkraini>.

and amounted to 70.85% in 2018. (Table 2). Volynska oblast is an outsider by this rate (25.2% in 2018). Similar situation is with the share of exports to Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in overall exports volumes to the EU of the regions under research.

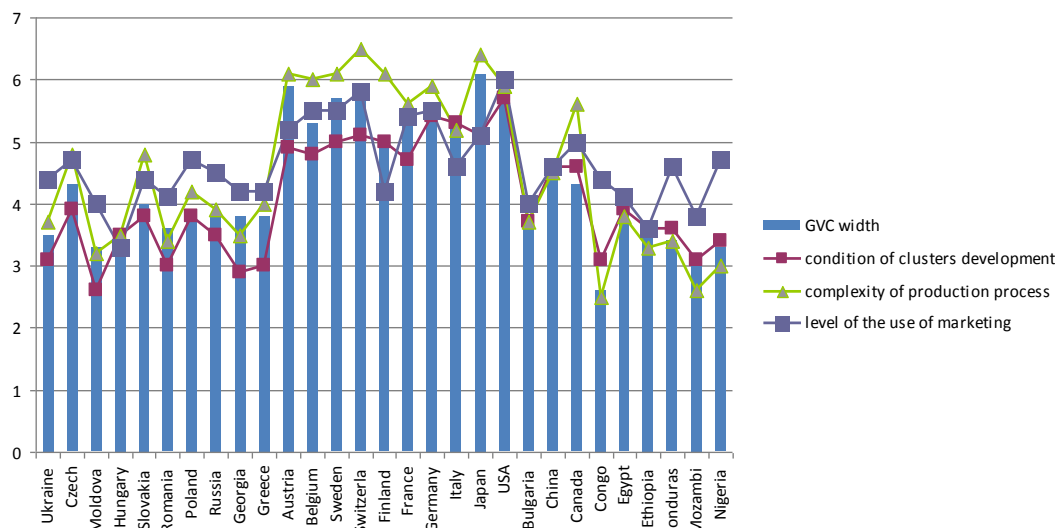


Fig. 1. The parameters that show the countries' participation in global value chains

Table 2. Integration of adjacent border regions of the EU-Ukraine cross-border area

	Volynska		Lvivska		Zakarpatska		Ivano-Frankivska		Chernivetska	
2010	22.82*	36.87**	23.26*	36.23**	58.54*	67.55**	20.41*	45.31**	21.76*	40.41**
2012	16.41	27.56	20.70	37.16	60.26	74.19	17.89	51.06	24.20	54.26
2014	25.57	36.92	29.63	41.01	59.45	70.17	21.51	41.87	26.73	56.62
2016	24.58	31.62	31.70	42.51	66.27	71.49	25.32	43.36	25.67	47.41
2017	22.97	29.59	35.47	46.00	68.25	73.29	32.55	52.61	43.00	64.47
2018	25.20	31.76	35.79	45.51	70.85	74.19	33.63	52.30	44.30	61.18

*Share of exports to Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in the total exports of the region, %

**Share of exports to Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in the total exports of the region to the EU, %

The share of neighbouring countries (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania) in the overall imports of goods of Ukrainian border regions is somewhat lower compared to the share in overall exports of regions. In particular, the share of these countries in imports of Chernivetska and Lvivska oblasts is the highest (30% and 26% correspondingly). Zakarpatska and Ivano-Frankivska oblasts are outsiders by the value of this rate. (20% and 14% correspondingly) (Table 3).

Table 3. Integration of adjacent border regions of the EU-Ukraine cross-border area

	Volynska		Lvivska		Zakarpatska		Ivano-Frankivska		Chernivetska	
2010	44.91*	58.73**	34.67*	48.81**	17.95*	28.24**	17.22*	35.37**	31.99*	46.63**
2012	29.82	44.10	25.66	46.63	12.34	25.99	12.12	23.34	27.44	56.40
2014	35.18	43.00	27.55	41.93	14.49	32.93	18.41	29.41	39.21	62.55
2016	24.45	40.81	31.29	43.79	19.31	32.73	28.90	38.65	26.40	46.75

2017	25.56	42.36	30.79	43.47	20.21	32.61	21.18	37.43	24.14	41.78
2018	25.05	42.53	26.30	41.81	20.35	33.20	14.14	34.44	30.24	49.54

*Share of imports from Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in the total imports of the region, %

**Share of imports from Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in the total imports of the region to the EU, %

Fig. 2 shows the share of Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania in the overall exports of border regions. Of the abovementioned countries, the largest share of Zakarpatska oblast goods exports in 2018 accounted for Hungary (56%), of Chernivetska oblast – for Romania (36%), of Lvivska oblast – for Poland (27%).

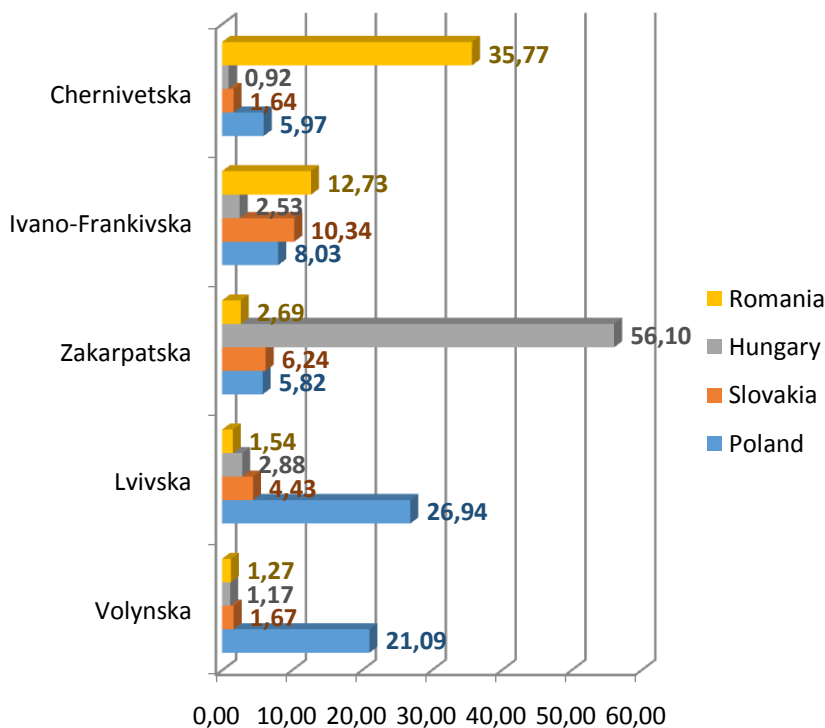


Fig. 2. Share of goods exports from border oblasts of Ukraine to Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Poland in the overall exports volumes of the regions in 2018, %

In terms of geographical composition of goods imports, the share of Lvivska oblast imports from Poland is the highest (22%). The largest volumes of imported products in Chernivetska oblast come from Romania (16%) and Poland (12%), Volynska oblast – from Hungary (12%) and Poland (11%), Zakarpatska oblast – from Hungary (12%) (**Fig. 3**).

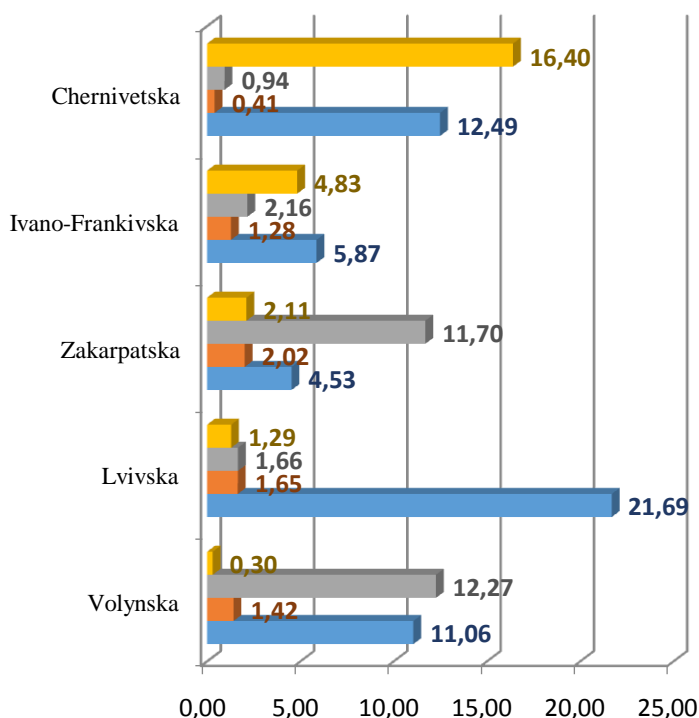


Fig. 3. Share of goods imports to border oblasts of Ukraine from Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Poland in the overall imports volumes of the regions in 2018, %

Global value chains: entrepreneurship aspect

Currently automobile industry is the leader in border oblasts of Ukraine by investment attraction. **Table 4** shows the list of largest companies that are the GVCs participants. Almost all companies have foreign founders, i.e. they are the affiliates of cross-border corporations. A large number of companies cooperates with the closest neighbours in exports of products and imports of necessary raw materials for production, namely with Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Belarus and Moldova. For the most part, these companies do not produce the final products. Their activity is reduced to only one-two links of production process.

Table 4. Some industries in border oblasts of Ukraine participating in GVCs

Ukrainian regions	leading industries included in GVCs	main companies that represent the industry	Partner countries in GVCs
Lvivska	automobile industry (leather wraps, harness, cable systems for automobiles)	Bader Ukraine, Fujikura Automotive Ukraine, LEONI Wiring Systems UA	Germany, Italy, Poland, Portugal, France, Spain, Moldova
	confectionery industry	Svitoch	Brazil, Poland, Moldova, Hungary
Volynska	automobile industry (cable vehicle system for automobiles)	Kromberg & Schubert Ukraine	Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland
	furniture industry	Black Red White Ukraine	Belarus, Poland, Slovakia

Ukrainian regions	leading industries included in GVCs	main companies that represent the industry	Partner countries in GVCs
	electronic industry (transformers fro electronic industry)	HAHN - Elektrobau Ukraine	Germany
Zakarpatska	automobile industry (harnesses, electrical appliances, car seats)	Yazaki Ukraine, Bereg Kabel, Forschner Ukraine, GROCLIN Karpaty, NEWCO	Hungary, Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden
	outer garment industry	Grono-Tex	Germany, Hungary, Slovakia
	sports equipment industry (skis, clubs)	Fischer	Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Russia, Slovakia
Ivano-Frankivska	automobile industry (cables and conductors for automobiles)	Tyco Electronics Ukraine Limited	Austria, Czech Republic, Poland
	outer garment industry (fur headgear, leather and fur wear)	Tykafurlux, Skiryanic	Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy, United States of America
	furniture industry (laminated LDF)	Interplyt by SORBES	Estonia, Germany, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, Moldova, Romania, Slovakia

Source: authors' research

The range of factors restrain foreign investors in bringing money to Ukraine, namely the level of illegalisation of economic processes (especially in border areas), unstable economic situation, military actions at the Eastern border of Ukraine and corruption. State policy should be directed at improvement of investment image of Ukraine, positioning of regions as open grounds for the development of joint enterprises and opening of transnational corporations' affiliates. The role of regional authorities is to comprehensively promote the development of investment processes, in particular:

- Informing about the available land plots;
- Inviting of perspective investors to pay site visits to a region;
- Reduction of bureaucracy procedures in establishing of business;
- Preparation of feasibility documentation for target investments in specific territory development projects.

The problem of investment attraction and forming of favourable investment environment is currently the most painful issue for border areas. Almost half of surveyed experts see the primary task of central, regional and local authorities as creation of necessary conditions to secure and boost investment processes¹¹. In particular, it is important to develop innovation and investment projects and support them financially and to form positive investment image in order to improve the level of competitive ability of

¹¹ Khrystyna Prytula, Olena Pasternak et al. Sotsial'no-ekonomichnyy rozvytok prykordonnykh oblastey v umovah diyi Uhody pro asotsiatsiyu mizh YeS ta Ukrainoyu (za rezul'tatamy otsinky): naukovo-analitychna zapyska [Social-economic development of border oblasts under the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (according to estimates): scientific-analytical report] DU "Instytut rehional'nykh doslidzhen' imeni M. I. Dolishn'oho NAN Ukrainy," 2017.

products manufactures at the territory and to promote them at EU markets. Creation of joint enterprises and establishment of zero tax rate for the first year after the registration, revival of special regimen for free economic zones, tax holidays and ownership guarantees should boost the growth of investment capacity of territories. Fostering the non-discriminatory, transparent and predictable business conditions, simplification of administrative procedures and overcoming corruption are the necessary steps to be taken towards the improvement of investment climate of the territories. Favourable business climate is an essential condition for further development of domestic entrepreneurship, intensification of the role of trade with foreign countries and opening of affiliates of transnational corporation.

Nowadays Ukraine attracts investors due to the cost and qualification level of labour force and comparatively cheap diverse resources and raw materials. Therefore, transnational corporations benefit from location of their production forces in the regions, especially the border ones, more so taking into account the close distance to European markets. We should note that analysis of our country's components of Global Competitiveness Index in 2018 shows that it takes 46th position out of 140 countries by the "qualification" parameter, which is a good result and a competitive advantage¹².

Experience of clusters in Ukraine

We should also note an important role of clusters in GVCs forming. Clusters' role in global value chains consists in connecting small and medium enterprises in the network for cooperation with international market through horizontal links. The advantage of small companies is their flexibility and quick reaction to changes compared to large companies. Having a certain competitive advantage in production of specialized products at small niche markets, small enterprises can consolidate to enter a GVC. Currently clusterization trends are peculiar to border regions of Ukraine (**Table 5**).

Table 5. *Clusters in border oblasts of Ukraine*

Oblast	Existing clusters	Perspective clusters' development directions
Lvivska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lviv IT – cluster; • Wood processing and furniture production cluster (Western Ukraine, centred in Lviv); • Skolivskiyi district rural green tourism cluster; • Agro-recreation cluster "Horbohory" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Light industry cluster; • Instrument engineering cluster; • Construction cluster; • Machinery cluster; • Biotechnology cluster; • Agroindustrial cluster; • Forestry cluster
Chernivetska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chernivtsi IT – cluster "Cluster bit"; • Apple cluster "Bukovyna"; • Cluster of organic producers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry cluster
Zakapatska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Automotive engineering cluster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport and logistics cluster; • Tourism cluster; • Thermal cluster; • Agrarian cluster
Ivano-Frankivska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cluster of folk art crafts "Suzirya"; • Ivano-Frankivsk IT – cluster; • IT-Kolomyia cluster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agrotourism cluster; • Forestry cluster

¹² World Economic Forum, *The Global Competitiveness Report 2018*, ed. Klaus Schwab, accessed May 12, 2019, <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GCR2018/05FullReport/TheGlobalCompetitivenessReport2018.pdf>.

Oblast	Existing clusters	Perspective clusters' development directions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prykarpattya eco-energy cluster 	
Volynska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volyn tourism cluster; • Lutsk IT – cluster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade-production cluster; • Energy cluster; • Forestry cluster
Odeska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Odesa IT – cluster; • Odesa and Odeska oblast education cluster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marine cluster; • Transit cluster

Source: developed by authors

Analysis of existing cluster initiatives shows that each border oblast has the clusters operating in the sphere of information technologies (IT). There are a lot of perspectives for the development of clusters in Ukrainian regions, however low awareness of perspective cluster participants about the opportunities, advantages and mechanisms of clusters creating and functioning is the relevant problem.

There are also cross-border clusters in Ukraine that comprise the regions of neighbouring countries, namely:

Volynska oblast:

- Cross-border innovation cluster (Chełm Chamber of Commerce, Ltd and Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University);
- Polish-Ukrainian-Belarusian cross-border tourism cluster (Lublin Regional Tourist Organization, Volyn Tourism Cluster, Brest Tourism Cluster).

Lvivska oblast:

- Scientific information-statistical cluster “Inforstat–Ukraine–Poland” (SI “Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishniy of the NAS of Ukraine”, General Directorate of Statistical Office in Lvivska Oblast, Ivan Franko Lviv National University, Lviv Oblast Union of Economists of Ukraine, Statistical Office of Podkarpackie voivodeship, Rzeszów University, Centre of Statistical Research and Education of General Directorate of Statistical Office in Poland (had been very active till 2015));
- Lublin eco-energy cluster (Center of alternative and renewable energy sources, JE “Tzov KomEcoLviv”)

Chernivetska oblast:

- Ukrainian-Romanian “First Agrarian Cluster”;
- Tourism cross-border cluster based on the network of regions-winners of All-Ukrainian Contest “Seven Wonders of Ukraine”.

The issue is that many of existing cross-border clusters are of declarative nature or aren't very active, i.e. they do not use the advantages of this development model to the fullest capacity. It can be explained by the range of problems related to functioning of clusters in Ukraine, namely: lack of legal background for functioning of clusters and therefore – the lack of state support; absence of single systematized information basis of existing and perspective clusters, their functioning and results of activity leading to the limited understanding of cluster advantages by society; problems of cooperation between authorities and business.

Perspectives of forming and functioning of value chains in the EU-Ukraine cross-border area

EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DAFTA) open new opportunities for Ukrainian business for internationalisation of their entrepreneurship activity. Internationalisation of Ukrainian economy becomes one of the major sources of economic growth in modern tendencies of further economy globalisation. Border areas that neighbour the EU have perspectives of active participation in these processes.

In order to activate the processes of entrepreneurship activity internationalisation in border areas of Ukraine it is necessary to undertake the range of important steps, namely:

- Advisory support of the entry of domestic companies in the foreign markets;
- Transition from raw-materials – based production to full cycle production;
- Design and development of brands;
- Boosting of foreign investment attraction into the development of perspective domestic industries;
- Creating of favourable climate for the development of entrepreneurship, trade and opening of transnational corporations' affiliates;
- Development of clusters.

Ukraine currently has a certain competitive advantage in transition of production processes from Europe to the countries with cheaper production costs and labour remuneration. Frequently, the companies work on customer-owned raw materials. Association “Ukrlehprom” provides the data that almost 90% of clothes production in Ukraine is based on customer-owned raw materials¹³. Still, such an experience should be only the initial stage of further development of industries, because customer-owned raw materials contribute to attraction of foreign producers to the country, who want to produce with the least expenses. If there is enough experience and qualified employees, one can compete for full-cycle production to manufacture good with high added value.

Ukraine has certain advantages for the exports of finished products, including the close distance to European markets and signing the agreement on free trade are with the EU. Geographical position of Ukraine and opportunities of fast deliveries compared to suppliers from Far East promote entering the value chains. Establishment of contacts with foreign suppliers of raw materials, improvement of technological processes in production and increasing the competitive ability of products leads Ukraine to participation in global value chains.

The feature of Ukrainian production is that it is more oriented at production process rather than development of brands, which can be exported. Ukraine is often seen in the world as the ground for production. A few Ukrainian brands can meet the needs of European consumers. The search for the new concepts of goods and innovative decisions by large companies through cooperation with designers is the modern global tendency. Design does not receive much attention in Ukraine. It is the relic of USSR, where design didn't matter, it was all about the volumes of production.

In order to develop creative brands for Europe, it is necessary to boost the participation in international industrial exhibitions and trade fairs. It contributes to

¹³ European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Ukrayina: karta rozvytku haluzey vyrobnytstva odyahu ta vzuttya” [Ukraine: roadmap of clothes and footwear industries development], EU4Business, 2018.

examining the needs and modern trends of foreign consumers and representation of domestic products at foreign markets. Ukrainian companies often cannot afford participation in such exhibitions. Governmental support is essential along with joint representation of small enterprises in clusters or associations of producers.

It is also worth noting that the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade has presented the export brand of Ukraine “Trade with Ukraine”, which helps identifying Ukrainian products at global market and popularizing the country in the world. Export brand of Ukraine is developed with the view to create consistent emotional and visual connection between various industries and economy sectors and consolidate various goods and services under the single visual concept and stylistics.

Summing up the conducted research, we come to the conclusion that Ukrainian companies in border oblasts have substantial perspectives to enter global value chains. Creation of domestic brands that correspond to the requirements of European consumer, promotion and popularization of domestically made products at international markets, forming of positive investment image of territories to establish the affiliates of transnational corporations and creation of national and cross-border clusters are just the first steps towards the integration into international production networks in the EU-Ukraine cross-border space.

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III. Existing Challenges of Cross-Border Cooperation Development in the EU

Iryna STORONYANSKA, Anna MAKSYMENKO (Lviv)

◀▶ Peculiarities of Socio-economic Development of United Territorial Communities: The Case of Carpathian Border Region

Anatoliy KRUGLASHOV (Chernivtsi) ▶◀ Cross-Border Cooperation Stigmatised: Why Upper Prut Euroregion Activity Goes Down Still

Luminița ȘOPRONI (Oradea) ▶◀ The Role of the Border Regions in the Regional Development. The Case of Northern Transylvania Region

Corina TURȘIE (Timișoara) ▶◀ A la recherche de récits d'identité du lieu dans une logique transfrontalière. Etude de cas sur les Capitales Européennes de la Culture pour l'année 2021

Mirela MĂRCUȚ (Oradea) ▶◀ Smart Cities – Opportunity for Cross-Border Cooperation

Peculiarities of Socio-economic Development of United Territorial Communities: The Case of Carpathian Border Region

*Iryna STORONYANSKA**

*Anna MAKSYMENKO***

Abstract. *A municipal self-government reform called as decentralisation of power in Ukraine has been arising. During 2015–2018 there was the First Stage of decentralisation of power in Ukraine. This reform provides the establishing of the united territorial communities (abbreviation in Ukrainian "OTG" or amalgamated hromada). New united territorial communities have new responsibilities. In this article the peculiarities of social and economic development of united territorial communities have been investigated. During November 2018 an expert survey among authorities of local self-government of Carpathian region was conducted. The expert survey covered 70 united territorial communities of the Carpathian region (which includes Transcarpathia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Chernivtsi oblasts). United territorial communities which had been created during 2015–2017 took part in a survey. 78 % response rate was achieved. In this survey we have estimated which changes in infrastructure occurred and how the authorities of the united territorial communities have provided services for their citizens. One of the objectives of the survey was to assess the problems faced by the communities after establishing. The least major topics were related to the lack of cooperation between united territorial communities and the most urgent problems concerned the human capital of the community. Also we have analysed growth tools which were used by united territorial communities for their development.*

Key words: *united territorial communities, border region, economic development, decentralization, Carpathian region, Ukraine.*

Introduction

Nowadays the decentralization reform is on going in Ukraine. This reform started in 2014 and aimed to create an effective and capable institute of local government on a basic level – united territorial communities. New united territorial communities have gained new responsibilities. They have direct inter-budget relations with the State Budget; receive funds from the State Budget for community infrastructure development; independently decide on the issues of development of their territories; establish community governing bodies, their structure and staff. However the most important one is to perform delegated powers such as management of secondary and nursery schools; organization of primary healthcare service; running and maintenance of culture centres, clubs, libraries, stadiums; providing of social and administrative services for residents of the communities. Moreover, they receive more resource from government on enforcing such duties. Main taxes and charges are transferred to local budget of united territorial

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community. In particular, rental charge for special use of natural and subsoil local significance resources, income tax for municipal enterprises and financial institutions, charge for other administrative services, local charges (tourist and parking), property tax (real estate, land, transport), excise tax from retail sale (tobacco, alcohol, oil products), 60% of personal income tax etc. In addition, government gives infrastructure subvention, opportunity to take part in contest of projects financed by State Fund of Regional Development, international aid, especially U-LEAD with Europe, for new united territorial communities.

Positive aspect of implementation of the reform is its focus on stimulation of local communities to the effective use of their own social and economic potential. However, the steps that have been taken, carry a number of risks both on local and national levels. Among the main risks, there are the following: the risk of deepening of asymmetries of the development of areas; the risk of existence of contradictions between the necessity of regional authorities to regulate the processes of intraregional differentiation and their loss of control over the financial flows and decisions of local communities; the risk of formation of incompetent local communities; the risk of reduction of the quality of public services, which are provided in the less developed communities with low level of budgetary revenues.

A number of problems and risks, which appear in the course of implementation of reforms, are mostly due to the lack of a systematic approach to their implementation. The outlined risks should not be an obstacle for the implementation of budgetary decentralisation, and administrative and territorial reform, but they should be taken into account at the subsequent stages of its implementation with the purpose of their levelling.

Material and methods

During 2015–2018 there was the First Stage of decentralisation of power in Ukraine. So, we were conducting an expert survey among local authorities of Carpathian region during November 2018. The expert survey covered 70 united territorial communities of the Carpathian region (which includes Transcarpathia or Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Chernivtsi oblasts) from 90, which had been united during 2015–2017, and 78 % response rate was achieved. Sample error estimated 5.6%.

The main objectives of the survey were: 1) to assess the changes in communities' infrastructure after amalgamation; 2) to analyse the way social and administrative services are organised in communities; 3) to identify the problems which faced communities; 4) to evaluate the variety of possible growth tools which have been used by united territorial communities.

Also in this study we will investigate the differences which can exist between united territorial communities depending on established year and their type (urban, rural, urban-village). We have used the Pearson Chi-Square (χ^2) to discover statistical significance between categorical variables, Independent Sample T-test to compare means and Pearson correlation coefficient (r) to investigate the relationship between variables.

Peculiarities of united territorial communities of the Carpathian region

107 united territorial communities had been created in the Carpathian region up to the end of 2018. There are 40 united territorial communities in Lviv oblast, 32 in Chernivtsi oblast, 29 in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast and only 6 in Transcarpathia. Carpathian region borders several countries – Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldova. One quarter of the settlements of united territorial communities of this region named as

mountain villages according to the Law¹ and defined as poor developed, have weak social services, limited transport availability.

United territorial communities of the Carpathian region have next features:

- the square twice smaller than average in Ukraine. Average area of united territorial community in Carpathian region is 108,7 km², however, average area of united territorial community in Ukraine is 237,9 km²;

- the average number of inhabitants in the community is higher than average in Ukraine (the average population amount in united territorial community of this region is 9,0 thousand people, as opposed to 8,5 thousand people in average in united territorial community generally in Ukraine);

- the level of subsidies of communities of this region on average is 27.0%, which is twice higher than the national average. It means that united territorial communities of the Carpathian region have high level of dependence on their budget revenues on state transfers and have lack of financial resources. For instance, an average value of own revenues per capita in united territorial community of the Carpathian region was UAH 1800 (USA 70.79 \$) in comparison to average in Ukraine value of UAH 3000 (USA 117.98 \$);

- the proportion of expenditures for maintaining of the authorities' or body staff in the share of total expenditures of local budget reaches 37.6% which is 1.4 times more than average in Ukraine²;

- most of united territorial communities of the Carpathian region are rural (61% among those which were established during 2015–2017) and almost a half of them created in 2017 (42%).

Among 70 united territorial communities, which took part in our survey in November 2018, 60% was rural by type settlement, 21% in urban village and 19% in urban. The structure of united territorial communities by population size was: up to 5 thousand people – 19%; 5-10 thousand – 41%; 10-15 thousand – 27%; more than 15 thousand – 13%. We have had next proportion according to established year: 33% united in 2015, 23% united in 2016, and 44% in 2017.

Infrastructure changes

First of all we would like to analyse which changes in infrastructure have occurred after amalgamation.

As we can see from the **Table 1**, major and current repairs, equipment provision of secondary education schools have been done in the two-thirds of united territorial communities. Major and current repairs of nursery schools have been completed in a half of the united territorial communities as well as some equipment purchasing. Buildings of culture sphere were not left out of attention. Every second united territorial community has spent money on reconstruction or current repairs of libraries, playgrounds, stadiums

¹ Закон Украйини №56/95-VR від 15.02.1995 “Про статус гірських населених пунктів в Украйині” [Law of Ukraine №56/95-VR from 15.02.1995 “About the status of mountain villages in Ukraine”], accessed June 15, 2019, <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/56/95-%D0%B2%D1%80>.

² *Sotsialno-ekonomichne stanovyshche obobdnanykh terytorailnykh hromad: Zakhid vs Center: naukovo-analitychne vydannya* [Socio-economic characteristics of united territorial communities: west vs center: scientific and analytical publication], ed. I. Storonaynska, A. Maksymenko, O. Levytska, Kh. Patytska, Z. Siryk, I. Storonaynska, A. Maksymenko, O. Levytska, Kh. Patytska, and Z. Siryk (Lviv: IRD NANU, 2019), 6–7.

etc. However it is impossible to repair all infrastructure objects because of budget and time limits. So, in the overwhelming majority of communities the conditions of pavements, gas supply, as well as centralised water supply system and sewage have not been improved yet.

An analysis of the question concerning the infrastructure activities that require the largest amount of money showed that in 53% of the communities those were schools (including current repairs, reconstruction, insulation, school bus purchases, etc.).

Table 1. Are there any changes in the infrastructure of the united territorial community after amalgamation?*

№	Sphere / infrastructure objects	Construction a new object	Major repairs / reconstruction	Current repair	Purchasing the equipment, inventory	Shutdown of activity	No changes
1.	Preschool education (nursery school)	26%	54%	63%	54%	-	1%
2.	Secondary education (school, gymnasium)	1%	64%	67%	73%	4%	4%
3.	Health care services (paramedical and obstetric unit, an outpatient clinic)	6%	49%	53%	59%	4%	11%
4.	Culture and leisure (i.e. clubhouse/ house of culture, library, playground, stadium, etc.)	27%	57%	61%	53%	1%	10%
5.	Roads	7%	56%	64%	7%	-	14%
6.	Pavements	4%	26%	24%	1%	-	60%
7.	Centralised water supply system	10%	11%	20%	6%	1%	69%
8.	Sewage system	7%	9%	19%	4%	1%	70%
9.	Street lights	29%	57%	49%	19%	1%	13%
10.	Gas supply	-	1%	7%	3%	1%	87%

Note: *The sum of answers is not 100% because respondents are allowed to choose several options simultaneously

Source: authors' research

The next largest expenditures were made on nursery school as indicated by 37% of the communities. In one third of the united territorial communities (29%) significant funds were directed to road infrastructure. A quarter of the communities (26%) used significant financial resources on cultural infrastructure, in particular buying equipment for children's playgrounds, the construction of sports facilities, stadiums, football fields, repair of cultural buildings, etc. Only 19% of the communities were indicated among three main areas of their expenditure health care. 14% of the communities mentioned that they had spent the largest volume of financial resources on street lights (capital repairs, reconstruction or even new construction). Among other activities which require a large amount of investments were specified major repairs, reconstruction, new construction of infrastructure facilities, local fire service, settlements improvement, purchasing special equipment for municipal or urban engineering repair of administrative buildings, realization of environmental protection and energy efficiency measures.

The authorities of the united territorial communities are responsible for organization and provision of pre-school, elementary and secondary school education in their communities. According to the data of Centers for Local Self Government Development all of the nursery and secondary schools that exist in communities are financed from the communities' budget. The numbers of schools in communities of Carpathian region vary from 1 up to 17. The large amount of schools as well as nursery schools exists in urban communities. For example, Mostyska urban united territorial community³ consists of 1 town and 27 villages and the number of schools are 17. Kam'yanka-Buska urban united territorial community⁴ has united the 21 settlements and has the largest number of nursery schools – 7 among other united communities of the Carpathian region. It is obvious that local authorities spend a large amount of revenues on education infrastructure because, first of all, it belongs to their competence. Secondly, they spend money on high priority projects due to budget limit. Thirdly, this can be also explained by the implementation at the national and regional level of various development programs that increase accessibility resource for the purpose of improvement of educational and medical infrastructure on local level.

In our survey we haven't found any statistical significance between reconstructions, current repair, purchasing the equipment/inventory of schools and pre-schools, health care services, culture and leisure infrastructure and the type of the united territorial community. If we consider the answers "no changes" some peculiarities will be pointed out. In particular, 83% of rural united territorial communities have not repaired centralized water supply system in compare to 39% of urban and 53% of urban type settlement communities ($\chi^2 = 11.332$, $df=2$, $p<0.01$). In addition, 81% of rural united territorial communities have nothing done with sewage system. Among urban communities such proportion does not exceed 39% and 67% among urban type settlement communities ($\chi^2 = 8.636$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$). It is obvious since the majority of rural united territorial communities of Carpathian region have not centralized water supply system. Residents of communities use water from the wells on their yards. But this can be a challenge for local authorities in the nearest future. Disastrous rubbish dumps, private sewage near sources with fresh water, lack of treatment facilities are the main reasons for water pollution in the settlements.

Services facilities in communities after amalgamation

The objective of municipal self-government reform is to transfer power from central government to local communities significantly. Therefore, united territorial communities receive power of planning the way of community development, budgeting; attracting investment; management of the land resources; provision of housing services; organization of passenger transportation on the territory of the community; formation the municipal police and fire services; provision of social and administrative services; primary medical care; education and culture.

The united territorial communities of the Carpathian region mainly used two ways of social services' provision: delegating authority to the Territorial Center of Social

³ Mostys'ka miska ob'yednana terytorialna hromada [Mostyska urban united territorial community], accessed July 10, 2019, <https://decentralization.gov.ua/gromada/1093/composition>.

⁴ Kam'yanka-Buzka miska ob'yednana terytorialna hromada [Kam'yanka-Buska urban united territorial community], accessed July 10, 2019, <https://decentralization.gov.ua/gromada/1088/composition>.

Service of the district administration (33%), establishing of a new position of social worker (47%) (**Fig. 1**). It should be noted that one third of urban united territorial communities established separate specialised agency in order to provide social services. Mostly of rural united territorial communities decided to expand their staff and hired social worker. But there is no community which has not supply social services for their citizens after amalgamation.

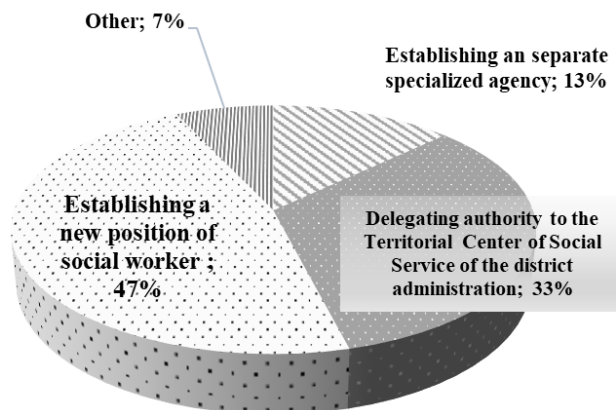


Fig. 1. Ways of providing social services in the united territorial communities
Source: authors' research

Considering the provision of administrative services in the united territorial communities, we can see that the Centre for Provision of Administrative Services (CPAS or “ЦНАП” abbreviation in Ukrainian) has been created in 31% of the united territorial communities. The idea of the Centre for Provision of Administrative Services means creation the one office for customers where they can receive any administrative service. 56% of the united territorial communities have provided administrative services in town/village council (in the administrative centre of the community).

We should point out that the Centre for Provision of Administrative Services has been created in two third of the united territorial communities (61%), that were united in 2015. But only in 31% of the united territorial communities, united in 2016, the Centre for Provision of Administrative Services existed. In turn a half of communities which were established in 2016, administrative services have provided in their councils (56%) and 68% among communities which were established in 2017 ($\chi^2 = 19.032$, $df=6$, $p<0.01$). Hence, the year of amalgamation (creation the united territorial community) influenced on ways of provision of the administrative services. If the united territorial community has just been established, authority finds the easiest way to provide administrative services in their council. But later they make some steps in order to create separate institution like the Centre for Provision of Administrative Services. Nevertheless there is no statistical significance between ways of provision of administrative services and the type (rural or urban) of the united territorial communities ($\chi^2 = 2.117$, $df=6$, $p>0.05$). Among “others” has been mentioned that administrative services have been delegated to the district Centre for Provision of Administrative Services or the Centre for Provision of Administrative Services in community will be opened soon.

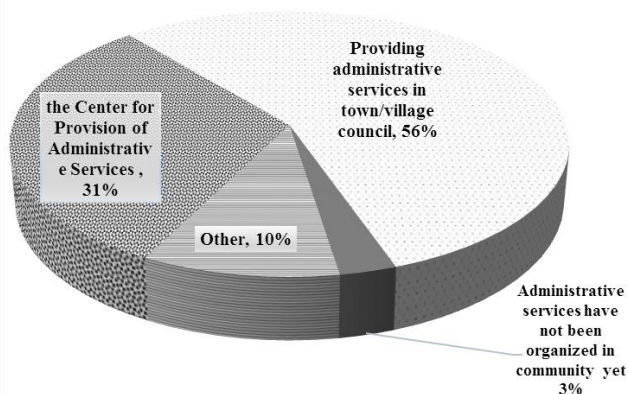


Fig. 2. Ways of providing administrative services in the united territorial communities
Source: authors' research

Also one more important item for community leaders is the safety of residents in accordance with law and rules. The formation of fire municipal service was relevant for rural (45%) and rural-urban settlement (60%) communities. In 69% of cases such a service was not created in the urban united territorial communities. This cannot be said about the municipal police. The majority of the communities have not made any efforts in this direction (83%). At the same time, every sixth community has expressed the intention to organise such services during the next year (**Fig. 3**, **Fig. 4**). However there is no statistical significance between type of community, established and organisation of fire municipal service as well municipal police in the united territorial communities.

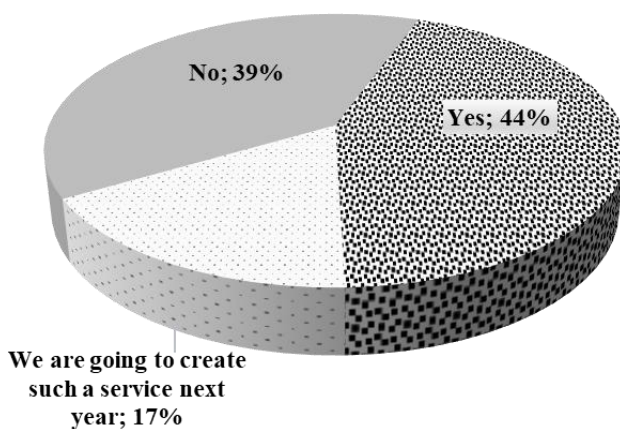


Fig. 3. What was established after amalgamation: the local fire department or fire municipal service?
Source: authors' research

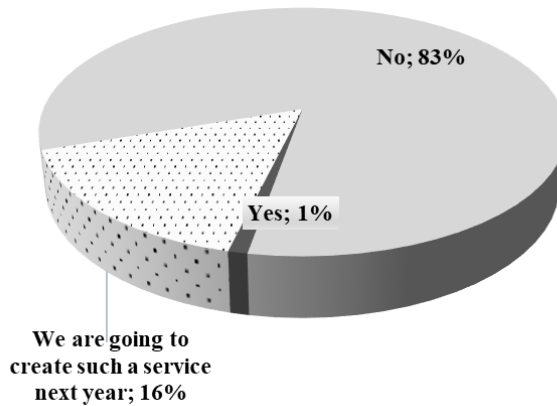


Fig. 4. Was the municipal police service established in the community after amalgamation?

Source: authors' research

Growth tools and problems of development

The most significant question concerned tools which are used for development the united territorial communities. State government provides support to amalgamated *hromadas*, in particular, in terms of restoring and developing infrastructure of their territories. For this purpose every year in the State Budget it envisages a sum of money (for example for 2018 it was UAH 1.9 billion, in 2017 it was UAH 1.5 billion). These funds target infrastructure development of all united territorial communities established since 2015. Therefore, according to our survey, all of the united territorial communities received infrastructure subvention. Out of this the united territorial communities have other opportunities for engaging financial resources. The funds of regional programs, subvention for socio-economic development of certain areas, the State Fund of Regional Development were the most frequently used. Grant and donor resources of the international organisations' programs as well as individuals' funds (including sponsorship) had almost the same proportions (46% and 40%, respectively). It should be emphasized that 13% of the united territorial communities used the programs of cross-border cooperation for their development. None of the united territorial communities of the Carpathian region used such instruments as issuing municipal bonds and participation in agglomerations (**Fig. 5**).

Most of the communities have used 4 (26%) and 5 (24%) growth tools, and three communities have used even 7 growth tools. There is no statistical significance between the number of used programs and the year of establishing the united territorial community (i.e. it is impossible to say that those communities which were established in 2015 used a greater variety of tools in comparison to community established in 2017). Also there is no statistical significance between the number of used programs and the type of the united territorial community ($\chi^2 = 12.262$, $df=12$, $p>0.05$). It should be noted that the local authorities' loans were used only by urban communities. Moreover urban territorial communities have made attempt to take part in program of cross-border cooperation more often than rural territorial communities ($\chi^2 = 6.862$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$).

From 60 united territorial communities of the Carpathian region that answered a question: "Have the united territorial community taken part in any kind of cross-border or

international cooperation?” 20 or 33% said “yes”⁵. Among the programs of cross-border cooperation were mentioned “Romania-Ukraine 2014–2020” and “Poland-Belarus-Ukraine 2014–2020”.

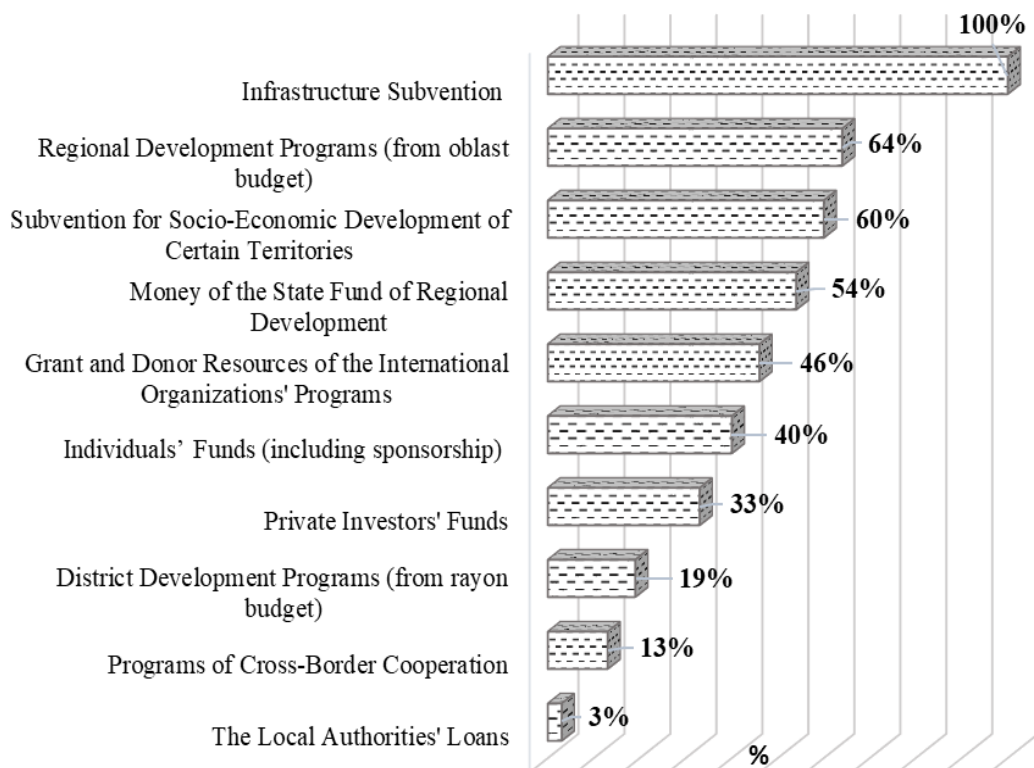


Fig. 5. Which tools have been used by the united territorial community after amalgamation?*

Note: *The sum of answers is not 100% because respondents were allowed to choose several options simultaneously

Source: authors' research

In our survey among the united territorial communities of the Carpathian region eight communities were located at the Ukrainian border. They are: Tyachiv united territorial community (Transcarpathia oblast); Nyzhankovychi united territorial community, Shegyni united territorial community (Lviv oblast); Krasnoilsk united territorial community, Mamalyha united territorial community, Novoselytsa united territorial community, Selyatyn united territorial community, Terebleche united territorial community (Chernivtsi oblast).

Bordered united territorial communities are actively used such a tool as cross-border cooperation. Tyachiv city united territorial community has approved Cross-Border Cooperation Program for 2018–2020 (Decision of the Tyachiv city council № 2067 from 15.12.2017)⁶ Nyzhankovychi village council with Association of local government Euroregion of the Carpathians (Lvivska Oblast, Ukraine) and Przemyski Powiat

⁵ The results of the questionnaire survey among the united territorial communities “Overview of public investment for local economic development in the united territorial communities” which was conducted by Centers for Local Self Government Development.

(Podkarpackie Voivodeship, Poland) have realised the project “PaNTHer - Przemysl and Nizankovytsa Transport for Cooperation Heritage”. This project is under scope of the programme of “Poland – Belarus – Ukraine 2014–2020”.

Some of the communities has already applied application and engaged foreign financial resources before the reform of decentralisation. Krasnoilsk, Novoselytsa, Mamalyha territorial communities are multi-ethnic. This helps them to develop successfully cross-border cooperation and realise international projects. For instance, Novoselytsa city council has had an experience of cross-border cooperation since 2009. In 2018 Mamalyha territorial community applied application for 6 cross-border projects.

So, the united territorial communities of the Carpathian region have used various growth tools like state and non-state financial support. One of the objectives of our survey was to assess the problems faced by communities after amalgamation.

Mean values of problems’ severity were between 1.76 and 3.65 (where 1 – insignificant problem, 5 – very urgent problem). The most important problems were related to the human capital of the community. In particular, the low activity of residents in solving the issues of the community (3.31), the limited employment opportunities in the community (3.41) and migration (3.65). Moreover, these problems had higher mean values than the problem of lack community financial resources’ (3.14). The least important one was the lack of cooperation with other united territorial communities (1.76).

Table 2. Estimation of the problems’ severity faced by united territorial communities (where 1 – insignificant problem, 5 – very urgent problem)

Problems	<i>Mean (m)*</i>	% those who mark as it is not a problem (“0”)	% of those who marked as “1”	% of those who marked as “5”
Migration of residents outside the community	3.65	5%	6%	22%
Limited employment opportunities in the community	3.41	6 %	5%	18%
Low resident participation rate in solving the issues of the community	3.31	13%	11%	13%
Lack of community financial resources (own revenue)	3.14	-	18%	22%
Lack of lobby in the higher authorities	3.06	21%	18%	18%
Shadow (informal) employment of the population	3.02	8%	9%	11%
Frequent changes in legislative acts of the united territorial community	2.86	8%	16%	11%
Uncoordinated interaction with authorities of other levels	2.55	25%	21%	8%
Bad condition or lack of infrastructure	2.72	5%	18%	11%
Lack of skilled stuff in the community	2.40	16%	29%	8%
Resistance of local residents to the authorities	2.14	19%	30%	32%
Lack of cooperation with other communities	1.76	40%	30%	16% (max. value was 3)

Note *The mean was calculated using marks from 1 to 5, mark “0” was not taken into account.

Source: authors’ research

There is no statistical difference in mean values of problems between type and established year of the united territorial communities.

Every of mentioned above problems is not independent. That is why we have conducted a correlation analysis to identify the relationship between problems (**Annex I, Table 1**). The problem of lack of community financial resources correlated with such problems as poor infrastructure ($r=0.405$, $p<0.01$), limited employment opportunities in the community ($r=0.402$, $p<0.01$) and migration of residents outside the community ($r=0.438$, $p<0.01$).

Overall the migration of residents outside the community was closely related to most of issues proposed for evaluation. The high marks of it coincided with high marks of such problems like lack of community financial resources, frequent changes in legislative acts of the united territorial community, issues related to human resources, Lack of cooperation with other communities. In fact, this problem is of crucial importance for the united territorial communities of the Carpathian region.

It should be noted that the problem of uncoordinated interaction with authorities of other levels did not correlate with other problems at all.

Conclusions

Administrative and financial decentralisation that takes place in Ukraine is a complex and a priori ambiguous process for the development of any country's socio-economic system, in particular, in the short and medium term. This is confirmed by the experience of the countries that have implemented reforms of this type and domestic practice. It is recognized as one of the most successful reforms in Ukraine. Of course, not all the results of the first stage of decentralization in Ukraine can be recognized as positive. Moreover, the previous actions have created new risks for the territorial development of the state and new challenges for regional policy that must be taken into account in the next steps of the reform.

The results of investigation of the changes that took place in the united territorial communities in the Carpathian region after the amalgamation showed that the focus was on modernization of social infrastructure. In 2/3 of the communities repair work was carried out and the necessary equipment in secondary education (schools, gymnasiums) were purchased. Half of the communities also implemented major and on-going repairs to preschools, purchased equipment and supplies. As for the establishment or opening of new infrastructure, most of these projects were implemented in the fields of pre-school education, culture and recreation, illumination of settlements, i.e. those within the scope of their own responsibilities.

Preferably, the provision of social services in united territorial communities in the Carpathian region has been realized either by transferring functions to the Territorial Center of Social Service of the district administration, or by introducing the post of a social worker. Regarding administrative services, one third of the communities are formed by the Center for Provision of Administrative Services, and half are provided by the city/town/village council, that is, in the community centre.

It is stated that the majority of united territorial communities of the Carpathian region positively evaluate the instruments of state support for development. Moreover, the percentage of high scores is higher among rural communities that did not have but received additional resource for development. Instead, for urban communities new resources are not as significant in the local budget revenue structure. Among the tools used to develop the united territorial communities, all have benefited from infrastructure

subsidies. Programs of regional level, subventions for socio-economic development of certain territories, and funds from the State Regional Development Fund were noted in terms of frequency of use.

It was found that the most urgent problems were related to the human capital of the communities, in particular: the low activity of the residents in solving the problems of the united territorial communities, the limited employment opportunities of the residents within the community, the migration of residents outside the community. The problem of lack of financial resources for development is urgent for all united territorial communities without exception. At the same time, it is difficult to trace the relationship between the severity of those problems and the level of own income per resident of the united territorial community in the Carpathian region, type of settlement, year of establishing.

At the same time, one of the most important problems for authorities of the united territorial communities is the absence of lobby in higher authorities, that is a person who defends the interests of the community at higher levels. This problem is substantially outweighed by the shortage of skilled stuff in the united territorial communities, the shadow employment of the population, or the poor state of the infrastructure. In fact, 79% of the united territorial communities rely more on budgetary resources through lobbying at higher levels of government than trying to increase their own income through community economic development.

There are different approaches to the development of the economic potential of the community, which can serve as a basis for increasing the budgetary capacity of the united territorial communities. In particular, some measures have been implemented in order to stimulate local employment and promote business development. However, not all of them have produced results; no new business entity has been registered in every fifth united territorial community of the Carpathian region after amalgamation. This may indicate a low level of entrepreneurial activity in the region and a lack of attention from the communities` governing bodies to economic development on the basis of increasing their own economic potential.

The research indicates that administrative-financial decentralization cannot be considered as a guarantee for solving all socio-economic problems at the regional or local level. At the same time, each region and each community can form its own governance model and, at its own discretion, take the opportunity of decentralisation and move to a new stage of development.

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Annex I

Table 1. Correlation between problems faced by united territorial communities

Problem	Frequent changes in legislative acts of the united territorial community	Lack of cooperation with other communities	Lack of lobby in the higher authorities	Low resident participation rate in solving the issues of the community	Resistance of local residents to the authorities	Lack of skilled stuff in the community	Bad condition or lack of infrastructure	Limited employment opportunities in the community	Shadow (informal) employment of the population	Migration of residents
Lack of community financial resources (own revenue)	0,380**			0,278*	0,291*		0,405**	0,402**		0,438**
Frequent changes in legislative acts of the united territorial community	1	0,362*								0,350**
Lack of cooperation with other communities		1							0,349*	0,329*
Lack of lobby in the higher authorities			1	0,456**			0,349*			
Low resident participation rate in solving the issues of the community				1	0,392**	0,364**	0,417**	0,376**	0,274*	0,449**
Resistance of local residents to the authorities					1	0,424**			0,553**	0,377**
Lack of skilled stuff in the community						1	0,397**	0,426**		0,454**
Bad condition or lack of infrastructure							1	0,561**		0,495**
Limited employment opportunities in the community								1	0,281*	0,549**
Shadow (informal) employment of the population									1	0,468**

Note: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Cross-Border Cooperation Stigmatised: Why Upper Prut Euroregion Activity Goes Down Still

*Anatoliy KRUGLASHOV**

Abstract. *Foundation of the new Euroregions around Ukraine–Romania–Moldova borders have been treated with all countries involved from somewhat different perspectives. Romania considered them as a venue of making stronger its ties with compatriots abroad and as a tool of expanding greater influence to the neighbouring borderland territories in the end of 1990th – beginning of the 2000th. Ukraine and Moldova had thought with some suspicions about this initiative of Bucharest, keeping in their mind some possible irredentists' threats from the regions concerned. After some years of somehow tense negotiation the contracted parties had agreed to constitute two new Euroregions, Upper Prut and Low Danube namely.*

Since the moment of the foundation, Upper Prut Euroregion passed through some stages of their development and faced with several challenges. Firstly, analysing the reasons behind the process of the slowing down of the pace and effectiveness of CBC in the given region one has to take into account the growing disparity of the three components of the region. While Suceava region has made some obvious advancement with somewhat lagging behind Botoşani region, the northern districts of Moldova remain under much worse social and economic conditions. Chernivtsi and Ivano-Frankivsk regions are in-between position, but they have been overwhelmed with a narrow agenda of mere survival recently. Secondly, institutional structures and mechanisms of cooperation in the Euroregion are grounded predominantly on the ability and good will of regional administrative elite to outline the agenda of CBC and then set it in motion. Thirdly, the dependence on the good-will and readiness of making a certain contribution toward moving forward this 'joint venture' seemed a dominant trait there. Looking at this dimension of the Euroregion activity it's reasonable to state certain lack of the true devotion and incentives that were applied towards the betterment of its institutional capacity and operational mode. Still, some attempt of reviving the activity of CBC and Euroregion took place last years. Once again Romanian and Ukrainian counterparts took a lead in this process. Finally, the activity as well as mechanisms and instruments of CBC in the framework of Upper Prut do require concerted affords in order to make them functioning duly. Otherwise the whole structure of the Euroregion will be rather a sort of a mausoleum of vanished hopes and groundless aspirations.

Key words: *Cross-border cooperation, Euroregion Upper Prut, security challenges, stagnation.*

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Introduction

I'd like to present some issues regarding the Upper Prut Euroregion and share reflections on cross-border cooperation upon the respective territory of them in this article. It is hardly questionable, that cross-border cooperation (CBC) remains one of the very important issue for Europe nowadays. It makes local and regional economic development more dynamic, contributes to transnational social and political dialogue etc. It could be very helpful as far as the prospect of resolving some conflictual points¹ are concerned too. The latter potential of CBC gains certain prominence nowadays, when our continent faces with new challenges and crisis. Fortunately, some of these troubles are less crucial, despite their long-lasting effect. I mean financial crises of 2008, for instance. Much harder repercussion has been generated by a sudden migration blow against the EU from Syria and Northern Africa². From philosophical standpoint crises are the essence of our existence and unavoidable part of life itself. Politics are less sensitive to far-reaching wise of philosophy, and makes peoples preoccupied with instant currents. But a new crisis of European security system, caused with Russia's aggression against Ukraine poses a fundamental threat, which might finally re-institute the inter-state relations and change the whole system of European politics with an unpredictable outcome.

Sure, under conditions of some new challenges and risks attributed with them, the CBC leverage and instruments are too weak and localized in order to be potent and effective vis-à-vis the most drastic concerns of the emerging European security agenda. Still, they may be making a positive influence on the interstate relations, promoting better understanding of neighbouring peoples and creating atmosphere of the mutual confidence amidst partners³. All of abovementioned traits are precious and desirable now and ever.

One of the key problem is that cross-border cooperation has been often treated with politicians and scholars as a remedy while it could be a source of problems too. It is well-known for medical doctors that it depends on the measures; the same substance could be both poisoning or healing. So far for policy-makers, experts and researcher's there are some open questions: what to be done with cross-border cooperation to move it right direction and how to choose a 'proportion of ingredients' to mix them up healthy.

What is true in general, should be applicable with regard to a case study of cross-border cooperation in the Upper Prut Euroregion. Hereby the article considers the rationale of foundation of the Euroregion in brief, its main activities, some gains reached and most of all certain faults and critical weakness of the CBC, which have been chosen for the author's analysis.

Despite the fact, that CBC issues are widely represented in the academic literature⁴, there are some loops and holes remaining there. On the one hand, new

¹ Liudmila Roșca-Sadurschi, and Florin Buhociu, "Analysis of the Advantages of Creating Border Clusters," *Journal of Danubian Studies and Research* 5, no. 1 (2015): 230–231.

² Marta Pachocka, "The European Union and International Migration in the Early 21st Century: Facing the Migrant and Refugee Crisis in Europe," in *Facing the Challenges in the European Union. Re-thinking EU Education and Research for Smart and Inclusive Growth* (Warsaw: Elipsa, 2015), 531–558.

³ Svitlana Naumkina, "Regional Collaboration as a Condition of Collective Security," *Politychne zhyttia* [Political life] 1-2 (2016): 141–142.

⁴ See more in: Nataliya Mikula, *Inter-Territorial and Cross-Border Cooperation* (Monograph) (Lviv: IRD Sciences of Ukraine, 2010); Valeriu Moșneaga, "Moldovo-rumyno-ukrainskyi evrorehiony: realnost i ozhidaniia." [Moldovian-Romania-Ukrainian Euroregions: realities and expectations], in *Rehiony Skhidnoii Evropy: intehratsiini ochikuvannia ta konfrontatsiini nebezpeky* [Eastern European Regions: integrational expectations and threats of confrontation]

researches come from different discipline, and economists' papers seems to be over historians and political scientists' contributions. It could be greeted wholeheartedly. On the other hand, it seems that the approaches towards Ukraine-Romania-Moldova CBC in general and Euroregional cooperation in particular are getting more nationally-centred and consequently less comprehensive, if not overtly one-sided⁵). The latter trend is hardly positive at all.

I. Hopes implied and activity invested: what about a balance?

Let's trace back a path bit with this Euroregion briefly. Initiation of Upper Prut Euroregion coincides with the rapprochement between Romania and Ukraine, formalized by 1997 agreement between two countries on the cooperation. It closed down the previous pitiful period of suspicious, tensions and mutual accusations. Alongside with territorial claims made by official Bucharest against Ukraine in the first half 1990th. Romania usually repeatedly generated sharp accusations, addressed to Kyiv for the alleged neglecting of the ethnic minorities' rights, namely Romanians. Ukraine in its turn was keeping suspicious, with well-grounded reasons of a ghost of Greater Romania, and intertwined pretence and claims regarding the territories, which now are the part of Moldova and Ukraine. It made

(Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2000), 155–168; Mircea Brie and Ioan Horga. “Evropeiski instrumenty ukraino-rumunskoho transkordonnogo spivrobitnytstva” [European instruments of Ukraine-Romania cross-border cooperation], in *Ukraina-Rumuniia-Moldova: istorychni, politychni ta kulturni aspekty vzaiemyn u konteksti evropeiskyykh protsesiv* [Ukraine-Romania-Moldova: historical, political and cultural aspects of relations in European processes' context], t. III, ed. Anatoliy Kruglashov (Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2009), 302–318; Serhiy Gakman, “Evropeiskiy instrumentarii susidstva ta partnerstva ta transkordonne spivrobitnytstvo (na prykladi Chernivstskoi oblasti)” [European Neighborhood and Partnership instruments and cross-border cooperation (a case of Chernivtsi region)], in *Suchasni aspekty publichnoho upravlinnia v Chernivetskyi oblasti. Informatsiino-analitychnyi zbirnyk* [Contemporary aspects of public administration in Chernivtsi oblast. Informational and analytical collection] (Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2016), 130–144; Jordan G. Bărbulescu, *Cooperarea transfrontalieră între România și Ucraina, respectiv între România și Republica Moldova. Oportunități și provocări în perioada 2014–2020* [Cross-border cooperation of Romania and Ukraine, respectively of Romania and Republic of Moldova. Opportunities and challenges of the period 2014–2020] (București: Institutul European din România, Studii de strategie și politici SPOS [Strategy and Policy Studies – SPOS] 2, 2016); Anatoliy Kruglashov, “Euroregion Upper Prut: Studies and Activities,” in “Cross-Border Governance and the Borders Evolutions.” *Eurotimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 16 (Autumn 2013): 27–39; Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie. “La Coopération Interuniversitaire Aux Frontières Extérieures de l'Union Européenne et la Contribution à la Politique Européenne de Voisinage,” in *Elargissement et Politique Européenne de Voisinage*, ed. Gilles Rouet and Peter Terem (Bruxelles: Bruylant, 2008), 203–233, and many others.

⁵ For instance: Dan Voicilas, “Opportunities and Threats in North Eastern Romania – SWOT Analysis in Suceava and Botoșani Counties,” *Agricultural Economics and Rural Development* 14, no. 2 (2017): 175–184; Dan Voicilas, “SWOT Analysis of Upper Prut Euro-region: Focus on Romanian Side,” in *Suchasna pravova osvita: Materialy VII Mizhnarodnoii naukovopraktychnoi konferentsii* [Contemporary Law Education: Proceedings of VII International Scientific – Practical Conference] (Ternopil: Vektor, 2018), 77–82; Serhiy Korol, “Evroreghionalnoe sotrudnichestvo na zapadnykh hranitsakh Ukrainy v postsotsialisticheskiy period: osveshcheniie voprosa otechestvennymi issledovateliami” [Euroregional cooperation on the Western Borders of Ukraine in post-socialist period: studies of national researchers], *Sumska starovyna* [Ancient Sumy Land] XLVIII (2016): 78–86.

interstate relations clouded and constrained to a considerable degree by and large⁶. Mutual tension had produced as a ‘collateral damage’ the dangerous situation, where the Ukrainian minority in Romania and Romanian minority in Ukraine respectively were kept as a kind of hostage of those hostile politics. Moldova has a lot of specificity with regard to Romanian policy also⁷, but it’s not a subject for studying in this article.

So, 1997 was a crucial turning point in this sense to a much better atmosphere of the interstate relations. At the same time political leaders of that time Romania were eager of thinking about the imagined losses of the Treaty with Ukraine. They try to find out ways to compensate at very least symbolically some concessions made under the pressure of the EU and NATO to Ukraine. Most and foremost it implied the consideration in favour of Romania’s growing presence and influence on the lands, which have been treated with Bucharest as the areas of the specific concerns of national security and interests respectively.

Hereon the exploit of a potential of CBC and Euroregions seemed to be one of the proper solution for those tasks achievement. So, that is a simplified narration on how the idea of two new Euroregions, Upper Prut and Lower Danube were coming into the existence. From the point of view of Bucharest authorities, they should be valuable, as matching concerns about the protection of the Romanian ethnic minority primarily, rather than other questions outlined in negotiations launched soon after.

Facing with this new Bucharest initiative, Ukraine’s authorities hesitated at first as to how react better way to. They were not pleased with the possibility of subordinating of Euroregions’ agenda toward inter-ethnic relations priority as the possible dividing line amidst soon-to-be partners’ countries. Accordingly, they promptly invented a very interesting counter-proposal (they might be thinking about a kind of asymmetric reply). The proposal was being fortified with arguments of Dr. Zinoviy Broyde from Chernivtsi, for a long time councillor of the Regional State Administration head. He put forward the idea of Eco-Euroregion establishment⁸. But after many delays and sometime tough negotiations that went out for years Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine came to an agreement on establishing two Euroregions – Upper Prut and Lower Danube finally.

Prior to the beginning of the Upper Prut Euroregion activity, its founders in the regions engaged, had been experienced with another much bigger Carpathian Euroregion⁹. It has been created at 1993 by the afford of Hungary and Poland, supported with USA. Initiators succeed with the involvement of Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine into the Euroregion, mainly united with geographical fact of belonging to Carpathian Mountains and respectively have been distinguished with some similar problems of underdeveloped economy and social structure over there. This Euroregion has gathered together enormously huge territories as for effective CBC, comparable with a size of the middle European state. At the same time, this Euroregion is unlikely deserves labelling as the

⁶ More details: Anatoliy Kruglashov, “Troublesome Neighborhood: Romania and Ukraine Relationships,” *New Ukraine. A Journal of History and Politics* no. 11 (2011): 114–125.

⁷ Kamil Całus, *In the Shadow of History. Romanian-Moldovan Relations* (Warsaw: OSW, 2015), 67.

⁸ Zinoviy Broide. “Mekhanizm transgranichnoho sotrudnichestva v Karpatskom regione” [Mechanism of the cross-border cooperation in Carpathian region], in *Traskordonni terytorii Ukrainy (Problemy rozvytku)* [Cross-border territories of Ukraine (Problems of development)] (Kyiv: Derzhbud Ukrainy, 1999), 152–159.

⁹ Svitlana Bila and Valentyna Romanova, “Karpatskyi Evrorehion iak chynnyk evropeiskoi intehratsii Ukrainy” [Carpathian Euroregion as a factor of Ukraine’s European integration], *Stratehichni pryorytety* [Strategic priorities] 3 (2013): 78–88.

successful one. Diversity of the interests and sometimes controversial priorities of the participating territories, complicated and ineffective managing bodies, too many actors partaking in the decision-making process¹⁰, and lack of both local and international resources to invest in some important projects; all of these made the activity of Carpathian Euroregion obstructed and unimpressive.

Upper Prut Euroregion came into force since 22.09.2000, comprising originally Chernivtsi oblast (Ukraine), Botoșani and Suceava Județul (Romania), and Edineț and Bălți District (Moldova)¹¹. Later there were some changes in the territorial composition of this Euroregion. First of all, the Ukrainian side insisted that it should be enlarged with the inclusion of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Despite a very small common border of this region with Romania (the Ukrainian-Romanian border in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast has only about 50 kilometres¹² and no border with Moldova at all, it would have made a legal reason for such a proposal¹³. This step had to make more equalized the participation and representation of Ukrainian territories in newly established Euroregion. Later Moldova underwent administrative-territorial reform, which made country redesigned in pro-soviet style territorial division. They come back to the smaller districts (raion) instead of previous bigger ones. It automatically led to the situation, where the capacity of North Moldova districts to interact with their Romanian and Ukrainian counterparts became less adequate. Sure, it does not mean the loss of Moldavian partners' interest to cooperate via CBC¹⁴.

All in all, the Upper Prut Euroregion achievements seemed to be promising in the initial period of its activity. There were a lot of expectations arose, especially when all partners counted on the EU funds' support to deal with their regional and local needs. Mainly on European neighbourhood instruments in the Romania-Moldova-Ukraine cooperation, and to a lesser extend in Slovakia-Hungary-Romania-Moldova-Ukraine. All these instruments and some European educational programs available (like Erasmus, Tempus, later Erasmus+,) brought about a plenty of new resources for the cross-border

¹⁰ Oksana Iurynets, "Karpatskyi Evrorehion iak vazhlyva skladova evropeiskoi intehratsii Ukrainy" [Carpathian Euroregion as an important part of Ukraine's European integration] (2015): s. 104–105, accessed August 02, 2019, <http://ena.lp.edu.ua/bitstream/ntb/28232/1/022-102-107.pdf>.

¹¹ Serhiy Gakman, "Evrorehion «Verkhniy Prut»: vid idei do konstyuvannia" [Upper Prut Euroregion: from the idea to the establishment], in *Transkordonne spivrobitnytstvo v polietnichnykh regionakh Skhidnoi ta Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Evropy: Materialy naukovoho sympoziumu 16-17 chervnia 1999 r* [Cross-Border Cooperation in poly-ethnic regions of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe: Proceedings of Scientific Symposium 16 – 17 June 1999] (Chernivtsi: Zoloti litavry, 1999), 105–107.

¹² Petro Havrylko and Anatoliy Kolodiichuk, "Lokalni stymuly aktyvizatsii ukrainsko-rumunskoi transkordonnoi spivpratsi" [Local stimulus of making cross-border cooperation of Ukraine and Romania activated]. *Naukovyi visnyk Uzhgorodskoho universytetu. Seriya: Ekonomika 1* [Scientific herald of Uzhgorod University. Line: Economics], no. 2 (2016): 16.

¹³ Aliona Freyak, "Tendentsii rozvytky transkordonnoho spivrobitnytstva v konteksti evrointegratsiinoho kursu Ukrainy (na prykladi Chernivetskoii oblasti v skladi Evrorehionu Verkhniy Prut)" [Tendencies of cross-border cooperation development in the context of European integration course of Ukraine: a case of Chernivtsi region in Upper Prut Euroregion] *Aktualni problemy mizhnarodnykh vidnosyn* [Actual problems of international relations] 112, no. 2 (2013): 332.

¹⁴ Fedir Vazhynsky and Anatoliy Kolodiiuchuk, "Ukrainsko-moldovskiyi transkordonnyi rehion: instytutsiino-pravovi zasady funktsionuvannia ta suchasnyi stan subrehionalnoi spivpratsi." [Ukraine-Moldova trans-border region: institutional and legal foundations of functioning and actual situation of the sub-regional cooperation] *Sotsialno-ekonomichni problemy suchasnoho periodu Ukrainy* [Social and Economic issues of Ukraine's contemporary period] 6 (2015): 39–40.

cooperation of the local actors¹⁵. Improvement of the local and regional administrative and political elite actorness (a recently invented concept on the capacity to act, counter-act, exert influence, and get the results, which are desired by some actors) gave the possibility to estimate the Upper Prut Euroregion as a truly promising project. Thus, beside some cautious and prejudice survived between partners, all of the parties concerned did invest certain time and energy, trying to create an institutional framework for the development of the CBC programs. They made concerted attempts with applying to the European funds and institutions too.

However, because different reasons the regional actors of CBC gradually become losing their interest towards Euroregion's farther advancement and weakened the control upon its everyday activity. It leads toward lowering level of investments, mere absence of conceivable and attractive for all of partners' initiatives there. First of all, from the very beginning, the functioning of joint institutions in charge of administrating the Euroregion seemed to be quite complicated with the practice of the chairmanship rotated every year. On the one hand, that rule seems both democratic and fair. Yet on the other, the quality of the leadership heavily depended on the capability of the regional administrative bodies and their personal interest of developing the interregional cooperation. Finally, it became an informal but trivial custom for the last decade not to summon any meetings of regional leaders around two-three years in the Euroregion. So, lacking regional leaders' communication and regular incentives to cooperate, the Euroregion progressively sloped down into a stagnation.

The second point concerns the fact, that all of these Euroregion's bodies, advisory including from the very beginning till today seemed to be mostly and profoundly bureaucratic by nature. The involvement of local experts, NGOs and Civil society institutes from all territorial units belonging to the Euroregion into a process of policymaking and policy implementations was and is too low. Impulses and initiatives, originated from Civil society, and from the local population towards the agenda setting and policy implementation are very weak all the time under considerations. It means widening gap between overtly bureaucratic structure of the Euroregion and the everyday life expectations of local inhabitants. If to ask anybody in participating regions of Romania, Moldova and Ukraine, what do they know about the Euroregion they are a part of, some of responders usually could recall the name of the Upper Prut Euroregion only¹⁶. But when one follows up with the next questions "What do you know about this activity?" and "How did you benefit from it?" usually their reply would be negative. It reflects the key problems of this Euroregion and CBC in general.

Approaching towards better understanding of CBC in the region, one has to recognize, that the initial potential, economic and social capitals of the Euroregion territories were more or less comparable and compatible with each other. In general, all of the administrative units belonging to Euroregion from Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine were rather equal, because they historically were attributed with peripheral status as for the related countries, and in turn it determined traditional attitude to them from the national political and business elites. Also, these regions are mostly agrarian and

¹⁵ Freyak, 329–332.

¹⁶ Oleksiy Hrushko, "Suchasni aspekty transkordonnoi spivpratsi na prykladi funktsionuvannia Evrorehionu «Verkhniy Prut»" [Contemporary aspects of cross-border cooperation on the example of Upper Prut Euroregion functioning], *Grani* 9 (2015): 42.

overloaded with many socio-economic problems¹⁷. The industrialization processes that took place there after WWII at socialist times, with a complicated balance of positive and negative consequences attributed with, happened to be demolished to a mere ground level soon after the revolutionary events of 1989–1991. These terrains are marked with some more pitiful similarity too. It means, they are situated away from All-European transport corridors¹⁸. Consequently, one may observe, they are peripheral not because of their overall potential, demographic and intellectual resources but mainly because they are distant of ways, where European integration core processes move forward.

II. Challenges to be converted into possibilities

Now, these regions seem to be somewhat resorts of bygone times culture. For example, Bucovina (Bukovina) – both Romanian and Ukrainian parts, is attractive for the tourists because of some sites there, likewise fortresses, museums, some cultural events in place there, and picturesque landscape around survived¹⁹. For sure, this region deserves attention because of its poly-ethnic and multicultural character. It produces both positive and negative consequences, which require further research and careful ethno-policy applied in all of three countries concerned²⁰. The movement of tourists is a pretty strong aspect of Euroregion's activity still²¹. It is obstructed however because of somewhat lower quality and number of hotels and other facilities proposed to visitors. A situation with these services availability diminishes from Romania to Ukraine getting the worst in a case of Moldova.

Another chronical problem of the Euroregion is that all of regional and local elites there are looking around Brussels' funds rather than towards mutual horizontal

¹⁷ Khrystyna Prytula, Yaroslava Kalat, and Natalia Vynar, "Euro-Regional Cooperation as an Important Factor in Overcoming the Depression of Rural Ukrainian-Romanian Border Areas," *Agricultural Economics and Rural Development* 13, no. 2 (2016): 150–153.

¹⁸ Vladlen Makoukh, "International Transport Corridors and Ukraine: Benefits of Cross-Border Cooperation with Romania," in *13th Edition of the International Conference "European Integration, Realities and Perspectives,"* (2018): 274–276.

¹⁹ Vasyl Kyfyak and Olexander Kyfyak, "A Methodology for Calculating Individual Indicators of Tourism Activity," *Turyzm* 28, no. 1 (2018): 43.

²⁰ For instance: Gaëlle Fisher and Maren Röger, "Bukovina: A Borderland Region in (Trans-)national Historiographies after 1945 and 1989–1991," *East European Politics and Societies* 33, no. 1 (2019): 176–195; Julien Iglesias Danero, "Behind Closed Doors: Discourses and Strategies in the European Securitized Borderlands in Moldova, Serbia and Ukraine," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* (2018): 1–16; Anatoliy Kruglashov, "Bukovina: A Border Region with a Fluctuating Identity // Confronting the Past: Ukraine and Its History in Festschrift in Honour of John-Paul Himka," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 35–36 (2010–11): 118–37; David Rechter, "Nationalism at the Edge: The Jüdische Volksrat of Habsburg Bukovina," *Aschkenas* 18, no. 1 (2009): 59–89; Kurt Scharr, "Borderlines and Nation-building: Bukowina 1848 to 1947," *GEOREVIEW: Scientific Annals of Ștefan cel Mare University of Suceava. Geography Series* 17, no. 1 (2007): 5–18; Ștefan Purici, "Habsburg Bukovina at the Beginning of the Great War. Loyalism or Irredentism?" *Codrul Cosminului* 23, no. 1 (2017), etc.

²¹ Mariia Piren, "Evropejski tsinnosti – vazhlyvyi chynnyk efektyvnoii spivpratsi ukraino-rumunskoho transkordonnoho spivrobitnytstva v haluzi sotsialno-ekonomichnoho rozvytku prykordonnykh mistsevykh hromad" [European values as the important factor of Ukraine-Romania cross-border cooperation in the socio-economical field of local communities' development], *Sotsialno-ekonomichni problemy suchasnoho periodu Ukrainy* [Social and Economic issues of Ukraine's contemporary period] 6 (2015): 44.

cooperation, based on good management of local resources and initiatives, coming up from grass-root level. If to recall the previous type of cross-border cooperation, which existed here from the Soviet time²², there was bilateral cooperation mainly. Even in Soviet era leaders of the neighbouring regions had gathered together time by time, discussing some common issues, surely under the obligatory ideological coverage of socialist internationalism. They had been striving to realize certain joint projects as the aftermath of these meetings. Now it looks like bilateral projects are more successful, in comparison with trilateral or multilateral ones.

Since the entrance of Romania to the EU and the signing up of the Association Agreement between Moldova and Ukraine with the EU all of these countries are looking for the Brussels' support as the key source of their cooperation in the Euroregion framework. It automatically makes these regions dependable on funding availability from the Bucharest, Chisinau, and Kyiv as well as from Brussels. Metaphorically they all are beggars rather than self-sustainable masters here. One of the cute English proverb reminds us: beggars aren't choosers. It is true regarding the policy-making palette of CBC agenda and the limitation imposed on its implementation.

Another problem, which is not so much articulated in official speeches and a bit better presented in some academic texts, is a growing disparity between partnering regions. After the twelve years of Romania's membership in the EU and NATO, Suceava region is doing much better from all these territorial units, Botoşani is lagging behind, Ukrainian regions are somehow in between²³, and to conclude Moldavian districts remain the poorest. It covers the difference of GDP level per capita, local demography trends, average salaries and pensions growth, standards of medical care and educational services etc.²⁴

In spite of many delays and breaks with regard to Upper Euroregion activity, one has to acknowledge some impacts generated from Romanian and Ukrainian side in order of re-establishing the institutional cooperation there. There were at least three joint meetings of the Regional councils (representative bodies) of Suceava and Chernivtsi. They declared and confirmed their common goodwill and joint commitment of moving forward all types of the cross-border cooperation together. By doing so they tried to manifest primarily that they are good partners and true leaders of Upper Prut Euroregion's cooperation. Contextually, it looks rather as the kind of coming back to the bilateral cooperation model, than the true attempt of the Upper Prut institutional capability reactivation.

It's worthy to recall that there was the idea of inviting Austria's Carinthia²⁵ and German's Schwaben (Bavarian) regions associated membership in the Upper Prut. It has to add some western flavour to regional cooperation, taking into account both associated

²² Svitlana Beley and Oksana Zybarena, "Perspektyvy rozvytku silskykh terytorii v konteksti ukraïnsko-rumunskoiï transkordonnoiï spivpratsi Evrorehionu Verkhniy Prut" [Perspectives of the rural territories development in a context of Ukraine-Romania cross-border cooperation in the Upper Prut Euroregion], *Sotsialno-ekonomichni problemy suchasnoho periodu Ukrainy* [Social and Economic issues of Ukraine's contemporary period] 6 (2015): 33.

²³ Olena Panukhnik, "New Regional Structural Policy of Ukraine in Terms of EU Integration," *Barometr regionalny* [Regional barometre] 14, no. 1 (2016): 64–66.

²⁴ Khrystyna Prytula and Yaroslava Kalat, "Directions of Cross-Border Cooperation Intensification in the Framework of the Euroregion 'Upper Prut': Ukrainian-Romanian Borderlands," in "Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits," *Eurolimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 52–54.

²⁵ Werner Platzer and Udo Puschnig, "Some Aspects of the European Regional Cooperation Carinthia–Chernivtsi," in *Rehionalizm ta intehratsiia. Naukovi shchrichnyk [Regionalism and integration: scientific annual]* (Chernivtsi: Bukrek, 2016, Vypusk II), 94.

members historic ties with Bukovyna. Of course, some expectations stemmed from the fact that both regions are experienced with European cross-border and transnational cooperation and could be a kind of informal mentors for their Eastern-European partners. Partly, those hopes come true, yet that ‘westward extension’ of the partnership does not look like a locomotive of making accelerated Europeanization of CBC in the Upper Prut Euroregion.

As early as 2000 Chernivtsi and Suceava signed an Agreement with Schwaben and Maine (France) on “Four regions for Europe”, which is multifunctional and encourages cultural events, youth exchange and common sports event. It has certain symbolic meaning and makes contribution into CBC and interregional cooperation in Upper Prut Euroregion, partly compensating inertia and slowness of its formal structures.

As another positive example of the western partners’ initiative could be commemorated a case of Austrian diplomacy aid with an attempt of the cross-border cooperation reinvigorating. It took place at 2011–2013, when the relations of Romania and Ukraine seemed to be stuck and lacked any new impulses from both sides. Austria for various reasons and as the former master of these territories has shown an interest in initiative of reviving bilateral interregional dialogue. Thus, with the mutual consent were organized the so-called “Bukovyna dialogue”, series of annual meetings in Chernivtsi, Vienna, and Suceava to discuss together, what unites and what divides neighbours²⁶.

The dialogue aimed at discerning, what should and could be done for overcoming some difficulties in the CBC amidst Chernivtsi and Suceava. Surprisingly, this forum ceased to exist after the Revolution of Dignity. It proves these kind of initiatives are susceptible to subjective factors first and foremost. That happens because they are highly personalized and their output and very continuity heavily depends on the personality and devotion of the regional leaders themselves. For example, it’s not an easy task to discover major initiatives for the CBC agenda setting from Botoşani. As a result, there is more stable cooperation between two cities and regions, Chernivtsi and Suceava. As a matter of fact, they do create together an axis for Euroregion’s cooperation revolving around them as well. Moldovan districts are likely placed by side to the process of CBC, they mainly join sometime certain projects consuming results of others’ cooperation²⁷.

So, it looks like overall situation with this Euroregion evolution is a bit complicated till now. Hopefully, last year (2018) a new impulse of revitalizing the activity of Upper Prut Euroregion has happened there. Heads of its administrative units had gathered together in Chernivtsi. They tried to discuss why they had no meeting for more than four years and no major activities concerning CBC took place here²⁸. Finally, they agreed to move towards the business agenda of cooperation and primarily work together resolving the social and economic problems of local inhabitants. Characteristically, there

²⁶ Mykhailo Papiev, “Bukovyna mozhe staty svoeridnym vzirtsem rozbudovy rehionalnoii skladovoi evropeiskoiu intehratsii” [Bukovina might be a kind of sample for the regional dimension’s construction of the European integration], *Uriadovyi portal. Iedynyi portal orhaniv vykonavchoi vlady Ukrainy* [Governmental portal. The single portal of executive bodies of Ukraine], accessed July 29, 2019, http://old.kmu.gov.ua/kmu/control/uk/publish/printable_article?art_id=244256670.

²⁷ Simion Certan and Ion Certan, “Reflections on the Euro-Regions’ Contribution to the Realization of the Association Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Moldova,” *Agricultural Economics and Rural Development* 14, no. 2 (2017): 225–227.

²⁸ Vidnyni Chernivetska oblast holovuie u Evrorehioni [From now Chernivtsi region heads Euroregion], *ASS. Informatsiine agenstvo* [ASS. Information agency], accessed July 29, 2019, <https://acc.cv.ua/news/chernivtsi/vidnini-chernivecka-oblast-golovue-u-evroregioni-31542>.

was no discussion on the topic of the cross-border passages (check points). Ukrainian-Romania border critically needs more passages and no progress with them is observed about last decade. Recently Ukraine got in a scandal, after the EU recalled money for the renovation or building of the cross-border passages. Mostly money granted for them were disappeared or reconstruction not been completed duly. Nobody has been punished for these wrong-doings. Some of these unfinished passages are in Chernivtsi region, for example, Dyakivtsi and Krasnoilsk²⁹.

Another unfortunate idea, which concludes with no considerable result, is the establishment of railway corridor “Bucharest-Suceava-Chernivtsi-Kyiv”. Instead of a regular train movement between two capitals it is one carriage moving once a week between Bucharest and Kyiv last years. As a reduced version of this longer route, a negotiation of railways campaigns with the local authorities took place. They agreed that both neighbouring regions concerned need a new regular train Suceava-Chernivtsi-Suceava. The last conclusion made by contacting parties is, that they are not ready to realize this idea yet.

For both Suceava and Chernivtsi regions a key issue of their future is to develop their airports, that are successfully function as International ones. Suceava makes progress much better to this end, but generally air flights connection available for Upper Prut Euroregion’s inhabitants are quite poor. It is not comparable to the demographic, tourist and economic potential of these territories. The progress with air-flights expansion is also very important for Ukraine and Moldova because their borders’ regions are the area of intensive labour migration to the EU countries. Thus, despite some new promising initiatives, elaborated in the Upper Prut Euroregions, they face with too many obstacles and delays, which postpone their realization for an unknown period of time. It’s a pity, because Ukraine-Romania-Moldova cooperation has got a very good prospect to be developed and moved forward³⁰.

Conclusions

One of the fundamental problem penetrating the Upper Prut Euroregion activity is that from the very beginning of its foundation till now it is by nature elitist project, inspired to a certain degree by some out-dated geopolitical approaches and political calculations. That design to a great degree excludes both institutionally and functionally ordinary people expectations and demands. They should be the key beneficiaries and the very end of CBC but they hardly are able of partaking in related initiatives and activity from the very beginning until present time. Permanently lacking actual representation in the Euroregion institutes of NGO’s, being alienated off the agenda-setting and policy-making process, Civil society does support CBC there partly and optionally.

The existing mechanism of CBC required much more concerted and well-thought efforts. Especially local elites have to deal much more with them. Fortunately, Romania has gained much more obvious results with regard to regional development because of the EU support, decentralization process and administrative-territorial reform. Ukraine

²⁹ Maksym Sydorzhhevskiy. “ES pidtverdyy pryypyneniia finansuvannia infrastrukturykh proektiv v Ukraini” [The EU confirmed cancelation of infrastructural projects in Ukraine financing], accessed July 26, 2019, <https://p.dw.com/p/2t9OY>.

³⁰ Olha Babinska, “The Romania–Ukraine–Moldova Growth Triangle as a Spatial Dimension of Structural Transformations in Cross-Border Areas,” *Agricultural Economics and Rural Development* 14, no. 2 (2017): 195–207.

launched a process of decentralization since April 2014 and does progress too, with so many issues remained debatable and unresolved. It seems that the appearance and aspirations of Ukrainian amalgamated communities in the Upper Prut Euroregion could intensify the cross-border cooperation lively. Now the most successful amalgamated communities are getting more active in the framework of CBC. Promising sign is that they are learning fast how to explore available mechanisms and instruments of the cooperation with foreign partners. Still they are facing with some problems. The first is the lack of well-trained and professional staff (trained in linguistic, diplomatic and technical aspects). The second is the issue of co-financing the European projects. Even though the general sum of co-financing is pretty low, it poses a financial challenge for the local communities and authorities. Sometimes the need those money is bounded with the risks of corruption, engaging some stake-holders, while they are in charge of deciding on where this money should come from and how they would be distributed respectively.

From a longer perspective, these problems seem to be rather temporary ones. For now, Upper Prut Euroregion is not a success-story yet. A lot of energy should be invested in the development of this project and some new, pushing forward initiatives should be invented there. They have to combine a goodwill and devotion of local and national elites and the EU bigger support in order to reconsider properly the role of this third generation of Euroregions and make them really reinforced. The most important consideration of the Euroregion activities, their effectiveness and efficacy criteria is to be local people's concerns and interests. Now a major part of them are either ignored or manipulatively misused.

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The Role of the Border Regions in the Regional Development. The Case of Northern Transylvania Region

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Abstract. *Border regions, with their unique characteristics, with specific human, economic and social resources, are new forms of association established by market-driven and private-sector principles which imply multiple interactions between non-state actors. In this context, the state is complemented by other actors, operating in a more complex environment. The state functions are largely transferred to regional bodies and private companies, both engaged in cross-border competition to attract the resources needed for development. The decisions of these actors are influenced by the actions of other firms and governments in their proximity.*

These regions have specific resources, working methods and tools capable of generating economic growth and creating unique advantages that allow them to differentiate, develop and impose on the global market, in the fierce competition for attracting investors, labour force and tourists. At the same time, they play an essential role in the economic growth and improvement of the image of the country they belong, constituting a motor of growth and development.

Keywords: *border region, state-region, territorial brand, development*

The region – a real growth pole

The border regions and their patterns of development raise an increasing interest among specialists, which analyse their role in the current international relations and how they manage to form, develop and provide growth opportunities for companies, institutions and people within them. Inside these regions, the state authority is largely transferred to international institutions, regional bodies and transnational companies, overcoming and ignoring the territorial boundaries. In this context, both transnational firms and regional authorities are engaged in the regional competition to attract the resources needed for development, and their decisions are influenced by the actions of other firms and governments in their proximity. Under these conditions, the rules can no longer be established within a state's borders, because within the world system, negotiations are held in a “diplomatic triangle,” having three sides formed by relations between states and companies, relations between states, and relations between companies¹.

Part of the new regionalism², the mechanisms for micro–regional integration emerge as a viable solution for the border regions with resources that can be exploited in order to attract investment to create wealth and prosperity within. Kenichi Ohmae, the

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¹ John M. Stopford, Susan Strange, and John S. Henley, *Rival States, Rival Firms. Competition for World Market Shares* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 18–23.

² See more on the New Regionalism in: Luminița Șoproni, “Region – Engine of Growth in Global Economy,” in “Regionalization in Globalization,” *Transylvanian Review* XXIV, Supplement 1 (2015): 33–44.

well-known business consultant, affirms that the world shouldn't be viewed as an ensemble of monolithic states, but as states formed of assemblages of regions. In this context, the borders are no longer relevant, as they are a burden for the countries they are limiting, because "the state-region" is not a political but an economic entity³. Although this represents a vision taken to the extreme, in reality there are regions that represent development poles for the states they are part of, the locomotives that lead the economies of the respective countries towards economic progress.

The characteristics of the region, according to Ohmae⁴, are: an internal market large enough to attract foreign investment (with a population of half a million to 10 million people); the presence in the region of at least one international airport or major port, alongside a good transport infrastructure; several modern universities and research facilities that attract valuable students and "produce" outstanding graduates or highly trained workers; opening outward, considering the rest of the world as a resource reservoir necessary for development; the existence of an attractive environment for social and professional life (pleasant physical environment: parks, recreational areas, areas to attract investors).

It is about a structure that voluntarily renounced to some of the functions of the nation-state in favour of the ability to access the "four *Is*" of the global economy - *investment, industry, information technology (IT)* and *individuals* (individual consumers)⁵, going beyond state borders becoming permeable. Global investments are no longer geographically limited, as investment opportunities often occur in areas other than those where money is located, which leads to increased cross-border capital flows. In the field of industry, transnational companies are no longer constrained by the interests of states to provide resources and skills for their development. These corporations now respond to the desire and the need to penetrate the global markets, attractive from the point of view of the existing resources and demand, which leads to their profitability. The movement and transformation of investment and industry has been facilitated by new information and communication technologies - the *information* - that has created communication networks within large companies, enabling them to operate in different areas of the world, attractive through the resources, costs and strengths of the workforce, without having to transfer the experts or material resources needed to create an integrated business system. And, finally, individuals have become global as well. Easy access to information, possibly thanks to new technologies, has transformed consumers into informed people, aware of what actors from the markets around the world can offer, and very demanding about how they want their needs and desires to be met, eager to obtain products at the best price-quality ratio, regardless of their origin⁶.

The border region is a complex concept that contains, besides the purely competitive dimensions, aspects related to internal cohesion, the environment, the perception and openness to the outside. It results from here that such a region must have an important cultural dimension alongside the economic one that is necessary in the global world, assuming the development of a multicultural or regional identity. So, in our opinion, it is a social construction built on a foundation provided by economic opportunities. It circumscribes very well the concept of "region-actor" ("*regionness*"),

³ Kenichi Ohmae, *The Next Global Stage. Challenges and Opportunities in our Borderless World* (New Jersey: Wharton School Publishing, 2005), 92–93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 94–96.

⁵ Kenichi Ohmae, *End of the Nation State. The Rise of Regional Economies* (London: Harper Collins, 1996): 81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2–5.

which defines the position of a region in terms of regional cohesion, representing the “process by which a geographical area turns from a passive object into active subject, capable of expressing the transnational interests of the region”⁷.

Branding border regions – tool for differentiation and positioning in regional competition

A territorial brand must always be integrated and analysed in a wider context formed by historical, economic, demographic, social, cultural, and political data and characteristics, which include: global competition, the region’s growth-decline dynamics, the region’s level of development, location, the volume and characteristics of its resources, the volume and level of education of the labour force, education, infrastructure, the relation between the state and public sector, accessibility, tourist attractions, nature and perceived character of people, traditions and symbols, entertainment options, historical background, social ambience, and cultural specificity. All these factors constitute the identity elements of a regional brand and contribute to the creation of the image – be it positive or negative – of a territory.

This mix of attributes is essential for the construction of a regional brand, given that branding, with its values and significance, is based on the implication and association of the audience as well as on the visible demonstration of personal affiliation. Thus, it allows us to define ourselves with the help of easily understandable symbols of our surroundings⁸. This is possible because branding offers differentiation and guarantees security and quality, thus helping with the region’s evolution. Branding image is clearly a social phenomenon⁹, and the brand identity represents the nucleus of the image and is the indicator of its personality¹⁰. Other authors¹¹, who are more pragmatic, see personal branding and image building as a good means of strengthening the competitive position of a region for attracting and preserving resources.

As a result, the process of building a regional brand implies the creation of clear, simple and differentiating proposals, formulated around certain attributes that can be easily symbolised both verbally and visually and can be easily understood by a large number of audiences¹². This process entails coordinated efforts from all the domains present within the region: culture, education, sports, transport, environment, regional and local administration, regional political representatives from state structures, and the business environment.

The brand must bring added value to the region, differentiate it from the rest of the competing regions, and offer its identity. This is why the regional branding must be built on five pillars: differentiated product – the region, notoriety – knowledge of the region, image, market share – the region’s economic power in national and international contexts, and the loyalty of the target audience.

⁷ Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum, „Theorising the Rise of Regionness,” in *New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy*, ed. Shaun Breslin, Christopher W. Hughes, Nicola Phillips, and Ben Rosamond (New York: Routledge, 2002), 38.

⁸ Wally Olins, *Despre brand* [On brand] (București: Comunicare.ro, 2006), 16.

⁹ Juan Costa, *La imagen de marca, Un fenómeno social* (Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós Iberica, 2004), 106–112.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 160–165.

¹¹ John Rennie Short, Carrie Breitbach, Steven Buckman and Jamey Essex, “From World Cities to Gateway Cities,” *City* 4, no. 3 (2000): 318.

¹² Olins, *Despre brand*, 143.

By analysing the general objectives of regional branding – positive image, internal legitimacy, economic power, attractiveness, competitiveness and influence over neighbouring regions – we can build specific objectives that differ depending on the target audience to which they are addressed¹³:

- for visitors (tourists): increasing the region's attractiveness as a tourist destination;
- for business and industry: attracting internal and foreign investment;
- for export markets: increasing exports of products created by regional industries; or
- for inhabitants, residents and workers: keeping and attracting new inhabitants and highly skilled workers, the acknowledgement and management of regional culture.

According to the way in which it is created, the image of a region must convince the audience that the transmitted messages are valid and determine the audience to act according to the interests of the respective community. This is why Kotler defines the image of a place as the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that people have in accordance to that place, and underlines the difference between image and stereotype, the latter representing only an image, which is highly distorted and simplistic and reflects a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards that place, shared by many people¹⁴. Also, Olins¹⁵ talks about the need to overcome stereotypes, which have negative effects on inhabitants and on certain activities within the region, by using every promotion technique available – advertisements, exhibitions, fairs or a week dedicated to the region or city.

In order to reach the objectives it has assumed, the image of a region must respect the following criteria¹⁶: realism (by reflecting the region's characteristics without exaggerating its potential and characteristics), credibility (to convince the target audience), simplicity (given that too many characteristics and images can lead to confusion), attractiveness (suggesting why people would want to live, work, visit or invest in that region), and distinction (creating a difference between neighbouring areas and focusing on its unique elements).

Tools for development in Northern Transylvania Region

Northern Transylvania has a peripheral geographic position within the European Union as it is situated at the eastern border of the EU with Ukraine, but it also has a strategic position as it is a gate of entrance – into Romania from Hungary and to the exterior of the EU towards Ukraine and Moldova. The North-West Region is part of Macroregion 1 (NUTS1) and comprises the counties of Bihor, Bistrița-Năsăud, Cluj, Maramureș, Satu Mare and Sălaj. It represents 14.3% of the Romanian territory, being at the 4th place at national level, respectively 29th among the 273 regions of the EU in terms of area.

The region is located at the intersection of the North-South and East-West European geographical axes. Due to this geographical position, through the process of European Integration of some countries from the former Soviet area (especially Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia), the region presents opportunities regarding the possibility of drawing major European transport corridors to the East, but also regarding the economic development.

¹³ Philip Kotler, Donald H. Haider and Irving Rein, *Marketingul locurilor* [Place Marketing] (București: Teora, 2001): 28–40.

¹⁴ Ibid., 151–152.

¹⁵ Olins, *Despre brand*, 138.

¹⁶ Kotler, Haider and Rein, 159–161.

The border with Hungary extends over a length of 265 km, and in the North, the border with Ukraine is 258 km long. The intensification and deepening of cross-border cooperation with neighbouring regions has been supported on the border with Hungary since 1995 through PHARE CBC funds, between 2007 and 2013 being financed by the FEDR with 250 million euros. The possibility of extending cooperation with Ukraine's neighbours was opened in 2004, through EU funding of PHARE and TACIS programs, which continued during the period 2007–2013 through the quadrilateral program ENPI Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine¹⁷.

The analysis of relevant macroeconomic indicators reveals that Northern Transylvania has the third highest contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and to the Gross Value Added, but with below the national average values in labour productivity and GDP per inhabitant, which are way behind the European average.

Representing 14.3% of the country's territory and 12.92% of its total population, the Northern Transylvania Region contributed 11.32% to the national GDP, the third highest contributor from 2005 to 2011. The indicator that uniformly reflects comparative situations between states, namely the GDP at the regional level per inhabitant, expressed in standard purchasing power parity, has also registered improvements, doubling in value in the past ten years to a value of 42% of EU-27 value in 2010.¹⁸ From the point of view of sector share in the regional economy, trade contributed the most, with 36.23% of the total turnover, followed closely by manufacturing with 34.85%. The construction industry had a share of 9.12%, and transport and logistics contributed 6% to the creation of the North-West Region's turnover in 2011.¹⁹

According to the National Commission for Strategy and Prognosis²⁰, the projected evolution of GDP/inhabitant in the region is in the direction of its growth until 2020, the growth being at the same level as the national one. The growth of regional GDP in 2020, compared to the value of 2015, is expected to be 30%. Also, the average number of employees in the region will have an upward trend, with an increase of 18% in 2020 compared to 2015.

Regarding foreign direct investment (FDI), the North-West Region attracted investments totalling 2.454 million euros in 2011, which represents only 4.5% of the total value of FDI in Romania, last out of the country's regions – 6th place in FDI, fifth place in green-field investments. In 2011, the North-West Region had the third highest number of registered foreign capital companies – 867 companies, 13.59% of the total – and had the fifth highest values of the subscribed share capital. The countries with the highest number of investors were Italy, Germany, Austria, France, UK, Spain, and Hungary, and the main economic activities of the foreign capital companies are the ones with high added value products (though to a lesser extent) – electrical equipment industry, metallic construction and metal products industry, computer, electronic and optical equipment, industry of

¹⁷ Agenția de Dezvoltare Regională Nord-Vest, "Planul de dezvoltare al regiunii Nord-Vest 2014–2020. Transilvania de Nord 2020" [North-West region 2014–2020 development plan]. Northern Transylvania 2020], 14–15, accessed July 12, 2019, http://www.nord-vest.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/7r238_PDR_2014_2020.pdf.

¹⁸ Ibid., 20–21, 112–114.

¹⁹ Ibid., 125.

²⁰ Comisia Națională de Prognoză [National Commission for Prognosis], "Proiecția principalilor indicatori economico-sociali în PROFIL TERITORIAL, până în 2020, may 2017" [Projection of the main economic and social indicators in TERRITORIAL PROFILE, by 2020], accessed July 12, 2019, http://www.cnp.ro/user/repository/prognoze/prognoza_profil_teritorial_mai_2017.pdf.

communication equipment – as well as the region’s traditional industries, which attracted the most foreign investors – wood manufacturing, industry of non-metallic products, the metallurgic industry, and the textiles and clothing industry.

At the regional level, there is an obvious tendency to increase the volume of exports, with a clear contraction of export activity during the economic crisis. The average export-to-import ration during this period was approximately 80% in the North-West Region.²¹

The Industrial Platforms are instruments of local and regional development with the role of attracting investments and creating jobs, leading to the improvement of the quality of life of the local communities in the region and to economic growth. The Industrial Parks represent investment basins that have multiplication effects inside the region they are situated. They offer support for foreign and local investors through specific instruments, such as:

- active communication between investors and the local administration;
- regular updates with the latest information on the state aid schemes and EU funding opportunities;
- assistance in the relationship with the authorities, institutions, government agencies and public bodies;
- access to tailor-made training programs;
- facilitation of the networking process with the local business environment;
- assistance with obtaining legal approvals and permits, streamlining the process and reducing the timeline;
- fiscal incentives.

In the North-West Region, there are several types of business support structures: industrial parks, business incubators, logistics parks, business centres and exhibition centres. Currently, the operational industrial parks are: Tetarom I-IV, Turda I-II, Câmpia Turzii, Dej and Stonextract (Cluj County), Oradea Eurobusiness I-III (Bihar County), Jibou (Sălaj County), Bistrița Sud (Bistrița-Năsăud County), and Schwaben Petrești (Satu Mare County).

Considering the border dimension analysed in this paper, the Industrial Platforms located in Oradea (the city situated in the North-Eastern part of Romania, 10 kilometres away from the Romanian-Hungarian border) have the following competitive advantages that contribute to the overall value of Northern Transylvania region²²:

- strategic location (Romania is located on ”the New Silk Road” of economic growth, set to become a grand Eurasian corridor, connecting Asia and the West through three regions, composed of the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea and the Adriatic);
- direct access to a full range of business infrastructure and facilities;
- support for foreign and national/local investors (fiscal incentives for investors, who are exempted from the property tax due for buildings and land located on the platforms);
- skilled labour force.

They provide direct links to key European trade routes and stand out as one of the largest investment areas among the industrial platforms in the region.

*Building a regional brand*²³

²¹ Agenția de Dezvoltare Regională Nord-Vest, 127–130.

²² Oradea Local Development Agency, accessed July 12, 2019, <https://www.adlo.ro/english/download/ADLO-presentation.pdf>.

²³ See also other papers published by the author: Luminița Șoproni, “Cross-Border Identity in Building a Regional Brand: The Northern Transylvania Region,” in “From Smaller to Greater Europe: Border

The initiative of conceiving and developing a brand for Northern Transylvania was first thought of by the Northern Transylvania – North-West Regional Development Agency (NW – RDA), which, as a result of a SWOT analysis of the place, decided in 2006 to initiate and lay out the territorial marketing, which could lead to the creation of an identity, of an image with which the population could identify and then promote inside and outside the country. Thus, a working group – the author was a member of this group – was created, whose members were important actors for the regional development process, from all the six counties of the region: officials of the Chambers of Commerce, universities, local administrations, main cultural institutions – libraries, museums, theatres –, politicians, members of the European Parliament, officials of non-governmental organisations, and journalists.

The group identified three phases in brand building, namely the study of the context and the definition of the strategy to be followed; the development of an action plan; and planning of successive actions.

Within the first phase of the process, thinking and defining a strategy, one of the essential points was connected to *the definition of a regional identity*. Other important themes were the need to create a stronger sense of belonging to this region by its citizens – brand awareness – and to carry out promoting actions of the brand oriented towards the foreign operators, to prioritise sectors that need promotion, to identify the most important investment opportunities, and the importance of capitalising on the present direct foreign investments in order to generate new ones.

Regional identity must reflect territorial values, recognised and shared by all citizens of the territory, which represent characteristic elements that can define the region through a word or a phrase. In this context, as a result of the discussions within the group, a series of elements were retained that can express identity values for the territory:

- “tolerance”, which expresses the unity in the diversity characterising the region, defining people’s quality and behaviour as a result of the innovative and inclusive mentality of the inhabitants;
- “traditions”, which embody the history and cultural characteristics of the region;
- “respect for nature” – the personality of the region is given by its well-known and appreciated thermal and hydro mineral resources, by several areas that keep a rural civilization with healthy archaic influences and by its cross-border environmental interactions;
- “testimonials of success” – in IT, electronic and automotive components, textile, shoes and food processing industries;
- “the cross-border dimension” – due to shared ideas and visions with the neighbouring countries, its growing trade-flows with the neighbouring countries, the development of cross-border industrial sites, government and NGO interactions and the existence of cross-border institutions with the role of harmonising cooperation programmes and the structure of communication channels.

The objective of the regional branding process is to draw the attention of the public, who are either foreign investors, members of the territory, or Romanian and

Identity Testimonies,” ed. Mircea Brie and Gábor Kozma, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 2 (Autumn 2006): 54–63; Luminița Șoproni, “Regional Branding: Tool of the New Public Diplomacy,” in *Culture and Paradiplomatic Identity. Instruments in Sustaining EU Policies*, ed. Alina Stoica, Ioan Horga and Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 234–248.

foreign tourists. The plan had three stages: general promotion of the region; emphasising the spheres that could offer excellence and their promotion; and finding and promoting investment opportunities.

The general promotion of the region assumes the identification of the competitive advantages for the investors using qualitative data – history, culture, honesty – and quantitative data – precise results, both compared to those of the neighbouring regions in order to identify the strong points of the Northern Transylvania Region.

The selection of the priority sectors for promotion was made by taking into account the objectives of the regional development plan and the capacity of these sectors to offer “excellence”. Within the identification of domains of excellence, the group started with identifying sectors of regional importance, based on the performances of the regional companies. The analysis was then correlated to the positioning of zonally economic concentrations and with the presence of associative structures – partnerships, networks, associations, clusters – which also attract research and development institutions. Thus, out of the priority sectors identified on the basis of the analysis, a limited number of sectors of regional importance would be able to be considered sectors of excellence, namely the ones that identify a net competitive advantage related to the performance of other regions: textiles and the clothing industries, wood and furniture manufacturing, automotive industry, pharmaceutical industry, cellulose, and the paper industry.²⁴ Also, in agriculture, the North-West Region registers a series of competitive advantages: second highest surface of fields and grass lands that are favourable to the development of a powerful stock-raising sector and the number of bovine and ovine, with conditions that are favourable for the development of the food industry.²⁵

Branding actions must be always realised on two parallel plans: the plan of image and brand creation and the plan of communication, consisting of the marketing activities necessary for the promotion of the territory. This two-way approach is necessary as the brand creation activity is quite difficult; it requires time and effort from all members of the community. The communication process is the main means through which the region’s image can be outlined. The communication strategy is a key element of the processes of branding, creation and diffusion of an image of a place. It must be very carefully managed given that it has become “the complete manifestation of the brand”²⁶. Today, communication answers to new trends imposed by technology, and it becomes a total communication in many directions, different from the one-way communication from the brand to the client. Different sections of the public can transmit messages to regional representations and, even better, communicate with one another about the real or false values of the place and about the offered opportunities. This means that regional actors must communicate more intelligently, in a more diverse and nuanced manner than before, by relying on the answers and messages transmitted by the target audience, which has become more demanding, critical and sophisticated.

The region communicates permanently whether it wants to or not and regardless of whether the regional actors are aware of it or not. It sends thousands of messages every day through its actions or lack of social, economic, cultural or political actions, its offered products and services, architecture, tourist attractions, events and sporting teams, arts, and people – with their attitudes and behaviour. All these messages taken together offer an idea of what the region means and does, what it feels, what it desires, and what it can

²⁴ Agenția de Dezvoltare Regională Nord-Vest, 136–138.

²⁵ Ibid., 172.

²⁶ Wally Olins, *Manual de branding* [The brand handbook] (București: Ed. Vellant, 2009), 41.

offer. Because of this, they are a part of public diplomacy. Given these arguments, regional decision makers must create the right tone for these messages in order to build a credible, coherent and realistic image. But before any campaign, regional actors must understand – from examples offered by other successful regions²⁷ – that its success depends on their will to give funding for developing new facilities for businesses, attractions and recreation areas as well as for the improvement of the quality of life and the region's degree of attractiveness for investment, business and immigration.

The specificity of Northern Transylvania Region – a developing “state-region”

Based on the above, the regional economy has the characteristics of a developing emergent economy, with a relatively high ratio of services, increasing GDP, a high number of companies compared to the national average, a relatively intense external activity, and attractiveness to investors. Certain strengths can be identified: the impetus of knowledge-intensive components, which use a highly qualified labour force – creative industries, IT, scientific and technical activities – and which encourage innovation and offer new sources of growth; the existence of internationally renowned regional brands, the existence of cluster association initiatives, high value touristic resources, and ethnic diversity. There is also a series of weaknesses, which must be considered within the brand-building process, such as the low income level, poor infrastructure, high technological gap compared to developed countries, massive labour force migration – especially the qualified labour force – the difficulties related to selling agriculture products, the low development of applied research, reduced technological transfer, and poorly developed tourism.

The biggest problems in brand building and image diffusion are caused by the fact that there isn't a common vision of regional development at the regional level. Collaboration between public administration and civil society is fairly poor because of insufficiently cultivated partnerships that do not support and develop community interests. Moreover, there is a public perception related to the high level of corruption and bureaucracy at central and local levels, and this leads to a loss of interest and involvement of citizens in the regionalisation process.²⁸

This developing economy is supported by the Plan for Regional Development for 2014–2020, whose general objective is economic growth by multidimensional, integrated and polycentric development and the increase of regional living standards. This objective is to be developed into a series of specific goals such as increasing employment and incomes; increasing the accessibility of the region and the mobility of its resources – people, goods and information; increasing life quality; and increasing the efficiency and quality of the services offered to inhabitants by the regional authorities. Only by accomplishing these objectives can the creation of comparative advantages, the transformation into a pole of influence and regional and trans-regional attraction be supported.

The objectives presented above answer specific requests for building a strong regional brand with clearly defined values, which can establish and increase the region's competitive position in a national and international context.

²⁷ Eli Avraham and Eran Ketter, *Media Strategies for Marketing Places in Crisis. Improving the Image of Cities, Countries and Tourist Destinations* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2008): 46–47.

²⁸ Agenția de Dezvoltare Regională Nord-Vest, 166.

Conclusions

The Northern Transylvania Region meets all the characteristics needed to be considered a state-region:

- an internal market large enough to attract foreign investment (with a population of half a million to 10 million people)

The region has a total population of 2 832 637 inhabitants (July 1st, 2016), representing 12.92% of the country's total population. An additional benefit, compared to the other regions of the country, is brought by the ethnic and cultural diversity that characterizes the region, here cohabiting Romanians (74.9%), Hungarians (18.3%), Roma (4.6%), Germans, Ukrainians, Slovaks.

- the presence in the region of at least one international airport or major port, alongside a good transport infrastructure

There are 4 airports in the region (three of them being registered in the global TEN-T network): Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Baia-Mare and Satu-Mare. The traffic at the Cluj-Napoca Airport has increased steadily over the last five years, placing this airport in third place at the national level. International passenger traffic holds over 80% of total passengers, the rest of almost 20% being passengers on domestic routes, which confirms the potential of "hub" for the Northern half of Romania of this airport.

The region is crossed by 7 European roads, and the railway network has 1,641 km, of which 166 km are electrified lines and 255 km are double lines.

Accessibility and reduced mobility are one of the most important weaknesses of the region. Significant investments in the railway infrastructure, as well as in the inter-modal infrastructure, could significantly contribute to the territorial cohesion between the East and the West side of the region. Also, an important role could be played by focusing the investments allocated to the modernization of national and county roads on routes that can facilitate the easy access of all inhabitants to the (global) TEN-T road and rail networks.

- several modern universities and research facilities that attract valuable students and "produce" outstanding graduates or highly trained workers

In the North-West Region, 15 universities are accredited, with 157 faculties operating. Thus, from the perspective of the ratio between the number of students enrolled in higher education in 2016–2017 and the number of accredited faculties in the region, the North-West Region ranks first with 587 students for one faculty. The analysis by regions places the North-West Region in second place in terms of the number of students enrolled in the higher education forms of Bachelor, Master or Doctorate²⁹.

In terms of research infrastructures, the region is in second place at national level thanks to the city of Cluj-Napoca, which is the second university centre in Romania, having a well-developed research-development-innovation infrastructure and research institutes³⁰. Cluj-Napoca is a strong university centre, with a high concentration of high value-added services, which attracts a highly qualified workforce. The universities enter into partnerships with different structures to reach the region's development goals.

The main areas in which are concentrated the activities of research-development-innovation are: agro-food, biotechnologies, energy, environment, information and

²⁹ Planul Regional de Acțiune pentru Învățământ (PRAI) al Regiunii de Dezvoltare Nord-Vest 2016–2025, (actualizare 2017) [Regional Action Plan for Education (PRAI) of the North-West Development Region 2016–2025 (update 2017)]: 192, 196, accessed July 12, 2019, <http://infraed.ro/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/PRAI-NV.pdf>.

³⁰ Ibid., 58.

communications technology, physics, materials and materials science, nanotechnologies, advanced technologies and molecular physics, machines and equipment, human health, electrical and electrotechnical field, social sciences, humanities.

- opening outward, considering the rest of the world as a resource reservoir necessary for development; the existence of an attractive environment for social and professional life (pleasant physical environment: parks, recreational areas, areas to attract investors).

The Northern Transylvania region is, after Bucharest-Ilfov Region, the most economically attractive, among the development regions of Romania. The fact is due to the labour market, to the level of revenues, to foreign investments, but also to the private environment and market competition as well as to the inputs of modern technologies.

The region's economy is booming, with a dynamic economic growth in recent years in sectors such as the construction, textile, machine and equipment industries. Almost all the industrial branches and an increasing number of major foreign companies are represented here, some of them located in the industrial parks in the region.

The region benefits from special resources and tourist attractions that position it between the regions with important development perspectives: thermal waters and salt mines (the international tourist resort Băile Felix in Bihor is one of the most important in Romania, 1 Mai Resort, Tinca, Tășnad, Marghita, Ocna Șugatag, Dej or Turda). There are also many development projects for the mountain resorts – Borșa, Băișoara, Stâna de Vale, Colibița; popular culture and cultural and ethnographic heritage with destinations in the top of cultural objectives in Romania (Bánffy Castle from Bonțida), fortresses and historical monuments (Oradea, Bistrița), fortified churches in Transylvania and wooden monasteries in Maramureș (UNESCO monuments), more than 170 protected natural areas with a total area of 28.1845 hectares, two national parks and two natural parks, included in the tourist circuits.

As for the process of creating a regional brand and the formation and communication of a good image, it represents a complex endeavour, difficult to accomplish given that it must include a series of cumulated and indispensable elements³¹: a *strategy* (knowing what a region is and where it stands both in reality and according to the public's perceptions; knowing where it wants to get to; and knowing how it is going to get there); *substance* (the effective execution of the strategy in the form of new economic, legal, political, social, cultural and educational activity: the innovations, structures, reforms, investments, institutions and policies that will bring about the desired progress); and *symbolic actions* (which might be innovations, reforms, investments, institutions or policies that are especially remarkable and emblematic of the strategy, and have a real communicative power).

The regional brand, once it has been built, is very important for the competitive position both inside a country and worldwide. It is the regional brand that confers internal legitimacy, economic power and influence on neighbouring images. In brand building, regional actors have a determined role as they must build and sustain a strategy for the creation of a positive image for selected target audiences and, at the same time, they must communicate brand values towards this audience.

In the case of Northern Transylvania, a coherent and concerted action of regional actors is missing in the continuation of the process of brand promotion. Important steps

³¹ Simon Anholt, *Places. Identity, Image and Reputation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 13.

have been pursued so far – especially by North-West RDA – but it is necessary to be more concerned, to have a concerted strategy that is accepted and followed by actors from within the areas that form Northern Transylvania and, significantly, to have funding that is especially dedicated to communication in order to create a successful brand that can represent an advantage and an essential part of the region’s capital. In this way its individualisation and the building blocks for strengthening competitiveness can engage in the global “fight” for attracting investment, resources and tourists.

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A la recherche de récits d'identité du lieu dans une logique transfrontalière. Etude de cas sur les Capitales Européennes de la Culture pour l'année 2021

*Corina TURŞIE**

Résumé. *Pour les Capitales Européennes de la Culture provenant de nouveaux États membres de l'Union Européenne ou de pays candidats, le titre est une occasion précieuse de vaincre les anciens complexes d'infériorité par rapport aux États membres plus anciens et de faire valoir leur sentiment d'appartenance à l'Europe, en utilisant différentes stratégies de place making. Cette opportunité a été encore plus attrayante pour les CEC provenant de régions frontalières. Cette étude propose d'analyser les récits identitaires et aussi que d'inventorier les projets ayant une dimension transfrontalière présentes dans les dossiers de candidature de Timișoara et Novi Sad, afin de conclure sur l'intérêt pour la coopération transfrontalière parmi la culture, en tant que moyen d'intégration européenne de proximité.*

Mots-clé : *Capitale Européenne de la Culture, frontière, intégration, identité*

Introduction

Le programme Capitales Européennes de la Culture (CEC), l'un des programmes les plus populaires de l'Union européenne (UE), a fait de la culture une opportunité d'europaniser les points de vue sur le passé et de mieux communiquer sur l'avenir européen. Lors de leur candidature au titre de CEC, les villes candidates ont été invitées à mettre en valeur la dimension européenne de leurs programmes culturels, en développant des partenariats artistiques européens, en engageant des publics locaux et européens et en abordant des thèmes européens sensibles.

La compréhension de la culture a changé, vers une vision instrumentalisée, d'une « ressource capable de résoudre des problèmes politiques et socio-économiques »¹. L'utilisation de la culture comme outil de régénération des villes, leur permettant « d'améliorer leur image à l'échelle nationale et européenne »², a constitué une occasion importante pour les villes sans profil culturel, à partir du cas emblématique de Glasgow 1990. Cette opportunité a été tout aussi importante pour les villes CEC plus petites, qui ont vu dans le titre une opportunité de construire des partenariats régionaux, afin de compenser leur taille³ et a été encore plus attrayante pour les CEC provenant de régions frontalières (Lille 2004, Luxembourg 2007, Maribor 2012, Mons 2015) qui ont cherché dans le titre une

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¹ Steven Miles et Ronan Paddison, "The Rise and Rise of Cultural Urban Regeneration," *Urban Studies* 42, no. 5-6 (2005): 834.

² GiannaLia Cogliandro, *European Cities of Culture for the Year 2000. Final Report* (Bruxelles: Association of the European Cities of Culture of the year 2000, AECC/AVEC, 2001), 8.

³ Beatriz Garcia and Tamsin Cox, *European Capitals of Culture: Success Strategies and Long-term Effects* (Bruxelles: DG Internal Policies, European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education, 2013), 49.

occasion de renforcer l'intégration des frontières. Ils sont particulièrement relevant les CEC provenant de nouveaux États membres de l'UE ou de pays candidats, qui ont vu dans le titre une occasion de mettre en avant leur culture et de se sentir égaux par rapport aux États membres plus anciens, en utilisant différentes stratégies pour refaire l'identité du lieu⁴. Dans le même temps, il s'agit d'un véritable défi pour les villes issues de régions périphériques européennes, avec des passés totalitaires, des jeunes démocraties et des économies faibles, de surmonter leurs complexes d'infériorité et de mettre en évidence leur dimension européenne et leur contribution à la richesse et à la diversité des cultures européennes⁵.

Timișoara et Novi Sad, deux villes situées dans des régions frontalières de Roumanie et de Serbie, distantes de 150 km, porteront le titre CEC en 2021. La proximité territoriale est considérée comme une occasion de mettre plus l'accent sur une frontière européenne périphérique et de faire progresser la coopération transfrontalière à travers la culture dans cette partie de l'Europe. Quelles stratégies de reconstruction de l'identité du lieu ont été appliquées par ces villes dans le contexte de la CEC ? Sous quelle forme la localisation géographique des villes a-t-elle été considérée dans les documents de candidature ? La proximité des deux villes comporte-t-elle un positionnement stratégique visant à renforcer la coopération transfrontalière et le sens d'appartenance régional ? L'article propose de relire les deux dossiers de candidature (*Bid Books*) retraçant des récits d'identité du lieu dans une logique transfrontalière. Les expressions d'usage politique du passé, ainsi que d'usage politique des frontières seront mises en valeur.

Narrations d'identité du lieu pour l'année culturelle 2021

Il a été avancé que, tout en considérant les dossiers de candidature CEC comme une opportunité de construire de nouvelles narrations officielles de villes, le concours CEC représente un laboratoire d'identité. Les villes utilisent le titre CEC pour retracer leur passé et reconstruire leur image, en éclairant certaines périodes de l'histoire et en cachant celles indésirables, comme moyen de faire de la politique avec le passé. Les villes mettent en avant des lieux de mémoire et des âges d'or spécifiques, remis à la disposition des citoyens par le biais de programmes culturels⁶.

Les villes de Timișoara et de Novi Sad 2021 se présentent toutes les deux dans leurs dossiers de candidature comme des villes de taille moyenne, originaires de pays européens périphériques, toutes deux justifiant leur candidature en prétendant avoir un profil culturel qui les privilégie. Timișoara est la capitale de la région historique du Banat, ville reconnue pour son « esprit »⁷. La ville a accueilli une série de premières au 19^{ème} siècle (le premier journal en allemand en Europe centrale et du sud-est, la première bibliothèque publique, la première projection au cinéma), tandis que, dans l'histoire plus récente de la Roumanie, la

⁴ Craig Young et Sylvia Kaczmarek, "The Socialist Past and Postsocialist Urban Identity in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Łódź, Poland," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15, no. 1 (2008).

⁵ Corina Turșie, "The Unwanted Past and Urban Regeneration of Communist Heritage Cities. Case Studies: Riga 2014, Pilsen 2015 and Wrocław 2016," *Journal of Education, Culture and Society* 2 (2015).

⁶ Corina Turșie, "Re-inventing the Centre-Periphery Relation by the European Capitals of Culture. Case-Studies: Marseille-Provence 2013 and Pecs 2010," in "Border Cities in Europe," ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Anatoliy Kruglashov, and Zsolt Radics, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press), 19 (Spring 2015).

⁷ *Timișoara Capitale Européenne de la Culture 2021* (Bid-Book) (Timișoara: Timișoara – European Capital of Culture Association, 2016), 3, accessed Juin 10, 2019, http://www.timisoara2021.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Bidbook_EN_digital_secure.pdf.

vigueur civique de la ville a propulsée la révolution anticommuniste et les changements politiques de 1989. Novi Sad est la plus grande ville de la province autonome de Voïvodine, la plus riche du pays. Elle héberge depuis longtemps des institutions culturelles clés chargées de définir l'identité culturelle de peuple serbe, comme Matica Srpska. Le profil du patrimoine culturel des deux villes s'exprime par un référentiel urbain bien connu par des habitants: Novi Sad a longtemps été le centre de la culture serbe et a reçu le nom « Athènes serbe », tandis que l'architecture de style baroque de Timișoara lui a conféré le titre « petit Wien ». La similitude des profils est également exprimée par les principales valeurs européennes promues par les deux villes: « Novi Sad est une communauté tolérante, multinationale, multiconfessionnelle et multiculturelle »⁸, tandis que Timișoara est un « communauté interculturel, multiconfessionnelle et entrepreneuriale. (...) Ici, 'tolérance' est devenu synonyme de 'communauté' »⁹. La perspective entrepreneuriale, soulignée dans le dossier de candidature de Timișoara, reflète l'objectif principal et l'héritage à long terme de la ville, de mettre en place un « engagement civique » et générer « un nouveau sens de la communauté » dans un contexte contemporain¹⁰. Le désir de mobiliser l'énergie civique à travers la culture est le message de Timișoara pour l'avenir de l'Europe. Novi Sad souhaite également placer la culture au centre des préoccupations des décideurs et considère que le titre de CEC désignera un « flux productif de connaissances et d'idées de la part de créatifs » et stimulera « la créativité et la fierté de ses citoyens »¹¹. En tant que partie d'un pays non membre de l'UE, le titre représente pour Novi Sad un moyen de « réintégrer » la ville et la Serbie « dans la vie culturelle de l'Europe, par le dialogue des cultures »¹².

Le concept de la candidature de Timișoara « *Shine your light! Light up your city!* » utilise la métaphore universelle de la lumière, qui a une signification particulière à Timișoara: en 1884, Timișoara était la première ville d'Europe continentale à disposer d'un éclairage de rue électrique, pendant l'Empire Austro-Hongrois; de même, les étincelles de la révolution anticommuniste ont été allumées à Timișoara en 1989. Grâce au titre de la CEC, « l'esprit » de Timișoara peut être ravivé en cette période européenne troublée, marquée par des crises économiques, sociales et politiques¹³.

Le concept de la candidature renvoie à un âge d'or pré-socialiste, en tant que stratégie de *place making*: le retour à une période privilégiée de l'histoire de la ville, à l'époque Austro-Hongroise. La fin de l'indésirable ère communiste est soulignée dans la candidature en marquant le rôle de Timișoara, la première ville libre de Roumanie. Les effets négatifs du communisme, en termes de manque de confiance et d'engagement civique, sont exploités dans la candidature en traçant « un voyage culturel pour surmonter la passivité »¹⁴. Sortir d'une société atomisée serait possible en concevant des interventions culturelles pertinentes aussi bien pour les individus, qui peuvent redécouvrir leur identité, que pour la communauté, lorsque, à un moment donné, l'énergie interne des citoyens commencerait à faire une différence dans leurs cercles sociaux. La candidature est construite autour de l'idée d'un « voyage », de la solitude à la convivialité, à travers trois soi-disant « territoires »: « les gens », « les lieux » où ils habitent, et les « liens » qu'ils établissent les

⁸ *Novi Sad Capitale Européenne de la Culture 2021 (Bid-Book)* (Novi Sad, 2016), 2, accessed Juin 10, 2019, <http://novisad2021.rs/en/bidbook/>.

⁹ *Timișoara Capitale Européenne*, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹ *Novi Sad Capitale Européenne*, 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Timișoara Capitale Européenne*, 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

uns avec les autres, avec l'environnement et avec l'Europe¹⁵. Le voyage décrit les territoires, les stations et les pistes, représentant le déroulement et les projets du programme. Le projet clé de développement urbain de Timișoara 2021 est considéré « le peuple », divisé en trois groupes cibles: les agents culturels et créatifs, les publics, et les décideurs¹⁶. Le territoire « Connexions » fait explicitement référence à la zone transfrontalière.

Le concept de la candidature de Novi Sad « Pour nouveaux ponts » utilise la métaphore du pont comme connexion. Le concept s'appuie sur la signification symbolique des ponts de la ville sur le Danube, qui ont été construits, détruits par les guerres et reconstruits, le fleuve étant un témoin silencieux: « Novi Sad n'est pas la plus grande ville européenne du Danube, mais est parmi ceux qui ont le plus de ponts, onze en tout: huit sous les eaux et trois au-dessus, témoignant de son passé tumultueux »¹⁷. Les bombardements de l'OTAN en 1999, lors desquels les trois ponts existants ont été détruits, représentent un trauma récent dans la mémoire de la ville, laissant la ville sans aucun lien entre ses deux rives. Tous les ponts ont été reconstruits et rouverts en 2000 (pont Varadin), 2005 (pont Liberté) et 2018 (pont rail-route). Ils représentent aujourd'hui de solides lieux de mémoire, rappelant qu'en 1999, la population locale avait tenté de protéger de ses vies les ponts contre les bombardements. Le concept choisi pourrait être associé à une stratégie « d'occidentalisation » / « internationalisation »¹⁸, dans le contexte des aspirations européennes de la Serbie d'adhérer à l'UE. En cette période difficile où le soutien de la population serbe à l'intégration européenne est tombé à 50% et les intérêts russes sont de plus en plus présents dans la région, Novi Sad 2021 envoie un message de réconciliation, souhaitant se positionner en tant que promoteur de l'intégration européenne, l'objectif étant d'augmenter le soutien à l'intégration européenne de l'ensemble du territoire serbe d'au moins 5% d'ici 2021.¹⁹

Le programme culturel de Novi Sad 2021 a été construit autour de la métaphore de nouveaux ponts, portant les noms des valeurs à développer: « Pont de la liberté » (nom actuel d'un pont existant), « Pont de l'arc-en-ciel », « Pont de l'espoir » et « Pont de *new way* ». Ces ponts représentent des projets et des programmes emblématiques. Le pont de *new way* traite des points forts de la ville – patrimoine culturel et hospitalité – dans une nouvelle façon de traiter le passé, le présent et l'avenir. Cette approche s'exprime mieux dans le fait que la forteresse de Petrovaradin, construction architecturale la plus remarquable de la ville, accueille ces dernières années le célèbre festival de musique EXIT. Située sur la rive du Danube, la forteresse de Petrovaradin est reliée à la ville par le pont Varadin (ancien pont Marshall Tito, jusqu'au début des années 90). Son nom a été changé dans une logique de « décommunisation »²⁰, une décolonisation idéologique de la mémoire: changer les textes des villes en tant que mesure reflétant l'idéologie de l'élite dirigeante de l'époque²¹ (Palonen 2010). Le pont arc-en-ciel montre les faiblesses et les défis à relever (migration et réconciliation), en s'appuyant sur le rôle de la culture dans la résolution des conflits. Le pont de la liberté souligne le potentiel d'innovation de la ville: la jeune génération et les

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 13.

¹⁷ *Novi Sad Capitale Européenne*, 5.

¹⁸ Young et Kaczmarek, 54.

¹⁹ *Novi Sad Capitale Européenne*, 26.

²⁰ Young et Kaczmarek, 54.

²¹ Emilia Palonen, "Creating Communities: The Postcommunist City-Text of Budapest," in "Europäische Krise? / Geschichte und Gedächtnis," *Transit* (Institute for Human Sciences) 30 (2010), accessed June 10, 2019, <http://www.iwm.at/transit-online/creating-communities/>.

industries créatives. Enfin, le pont de l'espoir fait référence aux possibilités offertes par le renforcement des capacités humaines et culturelles et l'ouverture d'espaces publics.

Les frontières comme leviers d'intégration dans la « zone CEC »

Dans le processus d'argumentation de leur dimension européenne, les villes situées dans des zones frontalières donnent un nouveau sens à leur position géographique, se repositionnant dans un contexte européen plus favorable, pour soutenir un dossier de candidature CEC réussi²².

D'un point de vue social-constructiviste, les frontières sont des institutions sociales, créées et recrées par des moyens discursifs²³.

Tant Timișoara que Novi Sad présentent leur position géographique près de la frontière comme un « énorme avantage »²⁴ pour répondre aux critères de sélection du CEC, en termes d'attraction de publics internationaux, de recherche de partenaires de coopération transfrontaliers ou même d'optimisation de l'impact de CEC²⁵. On trouve des exemples de faire de la politique avec les frontières dans les deux dossiers de candidature. Des différences apparaissent entre les deux villes en ce qui concerne la zone géographique que chacune d'elles suppose représenter en tant que CEC.

Timișoara 2021 a choisi une approche régionale et transfrontalière pour développer le programme culturel. Les représentations de lieu créées pour la candidature décrivent sur le plan géographique trois cercles progressives, ayant Timișoara au centre: la région historique du Banat, l'Eurorégion DKMT et la grande ligue des villes-capitales de l'Europe Centrale et du Sud-Est.

En relation avec le Banat historique, Timișoara est décrit comme le centre culturel d'excellence de la région. Plusieurs projets doivent être mis en œuvre au cours de la période 2019–2021: « *Spotlight heritage* » (interventions culturelles en faveur de la construction d'une identité Banat dans un contexte européen), « *Encounters* » (mise en place de routes de tourisme transfrontalières), « *Charioscuro* » (partageant les expériences des réfugiés hébergés au Centre de transit des réfugiés à Timișoara), « *Knowledge fields* » (partenariats stratégiques entre écoles et universités pour acquérir de l'expérience en matière de collaboration transfrontalière et internationale), « *Laboratory for European Projectmaking* » (projet de renforcement des capacités, conjointement avec Novi Sad 2021, mais aussi avec Matera 2019 et Rijeka 2020).

En ce qui concerne l'Eurorégion, Timișoara est présentée comme la plus grande ville de l'ensemble du DKMT, d'une surface de 70 000 km² et de 5,3 millions d'habitants. Un objectif stratégique lié à cette zone est de rétablir la connexion de Timișoara au Danube par le canal de Bega, rappelant ainsi le passé de l'Empire des Habsbourg, lorsque Bega, le canal traversant la ville, était utilisé à l'époque comme canal navigable, pouvant relier Timișoara à Budapest ou à Vienne, par le biais du réseau européen de rivières et de canaux navigables. La rivière a également contribué au développement d'une industrie florissante à Timișoara, réputée dans tout l'Empire, bénéficiant de la possibilité de l'utiliser pour le transport de marchandises. À cette époque de l'âge d'or, Timișoara était le principal pont

²² Corina Turșie, "Re-inventing the Centre-Periphery Relation."

²³ James W. Scott et Christophe Sohn, "Place-Making and the Bordering of Urban Space: Interpreting the Emergence of New Neighborhoods in Berlin and Budapest," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 26, no. 3 (2018).

²⁴ *Novi Sad Capitale Européenne*, 33.

²⁵ *Timișoara Capitale Européenne*, 7.

entre l'Empire Austro-Hongrois et l'Europe du Sud-Est. Néanmoins, la symbolique du fleuve Bega est exploitée dans le projet pluriannuel « *Mega Bega* ». Le territoire « Connexions » décrit deux programmes transfrontaliers: « *Light over borders* » et « *Moving fireplaces* » qui doivent se dérouler dans un rayon de 150 km autour de Timișoara, à Arad, en Roumanie, Szeged, en Hongrie, Novi Sad, Kikinda, Pancevo, Vršac et Zrenjanin en Serbie, abordant les thèmes de l'interculturalité, de la multiconfessionnalité, de la mémoire collective et de la migration. Il est important de mentionner que le thème de la migration est abordé dans une perspective spécifique, faisant référence à la diaspora roumaine / serbe et au phénomène de la fuite des cerveaux. L'implication des nombreuses diasporas roumaines ou serbes en tant qu'ambassadeurs de la CE 2021 est commun à la fois pour Timișoara (projet « Reflections ») et Novi Sad aussi (« Ambassades et ambassadeurs créatifs »).

Le plus grand cercle de positionnement symbolique de Timișoara concerne sept villes-capitales de l'Europe Centrale et du Sud-Est, situées dans un rayon de 600 km de la ville: Belgrade, Budapest, Bratislava, Vienne, Zagreb, Skopje et Bucarest. Ils constituent un réservoir général de talents et de ressources. « Players of change » est un projet destiné à aborder des questions européennes sensibles (telles que l'année 1989 en Europe de l'Est) avec des villes partenaires de Zagreb, Budapest, Varsovie et Ljubljana.

Le dossier de candidature de Novi Sad n'a pas de justification transfrontalière équivalente à celle de Timișoara. Novi Sad a explicitement mis l'accent sur l'implication de ZONE 021, une zone sans dimension transfrontalière, dont Novi Sad est le centre urbain, composée de 400 000 habitants et de 15 banlieues, ainsi que de trois municipalités partenaires (Sremski Karlovci, Irig et Beočin) partageant tous le même préfixe téléphonique (021). La tendance croissante au sein de villes CEC à instaurer des partenariats régionaux est l'une des conséquences possibles de la diminution de la taille des villes hôtes.²⁶

En parlant de public cible, Novi Sad décrit dans son dossier de candidature une zone géographique plus vaste: dans un rayon de 150 km autour de la ville, cinq pays différents et 16 villes de taille moyenne sont ciblés, en représentant un bassin d'audiences. La coopération régionale transfrontalière vise particulièrement les pays de l'ex-Yougoslavie, en mobilisant le thème « Art de la paix »: « À la croisée des chemins », « Boom 21 », « Fraternité et unité », « Race ». La coopération est favorisée par l'inexistence de barrières linguistiques entre la Serbie, la Croatie et la Bosnie-Herzégovine. De plus, Novi Sad se positionne comme une ville portuaire du Danube dans le but d'attirer des partenaires de la région transnationale du Danube (projet « Breed Ai.i.R. »).

En outre, compte tenu de la proximité géographique entre Pecs 2010, Timișoara 2021, Novi Sad 2021 et d'autres villes candidates passées ou d'avenir (Arad 2021, Debrecen 2023, Mostar, Baja Luka 2024), Novi Sad parle de toute cette région comme d'une « zone CEC »²⁷. Des attentes élevées ont été développées par les populations locales des deux cotées de la frontière, depuis le moment de l'annonce officiel des gagnants. Deux ans après, les problèmes d'intégration frontalière n'ont pas été résolus.

Si proche et pourtant si loin...

D'un point de vue fonctionnel, la frontière entre la Roumanie et la Serbie présente un faible degré d'intégration lié à l'accessibilité entre les territoires frontaliers. L'absence d'infrastructures de transport modernes capables de relier les deux villes CEC est de plus en plus évidente à l'approche de 2021. Une ligne de bus culturelle devrait relier Timișoara à Novi Sad en 2020–2021, similaire à la ligne de train culturel entre Berlin et Wrocław

²⁶ Garcia et Cox, 49.

²⁷ *Novi Sad Capitale Européenne*, 13.

2016²⁸. Néanmoins, si l'infrastructure actuelle reste la même, les 150 km reliant Timișoara à Novi Sad nécessiteront encore un trajet en bus de 3 heures.

Le manque d'engagement du gouvernement roumain concernant le budget de Timișoara 2021, mentionné dans le Premier rapport de suivi²⁹ pourrait remettre en cause le succès de l'année du CEC et ébranler la communauté artistique locale de Timișoara. D'un point de vue institutionnel, l'Eurorégion DKMT semble être plutôt inactive, avec des Conseils de Comté se retirant de la structure. Un projet émergent, appelé « Activarium », dirigé par le Conseil du Comté d'Arad à partir de 2019, vise à stimuler les projets culturels dans l'Eurorégion.

Compte tenu des projets de coopération territoriale développés en 2007–2013 dans le cadre d'INTERREG, si l'on considère les villes comme des nœuds de mise en réseau dans les projets de coopération territoriale, l'intensité de la coopération transfrontalière était plus forte à la frontière occidentale de la Roumanie par rapport à la frontière orientale ou à la frontière du sud. Toutefois, compte tenu des types de projets impliquant des institutions de Timișoara, 80% des projets relèvent du programme Hongrie-Roumanie, tandis que 4% seulement appartiennent à l'instrument de préadhésion Roumanie-Serbie³⁰. Une coopération plus longue dans les projets INTERREG favorise la socialisation dans l'utilisation des fonds de l'UE, tandis que la perception des citoyens aux frontières constitue un obstacle. Selon les résultats de l'Eurobaromètre 422 « La coopération transfrontalière dans l'UE »³¹ (Commission Européenne 2015), les citoyens roumains des régions frontalières sont parmi les Européens les moins susceptibles de voyager une fois par an à l'étranger, ils affichent un niveau bas de confiance mutuelle en leurs voisins transfrontaliers et manifestent parmi les plus bas niveaux d'accord avec l'idée que vivre dans une zone frontalière représente une opportunité.

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²⁸ Novi Sad Capitale Européenne de la Culture 2021. “First Monitoring Report. Report by the Panel of Independent Experts,” Bruxelles, 2017, accessed Juin 10, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/files/ecoc2021-novisad-monitoring_en.pdf.

²⁹ “First Monitoring Report. Report by the Panel of Independent Experts.” Bruxelles, 2017, accessed Juin 10, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/sites/creative-europe/files/files/ecoc2021-timisoara-monitoring_en.pdf.

³⁰ Corina Turșie et Remus Boată, “Mapping Urban Networks of Romanian Cities in Cohesion Projects 2007–2013: A Statistical Analysis”, *Romanian Journal of Political Sciences* 18-1 (2018).

³¹ European Commission, “Cross-Border Cooperation in the EU. Flash Eurobarometer 422,” Aggregate report (Bruxelles, 2015).

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Smart Cities – Opportunities for Cross-Border Cooperation

*Mirela MĂRCUȚ**

Abstract. *This article explores the relationship between the smart city model and cross-border cooperation in an attempt to find new ground to tackle digital challenges that exist within the European Union. First, the article offers theoretical and institutional views on smart cities in order to decipher the main markers that can be explored within CBC programs. Then, the practical part regards tracing the markers of smart cities in the priorities of Romanian-Hungarian and Romanian-Bulgarian cross-border cooperation programs.*

Keywords: *smart cities, cross-border cooperation, digital economy, digital society*

Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC) has been a part of the cohesion policy of the European Union even from the early days of the latter. The core justification for CBC is the idea that local administration from two different sides of the borders can work together to solve common challenges, as well as to build hypothetical bridges between communities in terms of culture for instance. The challenges of border regions are even inscribed in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, as follows: “in particular, the Union shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions. Among the regions concerned, particular attention shall be paid to rural areas, areas affected by industrial transition, and regions which suffer from severe and permanent natural or demographic handicaps such as the northernmost regions with very low population density and island, cross-border and mountain regions”¹.

Cross-border regions require special attention in the eyes of the Union, particularly because of the border effect or the idea that the periphery is less developed than the center of a territory. Local authorities within the EU have challenges, and they also have a set of tools meant to mitigate them. What about all the other challenges that seem to face virtually every citizen and local administration across the EU?

This article aims to shed a light on the possibilities for the development of cross-border cooperation in the face of yet another challenge that they must face, namely digital transformation. More specifically, it aims to argue for the development of CBC policies and strategies towards digital policies with the ideas of smart specialization and smart city strategies at the core. Based on this objective, this article is meant to be a theoretical exercise into the development of smart city strategies at the borders of EU countries. It is created on a multi-level governance framework, according to which local and regional authorities (LRAs) are empowered actors in the policy-making of the EU. There are

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¹ “Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union,” *Official Journal of the European Union*, September 5, 2008, 127, accessed July 16, 2019, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:41f89a28-1fc6-4c92-b1c8-03327d1b1ecc.0007.02/DOC_1&format=PDF.

similarities in CBC objectives and the smart city agenda and this will help illustrate the idea that CBC must focus on a more digital agenda.

Theoretical and conceptual overview

In order to justify this approach, one must take two vantage points. First, the wide view is that the EU has been pushing forward with the Digital Single Market, with regulatory efforts, as well as initiatives for coordination, in an effort meant to develop the digital space in the EU. The main issue of the digital space is that it suffers from fragmentation of digital markets, meaning that borders manifest themselves into the digital space. Secondly, there is also a narrow view, namely the idea that the local economies could experience serious issues if they are not able to adapt to the changes brought by the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the emergence of Artificial Intelligence and the overall change in social and economic models. This latter idea is illustrated also by the Committee of the Regions in its report on the Digital Single Market in the following manner: [CoR] “stresses that this process is confronting local and regional authorities with particular challenges, since they are particularly affected by certain changes which they have a limited capacity to control”². The sweeping changes affect LRAs particularly, considering ideas that companies might move or adapt their production facilities to the new economy, they might require new types of skills for their employees and so on.

At the same time, this article has two premises. The first regards the idea of digital fragmentation, which is clear both at the national and at the regional levels. The DSM strategy of 2015 discussed the idea of fragmentation of digital markets, but digital fragmentation also refers to variations in Internet usage, economy, digital skills at the national, as well as regional level. The difference is not only in case of regions on both sides of the borders, but it manifests especially in the case of national differences. Regions in developed MS are doing better than regions in less developed MS. For instance, in terms of Internet connectivity at home, regions from MS situated the Eastern and Southern parts of the EU performed worse than the rest of the territory³. The same report details considerable differences in Internet usage between rural and urban areas across the EU, as well as other types of divides among EU regions⁴. Thus, a question arises: how can the Digital Single Market be successful if there is still fragmentation even at a sub-national level and citizens are not as well equipped to rip its benefits?

The second premise of this article concerns regional policy and one of its manifestations, namely cross-border cooperation. Traditionally, the aims of regional policy extended to socio-economic and territorial disparities among regions within the EU. However, several studies and Eurostat statistics have shown that another type of disparity has been registered, namely digital disparity, detailing the fragmentation regarding digital technologies (Internet usage, skills, connectivity, businesses) at a subnational level. Regional policy, through its European Regional Development Fund, has introduced this digital dimension, allowing MS to focus on digital society and economy with several priorities: “extending broadband deployment and the roll-out of high-speed networks;

² Committee of the Regions, “Opinion. Digital Single Market,” October 13, 2015, 3, accessed July 16, 2019, <https://cor.europa.eu/en/our-work/Pages/OpinionTimeline.aspx?opId=CDR-2646-2015>.

³ Eurostat, “Digital Economy and Digital Society Statistics at Regional Level. Statistics Explained,” 2019, 3, accessed July 02, 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/pdfscache/2549.pdf>.

⁴ Ibid.

developing ICT products and services and e-commerce; strengthening ICT applications for e-government, e-learning, e-inclusion, e-culture and e-health”⁵.

What about its other dimension, transnational cooperation or cross-border cooperation? The concept starts from the idea that there are common challenges across the borders and there is a possibility to tap into the potential of border areas to contribute to the harmonious development of the Union. The point of this article is that the smart, digitized city agenda can become a dimension of cross-border cooperation, as both aim to foster local harmonious development.

The article will proceed to develop this connection between the two concepts to analyse the extent to which CBC has a smart component, as well as to extract the potential of the smart city concept for CBC. These relations will be explored for Romania and its neighbours.

Smart city. Theoretical development The institutional point of view

A short theoretical development of the ‘smart city’ concept is necessary in order to capture its main directions. In this sense, two points of view are used to define it: the view of international organisations and the academic point of view. They provide a bird’s eye view of the concept regarding the usefulness at a practical and theoretical level respectively. Also, the perspective of the EU as an international organization is paramount to this discussion, considering that it is the entity that has promoted both cross-border cooperation and digital transformation with various mechanisms.

The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) provides the first institutional point of view, focusing on the sustainable dimension of a smart city, as follows: “a smart sustainable city is an innovative city that uses information and communication technologies (ICTs) and other means to improve quality of life, efficiency of urban operation and services, and competitiveness, while ensuring that it meets the needs of present and future generations with respect to economic, social, environmental as well as cultural aspects”⁶. ITU also stresses the idea that the transition towards such a city is a gradual process that do not limits itself to the use of ICTs in city life, but also aims to provide a deeper understanding of how the city works in order to constantly improve it. Hence, ICTs are a means to an end and not an end in them selves. ITU has also developed a means of measuring the performance of cities towards achieving the smart sustainable city status with a series of indicators in a project entitled ‘United 4 Smart Sustainable Cities’⁷. The indicators are grouped into three main dimensions: economy, environment, and society and culture. They are visible in **Table 1** along with the categories to which they refer in terms of technological transformation. As it is fairly obvious, the involvement of technology transcends economic or social contexts. Hence, a smart city should aim to implement new technologies not only within the interaction between citizens and the local authorities, but also to improve the interaction between the citizens and the city itself.

⁵ Eurostat, 16.

⁶ ITU, “ITU-T, Smart Sustainable Cities at a Glance,” 2015, accessed July 21, 2019, <https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-T/ssc/Pages/info-ssc.aspx>.

⁷ ITU, “United 4 Smart Sustainable Cities,” 2015, accessed July 21, 2019, <https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-T/ssc/united/Pages/default.aspx>.

Table 7. Key Performance Indicators for Smart Sustainable Cities. Source: ITU⁸

Dimension	Category
Economy	ICT Infrastructure Water and Sanitation Drainage Electricity Supply Transport Public Sector Innovation Employment Waste Buildings Urban Planning
Environment	Air Quality Water and Sanitation Waste Environmental Quality Public Space and Nature Energy
Society and Culture	Education Health Culture Housing Social Inclusion Safety Food Security

The outlook of the EU with regards to smart cities is not that systematic as the one previously presented. While ITU focuses on a systematic and evaluative approach of smart cities, the EU provides a softer approach, designating the smart city as an area “where traditional networks and services are made more efficient with the use of digital and communication technology for its inhabitants”⁹. The focus is yet again on sustainability and improving citizens’ lives. At the same time, the EU has opened up a platform for information sharing, bringing together several stakeholders in addressing common challenges for smart cities. Considering that the EU can only do so much according to its competences, it acts as a bridge between the main characters involved in the process¹⁰.

What can be deduced from these institutional points of view? Firstly, information and communication technologies (ICT) are considered general-purpose technologies and are viable to improve quality of life in different, but interdependent manners. This means that their use is significant in many different facets of urban life, but their applications converge to the greater good of the citizen. At the same time, these definitions point to the idea that the smart city is not an oasis in the desert. It should designate a wider area,

⁸ ITU, “Collection Methodology for Key Performance Indicators for Smart Sustainable Cities,” 2017, accessed July 21, 2019, <https://www.itu.int/en/publications/Documents/tsb/2017-U4SSC-Collection-Methodology/mobile/index.html#p=1>.

⁹ European Commission, “Smart Cities,” 2018, accessed July 21, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/info/eu-regional-and-urban-development/topics/cities-and-urban-development/city-initiatives/smart-cities_en.

¹⁰ Ibid.

considering the fact that cities are living organisms and they have the tendency to expand, if the right socio-economic conditions are present. The EU definition points this idea out by not limiting this concept to the idea of a city, but by designating it as an area. On the other hand, the definition of ITU reflects this idea in a different manner, by emphasizing on the temporal resilience of a city, as it requires a view also for future generations.

The evolution of a city both in time and in space has implications also for the idea of transnational cooperation or, more exactly, for cross-border cooperation. The presence of a smart city in this framework can create opportunities for development and cooperation, other than the traditional bridges across borders that it can foster. Similarly, it can create a whole new way of gradually eliminating the border. One such example could refer to the creation of a transport connection between two border cities using an electric bus or the simple use of car-sharing applications across the border. These can be smart initiatives to foster cross-border cooperation that require further exploration.

The academic point of view

The academic point of view on smart cities aims to provide further clearance to the term. The Wien Institute of Technology has developed a project focused on pinpointing the dimensions of smart cities and on creating a ranking of smart cities across the EU. In some manner, the endeavour is similar to the ITU. The justification, however, starts from an acknowledgement of growing competition across the globe: “against the background of economic and technological changes caused by the globalization and the integration process, cities in Europe face the challenge of combining competitiveness and sustainable urban development simultaneously. Very evidently, this challenge is likely to have an impact on issues of Urban Quality, such as housing, economy, culture, social and environmental conditions”¹¹. The path towards becoming a smart city is not merely an end in itself, but it also creates possibilities for outgrowing several challenges. The added focus here on the idea of competitiveness in the global international context.

The smart city ranking developed has six characteristics: smart economy, smart mobility, smart environment, smart people, smart living, and smart governance. Moreover, according to the researchers, it is also built on the “smart combination of endowments and activities of self-decisive, independent and aware citizens”¹². **Fig. 1** details the smart characteristics of three border cities in Romania and its neighbours, namely Timișoara (RO), Pecs (HU) and Ruse (BG). This benchmarking can become a starting point on the discussion related to the significance of smart cities and cross-border cooperation.

¹¹ Smart-cities.eu, “European Smart Cities 3.0,” 2015, accessed July 21, 2019, <http://smart-cities.eu/?cid=1&ver=3>.

¹² Smart-cities.eu, “European Smart Cities 3.0 (2014),” 2014, accessed July 21, 2019, <http://smart-cities.eu/?cid=2&ver=3>.

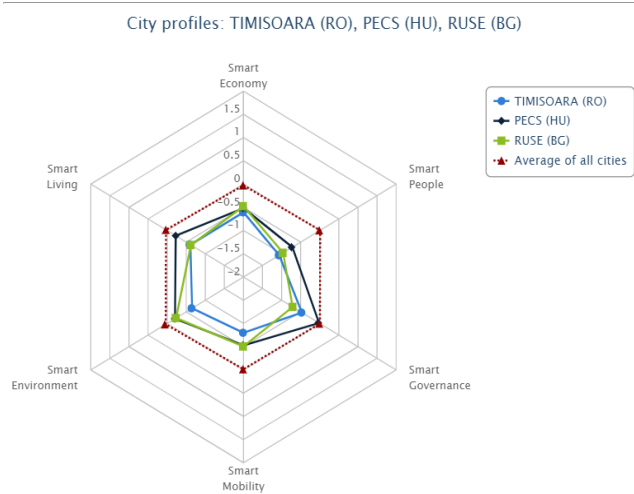


Fig. 3. Benchmarking of border cities in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary.
Source: *Smart-cities.eu*¹³

As it is obvious from the chart, all three cities perform under the average of all the 77 cities included in the ranking. The better performer is Pecs with notable differences in smart governance, smart living, and smart environment, while Timișoara performs worst in mobility, environment and smart people. Actually, the Romanian city is next to last in the absolute ranking created by the researchers, while the very last one is Craiova, yet another Romanian city¹⁴. According to the conceptualization of smart cities by the researchers, all these three cities face certain challenges in all markers of a smart city. The framework of cross-border cooperation may possess a series of tools meant to overcome these issues.

How can this index contribute to the discussion on cross-border cooperation and smart cities? Certainly, all the dimensions can have a cross-border dimension and can be tackled in a wider area. The most obvious connection can be found in the area of smart mobility. Moreover, other projects could be developed in tandem between cities from across the border using targeted funds. The next section deals with this connection by searching for potential “smart” dimensions in the current Romanian CBC framework.

Smart cities and cross-border cooperation

This section deals with common digital challenges at Romania’s Western and Southern borders, which may warrant the development of CBC programs with Hungary and Bulgaria, respectively. This space has been chosen considering that these programs have been more active, as well as because of these three countries are already EU members. **Table 2** presents an overview of certain characteristics of the digital economy and society in the border regions of Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

¹³ Smart-cities.eu.

¹⁴ Smart-cities.eu.

Table 8. Overview of Internet access and use in border regions – Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria.*Source:* own composition based on Eurostat data on Internet access¹⁵ and Internet use¹⁶

Criterion	Romania	Hungary/Bulgaria	Western Hungary	Austria (for benchmarking)
Internet access at home	NW Romania 87%	Észak-Alföld 77%	Nyugat-Dunántúl 85%	Burgenland 90%
	W Romania 81%	Dél-Alföld 78%		
	SW Oltenia 81%	Severozapaden 65%		
	S Muntenia - 76%	Zentralen – 69% Iztochen – 74%		
Individuals using Internet regularly	NW Romania 75%	Észak-Alföld 71%	Nyugat-Dunántúl 73%	Burgenland 83%
	W Romania 73%	Dél-Alföld 69%		
	SW Oltenia 66%	Severozapaden 58%		
	S Muntenia 64%	Zentralen – 62% Iztochen – 66%		

Although this is not a comprehensive analysis of the digital society and economy at the regional level, it does provide some illustration to the idea of differences or common challenges beyond borders. Indeed, in some situations, the figures are similar, especially as regards Romanian and Bulgarian regions. Romanian and Hungarian ones perform slightly better overall, but there are still some differences favouring the former regions. There are already some examples of CBC projects that have approached some of the common challenges. For instance, the border cities of Oradea and Debrecen have implemented a project that has created WI-FI networks in their public spaces, the purpose being to improve Internet access in other locations than homes¹⁷. When one region fares better than the other, one partner city could help improve the performance of the other with expertise. The smart city agenda, as it was defined above, means much more than simple access and connectivity, but it can be built to improve mobility across the border or common operation systems for waster management to name only a few examples.

Are there traces of the smart city models presented above in cross-border programs? This question can be answered with an analysis of the Romania-Hungary and

¹⁵ Eurostat, “Households that Have Internet Access at Home by NUTS 2 Regions,” 2018, accessed July 18, 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&code=tgs00047&plugin=1>.

¹⁶ Eurostat, “Individuals Regularly Using the Internet by NUTS 2 Regions,” 2018, accessed July 18, 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tgs00050/default/table?lang=en>.

¹⁷ Oradea Metropolitan Area, “Îmbunătățirea infrastructurii de acces la servicii de internet în Zona Metropolitană Oradea și orașul Debrecen [Improvement of the cross-border WiFi internet communication and internet access at the level of Oradea Metropolitan Area and Debrecen City],” 2013, accessed July 18, 2019, <https://zmo.ro/proiecte/proiecte-implementate/122-2012-2013-imbunatatirea-infrastructurii-de-acces-la-servicii-de-internet-in-zona-metropolitana-oradea-si-orasul-debrecen>.

Romania-Bulgaria cross-border cooperation programs. **Table 3** provides an overview of this relationship based on the declared priorities of the two programs.

Table 9. Overview of smart priorities in RO-HU and RO-BG programs.

Smart City model	RO HU priorities	RO BG priorities
Smart economy	No direct reference	No direct reference
Smart mobility	Priority Axis (PA) 2 – Specific Objective (SO) 2.1 – durable cross-border mobility	PA 1 – a well-connected region
Smart environment	PA 2 – SO 2.2 – use of low carbon transport PA 5 – risk management	PA 2 – a green region SO 2.2 – sustainable management of ecosystems from the CBC area PA 3 – a safe region
Smart people	PA 3 – improvement of employment in the CBC region PA 4 – improvement of health services	PA 5 – skilled and inclusive region
Smart living	PA 1 – protection of values and common resources SO 1.2 – use of cultural heritage	PA 2 – green region – SO 2.1 – protection of natural and cultural heritage
Smart governance	PA 6 – CBC between institutions	PA 5 – efficient region

Source: own composition based on Interreg RO-HU¹⁸ and Interreg RO-BG¹⁹

To some extent, there are possibilities for development in CBC programs, considering the fact that there is overlap. However, there are still some exceptions regarding the idea of smart economy and technology, which are not referenced in any CBC program. Collaboration is difficult in this area considering that the majority of the CBC projects are designed for public entities. Smart city strategies focus on economic aspects, while the CBC agenda is based on adjacent challenges that are still a part of the smart city model.

The challenges are pursued in partnership within a cross-border cooperation program, while the smart city agenda has one major actor, namely the local authority, whose job is to harness all the potential of the area. In this sense, a border area may be part of the discussion by not limiting the project to national borders, but by opening it up to collaboration and exchange of best practices with other partners. In this sense, the CBC framework can become an important catalyst, because it opens up possibilities for new partners, new ideas and best practices.

Conclusion

The point of this theoretical exercise has been that the smart city agenda can be pursued using CBC programs in case of border cities. The analysis of the theoretical model, as well as the CBC programs in Romania has shown that there are common challenges with regards to technology and that there is an overlap in ideas, which can give rise to new opportunities for border cities. This idea is valid considering that border cities tackle their own set of challenges superimposed on the current competitiveness issues in

¹⁸ Interreg Romania-Hungary, “Priority Axes,” 2015, accessed July 20, 2019, <https://interreg-rohu.eu/en/priority-axes/>.

¹⁹ Interreg Romania-Bulgaria, “Programme Targets and Status,” 2015, accessed July 20, 2019, <http://www.interregrobg.eu/en/programme/programme-targets-and-status.html>.

the globalized context. Following this analysis, more emphasis is needed on approaching a smart city model with a cross-border or at least transnational component in mind. As previously states, this is not an oasis, it must connect to a region or a wider area and, occasionally, that region is a cross-border one.

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IV. Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation Development along the EU External Borders

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of Cross-Border Cooperation: Legal and Historical
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Ukrainian-Romanian Cross-Border Region

Nataliya NECHAYEVA-YURIYCHUK (Chernivtsi) ◀▶
Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation Development
along the EU External Borders

Moldovan Framework of Cross-Border Cooperation: Legal and Historical Approaches

*Vasile CUCERESCU**

Abstract. *The paper focuses on Moldovan experience of cross-border cooperation from legal and historical perspectives. Cross-border cooperation initiatives refer to the European Union, Romania and Ukraine. The research investigation examines legal instruments of cross-border cooperation between Moldova and its neighbours, cross-border cooperation programmes and the impact of cross-border cooperation projects towards sustainable development in adjacent areas by helping to reduce differences in standards and by addressing common specific challenges across Moldovan state border. The results and impact of cross-border cooperation are scrutinized through the prism of goals' achievement and de facto engagement leading to learned lessons by actors and revised design for improvement strategy.*

Keywords: *cross-border cooperation, Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, European Union, Euroregion, cooperation programme.*

Introduction

By underlying that cross-border cooperation brings positive changes in the lives of borderlanders, Moldovan policies in this area are congruent with the trends in the region. For almost three decades Moldova has been participating in cross-border cooperation initiatives implemented in cooperation with neighbour partners.

Considering geographical position of Moldova, historical links established by peoples and trade exchanges, it is worth mentioning that cross-border cooperation has been developed by immediate neighbours: the European Union, Romania, to the West and Ukraine to the East. The state of affairs is explained by the landlocked country status between Romania and Ukraine. Nevertheless, cross-border cooperation is not limited to these two countries, but even includes transnational collaboration in the South Eastern Europe initiatives in this specific area.

Moldova is an integral part of cross-border cooperation processes driven and backed by the European Union. Throughout the years it seems that cross-border cooperation is a key element of the EU policy towards its neighbours facing common challenges across land and water borders¹. Moreover, cross-border cooperation provided by the European Union is not confined only to common borderland challenges, but also helps neighbours in building institutional capacities and improving socio-economic standards. Cross-border cooperation is designed on the principles of territorial cooperation pattern; however, it is adapted to the specificities of external cooperation addressed to the

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¹ The recognition of shared land and water crossing challenges came by two major acts: Regulation (EC) No. 1638/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 laying down general provisions establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, OJ L310, 09.11.2006; Regulation (EU) No 232/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 March 2014 establishing a European Neighbourhood Instrument, OJ L77, 15.03.2014.

EU neighbours. Cross-border cooperation has specific characteristics of a unique cooperation mechanism demonstrated by strong commitment and ownership of the participating countries in such initiatives: balanced partnership between the Member States and neighbouring countries, jointly management entrusted authority, common framework and rules. Cross-border cooperation follows three basic objectives: to promote economic and social development in border areas, to address common challenges (environment, public health, safety and security), and to put in place better conditions for persons, goods and capital mobility². In the Eastern Partnership countries, the commitments of involved partners in achieving tangible results include four main priority areas: stronger economy (economic development and market opportunities); stronger governance (strengthening institutions and good governance); stronger connectivity (connectivity, energy efficiency, environment and climate change); stronger society (mobility and people-to-people contacts)³.

Identification of main priorities in cross-border cooperation resulted from common interests shared by neighbours. For research there are considered issues of cross-border cooperation, legal framework in cross-border cooperation, institutionalisation of cross-border cooperation, forms of cross-border cooperation, cross-border cooperation tools, cross-border cooperation projects' retrospective and impact evaluation of cross-border cooperation actions.

Cross-Border Cooperation

Cross-border cooperation in Europe is as old as the continent itself. However, studies in cross-border cooperation have emerged in the second half of the 20th century, including on the concept and categories of cross-border cooperation.

The Madrid Convention defines cross-border cooperation as “any concerted action designed to reinforce and foster neighbourly relations between territorial communities or authorities within the jurisdiction of two or more Contracting Parties and the conclusion of any agreement and arrangement necessary for this purpose. Transfrontier co-operation shall take place in the framework of territorial communities’ or authorities’ powers”⁴. Cross-border cooperation means any form of cooperation across borders between neighbourlands and neighbourlanders. Cross-border cooperation shapes partnerships between local and regional stakeholders that are separated by state border, having repercussions on both sides of the border. The aim of cross-border cooperation is “to foster the harmonious development of border communities”⁵. Any arrangement for cross-border cooperation originates with the “recognition of a given problem; and policy choices”⁶. The success of cross-border cooperation is “based on concrete issues and has concrete goals”⁷.

² European Commission, “Cross-Border Cooperation,” accessed July 21, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/neighbourhood/cross-border-cooperation_en.

³ European Commission, “Eastern Partnership,” accessed 21 July 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/neighbourhood/eastern-partnership_en.

⁴ Council of Europe, European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, Madrid, 21.05.1980, accessed 21 July 2019, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680078b0c>.

⁵ Daniele Del Bianco and John Jackson, *Cross-Border Cooperation Toolkit* (Council of Europe: Strasbourg, 2012), 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

The joint handbook *Practical Guide to Cross-Border Cooperation*, elaborated with the support of the Association of European Border Regions, falls into three parts on cross-border cooperation: the framework – motives for cross-border cooperation, experience to date, legal instruments facilitating cross-border cooperation, EU level initiatives and programmes, technical requirements; cooperation structures – stages of cooperation and appropriate structures, cooperation structures at strategic (programme) level, cooperation structures at project level; and examples of good practice – spatial planning, economic development, transport and infrastructure, tourism, environment, training, education and labour market development, health and social services, culture and media, agriculture and development. The authors highlight that “the main motives for cross-border cooperation are:

- the transformation of the border from a line of separation into a place for communication between neighbours;
- the overcoming of mutual animosities and prejudices between peoples of border regions which result from historical heritage;
- the strengthening of democracy and the development of operational regional/local administrative structures;
- the overcoming of national peripherality and isolation;
- the promotion of economic growth and development and the improvement of the standards of living;
- the rapid assimilation into or approach towards an integrated Europe”⁸.

There are provided successful principles, originated in the basic requirements of European aid programmes, for “cross-border cooperation:

- partnership;
- subsidiarity;
- the existence of a common cross-border development concept or programme;
- joint structures on regional/local level and independent sources of financing”⁹.

In the process of cross-border cooperation on the external EU borders to “Central and Eastern Europe, the focus is more on:

- building up young democracies and administrative structures;
- upgrading infrastructure and opening new border crossings;
- improving transport and the communication networks;
- economic development;
- eliminating economic disparities on both sides of the border;
- improving environmental protection in all areas;
- greater participation in future INTERREG programmes and their management;

and

- doing a better job of combining EU resources with those of Phare CBC and TACIS CBC”¹⁰.

The role of border in cross-border cooperation is very complex; it may be multiple as well: a border “can be a barrier but it can also be a gateway, an opportunity and a

⁸ Jens Gabbe, Viktor von Malchus, and Haris Martinos, *Practical Guide to Cross-Border Cooperation* (Gronau: Association of European Border Regions, 2000), 7.

⁹ Ibid., 13–14.

¹⁰ Ibid., 23.

resource”¹¹. Cross-border cooperation “brings together the communities on both sides of the border. It helps to transform the border into a possibility for development”¹². Thus, borderlanders can benefit from their borders.

Cross-border cooperation changes border regions¹³. Luis De Sousa identifies among the drivers of cross-border cooperation as economic drivers, political leadership drivers, geographical drivers, cultural/identity and state formation drivers¹⁴. Additionally, the determinants of cross-border cooperation play an essential role as well: leadership, organizational capacity, supportive institutions, a spatial dynamic, rapid change, existing networks and an economic cost¹⁵.

In a very straightforward manner Jen Nelles and Olivier Walther warn about borders in space and borders in mind¹⁶ that could determine opportunities or obstacles in cross-border cooperation.

Scientific approach of cross-border cooperation is also very important for stakeholders. Gathering data and improved knowledge on cross-border cooperation stimulates building viable partnerships in border regions as cross-border collaboration involves a high degree of interoperability and common approaches of border communities that are based on mutual trust and understanding between actors that in most cases operate in very diverse legal, economic and cultural environments.

Legal Framework

Cross-border cooperation legal framework has been developing throughout the years. It represents the legal background for cooperation with the neighbours. For geographical reasons it is fair to divide the regulatory acts into two parts:

- *national* acts;
- *bilateral* acts fall into two groups:
 - agreements concluded between Moldova and the European Union;
 - agreements concluded between Moldova and Romania;
 - agreements concluded between Moldova and Ukraine.

National acts on cross-border cooperation include basically the Concept of Cross-Border Cooperation (2004) and the National Strategy for Regional Development (2016) with subsequent completions and modifications.

Basic bilateral acts concluded between Moldova and the European Union are: the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Moldova, of the other part (1998) and the Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic

¹¹ Pekka Jarvio, *Cross-Border Cooperation – Benefiting from Borders* (Helsinki: Edita Plc, 2011), 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³ Luis De Sousa, “Understanding European Cross-Border Cooperation: A Framework for Analysis,” *Journal of European Integration*, 35, no. 6 (2012): 2–4, accessed July 12, 2019, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2012.711827.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12–16.

¹⁵ Todd Hataley and Christian Leuprecht, “Determinants of Cross-Border Cooperation,” *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 33, no. 3 (2018): 317–328, accessed July 10, 2019, DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2018.1482776.

¹⁶ Jen Nelles and Olivier Walther, “Changing European Borders: From Separation to Interface? An Introduction,” *Articulo. Journal of Urban Research*, 6 (2011), accessed July 16, 2019, DOI: 10.4000/articulo.1658.

Energy Community and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Moldova, of the other part (2014).

The acts concluded between Moldova and Romania are: Protocol between the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Moldova and the General Inspectorate of the Romanian Border Police within the Ministry of Administration and Interior of Romania on information exchange in the view of carrying out specific missions (2005); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Romania on mutual travelling of the citizens (2006); Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the European Community on readmission (2007); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Romania on local border traffic (2009); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Romania on state border crossing points between the Republic of Moldova and Romania (2009); Treaty between the Republic of Moldova and Romania on state border regime, cooperation and mutual assistance on border-related issues (2010) not in force; Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Romania on establishment and functioning of the Galati Joint Contact Centre (2011); Regulation on organization and functioning of the Galati Joint Contact Centre (2013); Protocol between the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Moldova and the Ministry of Administration and Interior of Romania through the General Inspectorate of Border Police on strengthening cooperation at central and territorial levels (2011).

The acts concluded between Moldova and Ukraine are: Treaty between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine on state border (1999); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on regime of usage of the Odessa-Reni Ukrainian highway crossing the territory of the Republic of Moldova, and the land sector crossed by it (2001); Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Ukraine on readmission of persons at Moldova-Ukraine state border (1997); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Ukraine on organization of joint control in border crossing points at Moldova-Ukraine state border (1997); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Government of Ukraine on border crossing points at the Moldova-Ukraine state border and simplified border crossing procedures for citizens residing in border districts” (1997); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on visa-free travel of citizens (2001); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department of the Republic of Moldova and the State Committee for state border guard of Ukraine on interaction in Moldova-Ukraine state border crossing points (2001); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department of the Republic of Moldova and the State Committee for state border guard of Ukraine on interaction to ensure protection of the Moldova-Ukraine state border (2003); Protocol between the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, the Border Guard Troops Department of the Republic of Moldova and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the State Committee for state border guard of Ukraine on return of persons at Moldova-Ukraine state border (2003); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department of the Republic of Moldova, Customs Service of the Republic of Moldova and the Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, Customs Service of Ukraine on organization of joint control in the international road border crossing point “Criva-Mamalîga” (2004); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department, Customs Department of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service, Customs Service of Ukraine on organization of joint control in

“Medveja-Zelenaia” local road BCP (2004); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department, Customs Department of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service, Customs Service of Ukraine on organization of joint control in “Larga-Kelmenti” international road BCP (2004); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department, Customs Department of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service, Customs Service of Ukraine on organization of joint control in “Briceni-Rossoshany” international road BCP (2004); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department, Customs Department of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service, Customs Service of Ukraine on organization of joint control in “Giurgiulești-Reni” international road BCP (2004); Protocol between the Border Guard Troops Department of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine on activity of border representatives (2005); Protocol between the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine on cooperation of operative bodies (2005); Protocol as of 29 May 2006 between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on amendment and supplement of the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on border crossing points at the Moldova-Ukraine state border and simplified border crossing procedures for citizens residing in border districts (1997); Protocol between the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine on information exchange (2006); Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on joint border patrolling (2011); Protocol between the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Moldova, Customs Service of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, Customs Service of Ukraine on the experiment of carrying out joint control in “Briceni-Rossoshany” BCP on the territory of Ukraine (2011); Protocol between the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Moldova and Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine on organization of joint patrolling at Moldova-Ukraine border (2012).

The synthetic regulatory framework of cross-border cooperation has been developed gradually between Moldova and its neighbours: with one organization – the European Union and two states – Romania and Ukraine. In the following it is revealed how the legal framework of cross-border cooperation works among neighbouring partners.

Institutionalization of Cross-Border Cooperation

Cross-border cooperation is an important component of the regional policy of the European Union, which is widely regarded as an investment policy, supporting job creation, competitiveness, economic growth, improved quality of life and sustainable development. Cross-border cooperation was a key priority of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), an important funding tool of the European Union, being replaced by the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) and following to create an area of shared values, stability and prosperity, enhanced cooperation, deeper economic and regional integration by covering a wide range of cooperation areas.

Cross-border cooperation varies in its forms of materialization. Cross-border cooperation covers informal forms and formal (institutionalized) forms. At institutional level, the forms of cross-border cooperation are: (1) *Euroregions* and similar bodies (“can have different legal forms or organization, but they share a number of common

characteristics: they are permanent; they have an identity separate from their members; they have their own administrative, technical and financial resources; and their own internal decision making. The geographical area they cover is determined not only by the administrative units, but also by the extent of socio-economic integration. They are not a new level of local or regional government but rather an interchange point for existing public and private sector bodies”¹⁷); (2) *working communities* (“structures, typically without legal form, resulting from signing a protocol of co-operation or a legally non-binding agreement between regional or local authorities that agreed to cooperate. They can be distinguished by a number of common features: they are permanent; they often retain the identity of their members; they do not have substantial financial and personnel resources of their own; and they rarely have their own decision making structures”¹⁸), and (3) *Interreg or other EU programmes* (“created specifically to manage the implementation of such programmes and have at least a programme monitoring committee and secretariat”¹⁹).

For our research on cross-border cooperation between Moldova with the European Union, Romania and Ukraine are pertinent the institutionalised forms of Euroregions and programmes.

Euroregions

The Euroregions are associative networks that bring together regions in achieving sustainable management. The Euroregions support cross-border cooperation inside the European Union and at its external borders with neighbouring countries by reinforcing common development strategies for better life and social security²⁰.

The Euroregions are important drivers of cross-border cooperation. The Association of European Border Regions sets the following “criteria for the identification of Euroregions:

- an association of local and regional authorities on either side of the national border, sometimes with a parliamentary assembly;
- a transfrontier association with a permanent secretariat and a technical and administrative team with own resources;
- 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;
- of public law nature, based on inter-state agreements, dealing among other things, with the participation of territorial authorities”²¹.

Moldova has been involved as a member and participating party in the activities of four Eastern European Euroregions:

- the Upper Prut Euroregion – including Botoşani county and Suceava county from Romania; Bălţi municipality, Briceni district, Edineţ district, Făleşti district, Glodeni district, Ocnîţa district, Râşcani district and Sângerei district from Moldova; Chernivtsi

¹⁷ Friederike Welter et al., *Cross-Border Partnerships in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine and the Consequences of EU-Enlargement* (Siegen: PRO KMU, 2007), 4–5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Vasile Cucerescu, “EU Cross-Border Cooperation in Eastern Europe,” in “Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe between Successes and Limits,” ed. Constantin-Vasile Țoca, Klára Czimre and Vasile Cucerescu, *EuroTimes* (Oradea: Oradea University Press) 21 (Spring 2016): 107–128.

²¹ European Parliament, Committee of Regional Development, Report on the Role of “Euroregions” in the Development of Regional Policy, 22.06.2005.

region and Ivano-Frankivsk region from Ukraine – with the focus on economic projects, infrastructure, environmental projects, cultural and humanitarian activities;

- the Siret-Prut-Nistru Euroregion – including Iași county, Vaslui county and Prahova county from Romania and 26 districts out of 32 from Moldova – with the focus on opportunities for development and common challenges;

- the Lower Danube Euroregion – including Galați county, Brăila county and Tulcea county from Romania; Odessa region and Reni district from Ukraine; Cahul district and Cantemir district from Moldova – with the focus on sustainable development through deepening cooperation between partners;

- the Dniester Euroregion – including Vinnitsa region from Ukraine **and** Ocnîța, Soroca, Florești, Șoldănești, Rezina and Dondușeni districts from Moldova – with the focus on cooperation in economy, science, education, culture, tourism and sports²².

As it is shown these Euroregions are restricted geographically to local authorities in the border regions functioning on the top-down principle. Even if the Euroregions faced legal inconsistencies they contributed at a high or low degree to the border regions.

Cross-Border Cooperation Programmes

Cross-border cooperation programmes represent direct access to EU funding by which Moldovan authorities benefit expressly. Cross-border cooperation programmes are ensured by EU financing tools. Usually EU financing tools correspond to financial exercises of the European Union. During 2007–2013 cross-border cooperation programmes were financed by the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) and during 2014–2020 cross-border cooperation programmes are financed by the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI).

Within the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), Moldova participated in three cross-border and transnational programmes as mentioned below.

(1) Joint Operational Programme Romania-Ukraine-Moldova²³ aimed at improving the economic, social and environmental situation in the program area of secure borders through increased contact between partners on each side of the border.

The programme priorities focused on: towards a more competitive border economy; environmental challenges and emergency preparedness; promotion of people to people cooperation.

Eligible areas covered: Botoșani, Galați, Iași, Suceava, Tulcea and Vaslui counties (Romania), plus the adjacent Brăila county; Odessa and Chernivtsi regions (Ukraine), plus the adjacent Ivano-Frankivsk and Vinnitsia regions, 10 districts of Khmelnytskyi region (Vinkovetskyi, Chemerovetskyi, Khmelnytskyi, Kamyanets-Podilskyi, Letychivskyi, Dunayevetskyi, Derazhnyanskyi, Novoushutskyi, Yarmolynetskyi and Horodetskyi) and 12 districts of Ternopil region (Ternopilskyi, Berezhanskyi, Pidgayetskyi, Kozivskyi, Pidvolochyskyi, Terebovlyanskyi, Monasturskyi, Gusyatynskyi, Chortkivskyi, Borshchivskyi, Zalizhutskyi and Buchatskyi); and the whole territory of Moldova.

Moldova participated in the following projects with *national impact*: Improvement of Border-Cooperation between Moldova and Romania on food and petroleum products IMPEFO; Creating a border communications infrastructure – a factor

²² For more details on Euroregions see Cucerescu.

²³ Joint Operational Programme Romania-Ukraine-Moldova, accessed July 22, 2019, <http://www.ro-ua-md.net/en/>.

of sustainable socio-economic development and spatial planning complex; Gas pipeline to interconnect the natural gas transmission system in Romania and natural gas transmission system in the Republic of Moldova in the direction Iași (Romania) – Ungheni (Moldova); Feasibility Study for the synchronous interconnection of electric power systems in Ukraine and Moldova with the continental European electricity transmission system ENTSO-E; Improvement of the responsiveness of the Mobile Emergency Service for Resuscitation and Extrication (SMURD) through a common integrated system for effective monitoring and mitigation of disaster consequences, for the populations within the common borders of Romania, Ukraine and Moldova; Inventory, assessment and remediation of anthropogenic pollution sources in the Lower Danube region of Ukraine, Romania and Moldova; Prevention and protection against flooding in the river basins of the Siret and Prut rivers, through the implementation of a modern monitoring system with automated stations – EAST AVERT; Strengthening the network of natural protected areas for biodiversity protection and sustainable development in the Danube Delta and the Lower Prut region – Nature PAN; Promotion of sustainable production and implementation of best practices in cattle farms of cross-border region; East European Network for Excellence in Research and Development in the Field of Chronic Disease CHRONEX-RD; Cross-Border Support Centre for assisted development of zootechny; Forming a network of infrastructure innovation entities in the cross border region; Business cross-border cooperation RO-UA-MD; Cross-border interdisciplinary cooperation for prevention of natural disaster and mitigation of environmental pollution in the Lower Danube Euroregion; Improving human competitiveness through synergies in the border region; Strengthening of communication relations between the blind in cross-border region; Cultural and artistic education in the context of sustainable cross border cooperation; Sustainability principles into the concept of integrated territorial development of urban cross-border settlements; Lead Your Way to Business; REGIOCULT – cultural identity in Romania and Moldova; Together for children; and in the following projects with *regional impact*: Development of cross-border tourism by promoting the Manuc Bey manor, Elena Ioan Cuza funerary complex and Blesciunov manor; Rehabilitation of the medieval royal court of Lăpușna for sightseeing; Safety and information systems in traffic; Centre for Cross-Border Business Support – Training, Exhibition and Symposium; TransAgRomaniapolis TransfRomaniantier AgRomaniabusiness Support; Cross-Border Inventory of Degraded Land – CRING; Cross-border management tool of waste for rural communities, CBCRurWaste; Emergency situations medicine – prompt response to cross border challenges; Pure water – for the benefit of villagers; Development of water management in the village Tulucești, Galați county and in village Sireți, Strășeni district; As different as we are – seven ethnicities at the Black Sea; Unity in Diversity – Traditional exchanges of Arts and Crafts for Youth; Professional training network for local government; Cross-border and cross-institutional network for the prevention of abuse in the field of children’s rights protection; Preventing and combating human trafficking by developing cross border cooperation, cross-institutional network and increasing awareness of the vulnerable people; Get information on time: Human trafficking EXISTS; Development and management of integrated urban development plans; Cross-border cooperation in combating human trafficking; Prevention of old age crisis in Romania and Republic of Moldova; Professional ethics in dealing with minors; Educational Park – model of cooperation in environmental education; Alternative model of entrepreneurship education; Creation of a trilateral cross border network for development and marketing of the agro-

alimentary local and traditional products in the Lower Danube cross border area; SIDE BY SIDE – Trinodal network for tourism development and promotion in the cross-border region Galați-Cahul-Reni; Internationalization and Networking of SMEs and business support structures in the cross border area; ENERGY – cross-border good; Increasing the capacity of waste management for a cleaner environment in cities Vaslui and Cahul; Business environment – Sustainable development and promotion; IMAGINE – Improved Methods for Assuring the Growth and Innovation in the North Lower Danube Euro Region; Understating autism; Children’s Music Festival “Music for everyone”; Creation of a trilateral cross border network for development and marketing of the agro-alimentary local and traditional products in the Lower Danube cross-border area; Joint cultural promotion – means of developing Euroregional cooperation in the Lower Danube; Cross-border cooperation in social services; Folk costume: unity and variety in the Lower Danube; Development of cooperation in the field of social and medical services for young people in the border region Galați-Cahul EURO – HEALTH; I am not for sale – Say Stop Human Trafficking; Fanfare across borders; Development of the agricultural sector through the creation of a cross-border agricultural network; ECO CARPAȚI – Development of cross-border business in the Carpathians as an opportunity to improve economic competitiveness; Joint Centre for Business Support – a tool encouraging entrepreneurship development in the cross-border region RO-UA-MD; Medieval Jewels: Hotin, Soroca, Suceava Castles; Protecting borders against the threat of stray animals; Improvement of cross-border management of solid waste in Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine; Improvement of cross-border management of solid waste in Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine; Increase of life activity safety in the valley of the river Prut; Improving the ecological situation of basins of Prut and Dniester by improving sewage treatment systems in Chernivtsi and Drochia; Virtual Platform for Cross-Border Youth Exchange; The cross-border network for organic farming, “EcoAgriNet 2”; The green movement among young people in the cross-border region; The road is everybody’s! – Young people learn rules of traffic safety; Performance management and administrative efficiency; It is time for science; Culture without borders; Think Green; CrossLife-SkillsNet; Internet: E-friend; Cross-border exchanges in professional education; The green movement among young people in the cross-border region; Eco-towns – a shared vision in the cross-border region; Reducing pollution and soil erosion by expanding waste management capacity; Beyond borders – Music and identity amongst European youth; I care, I get involved!

(2) Black Sea Basin Joint Operational Programme 2007–2013²⁴ had the aim to develop strong regional partnerships and close cooperation in the Black Sea Basin (development of local government, shared values, gender equality, reducing gender discrimination, valuing women’s contribution to economic and social development, improving the environmental sustainability of activities, cultural integration and interchange).

The priorities of the programme were: to support cross-border partnerships for economic and social development based on combined resources; to share resources and competencies for environmental protection and conservation; to support cultural and educational initiatives for the establishment of a common cultural environment in the Black Sea Basin.

²⁴ Black Sea Basin Joint Operational Programme, accessed 22 July 2019, <https://blacksea-cbc.net/>.

Eligible areas covered: South-East Region (Romania); Severoiztochen, Yugoiztochen (Bulgaria); Kentriki Makedonia, Anatoliki Makedonia Thraki (Greece); Istanbul, Tekirdağ, Kocaeli, Zonguldak, Kastamonu, Samsun, Trabzon (Turkey); Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Zaporoshye and Donetsk, Crimea and Sevastopol (Ukraine); whole territories of Armenia, Georgia, Moldova.

Moldova participated in the following projects with *national impact*: Industrial Symbiosis Network for Environment Protection and Sustainable Development in Black Sea Basin (SymNet); Facilitate the trade of agro-food products in the Black Sea Basin (FTAP); Capacity for Integrated Urban Development: INTEGRABLE; Preparation conditions for Black Sea coasts wines penetration on the international market; e-fairs and Networking Expositions; Creation of the Black Sea Network for sustainable development of tourism in Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine and Georgia; Black Sea Network for Sustainable Tourism – Marketing Strategies common tourism and development in the Black Sea Region; Networks of cooperation between multiple levels of actors to promote quality standards for heritage tourism across borders; Development of Outdoor Adventure Tourism Network in Black Sea Region; Network of local/regional economical development as critical leverage point for increasing competitiveness in the regions of the Black Sea Basin; Network of regional development of the Black Sea Basin; Regional network of business incubators; Black Sea Earthquake Safety Network; Scientific network for prevention of earthquakes, landslides and floods risks; Research networking for the environmental monitoring and mitigation of adverse ecological effects in the Black Sea Basin; Regional cooperation for environmental protection of the Black Sea against agricultural polluters; Collective protection of skills from researchers to farmers for sustainable and ecological exploitation of agricultural and environmental protection; Strategy of continuous improvement of the effectiveness of treatment plants in the Black Sea countries; Black Sea network promoting the integrated natural wastewater treatment systems; Using flow in forest fire suppression with the help of new technologies; Less waste in the Northwest region of the Black Sea; Master Degree Program under the Black Sea Universities Network on the management of renewable energy sources; Black Sea – unity and diversity in the Roman antiquity; Maritime Network of Education for the Development of Maritime Culture in the Black Sea Basin; Effective management of lifelong learning in the Black Sea Basin network; Collaboration Network at the Black Sea; Platform for cultural exchange – Culture-EXP; Black Sea people living history; in the following projects with *regional impact*: Tradition and Originality, Uniqueness and Wealth to achieve an Innovative Approach in order to develop tourism in the Black Sea region; Quality certification system in agro-tourism – CerTour; Introducing innovative waste management practices in selected cities in Georgia, Moldova and Armenia, GMA-WMP; A clean environment for our future; Black Sea Buildings Energy Efficiency Plan – BSBEPP; Tourist Trails in the Coastal Region – BSB TOUR; Danube Black Sea connection of the European economy with the Asian economy, an important step in the development of the Black Sea Basin; Clean Rivers – Clean Sea! Joint action of environmental NGOs in the Black Sea Basin; Improving integrated coastal zone management in the Black Sea region; Innovative tools for environmental analysis in north-western Black Sea Basin; Interpretative in land trails: support for the management of natural protected areas in the Black Sea; Raising Public Awareness on Solid Municipal Waste Management in the North –West of the Black Sea Region; Excellence in the Public Sector.

(3) Transnational Cooperation Programme “South-East Europe”²⁵ aimed at improving the territorial, economic and social integration process in South East Europe and contributing to cohesion, stability and competitiveness of the area through the development of transnational partnerships.

Priority axes were: facilitation of innovation and entrepreneurship; protection and improvement of the environment; improvement of the accessibility; development of transnational synergies for sustainable growth areas.

Eligible areas involved community support for regions in 16 countries – Member States, candidate countries, potential candidate countries and third countries: Albania, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovakia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Moldova; Lombardia, Bolzano/Bozen, Trento, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna, Umbria, Marche, Abruzzo, Molise, Puglia Basilicata regions (Italy); Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zakarpattia and Odessa regions (Ukraine).

Moldova participated in the following projects with *national impact*: Intelligent Cluster Policies in South East Europe (ClusterPoliSEE); Cooperation of science parks in South East Europe for promotion of introduction of research and development technologies of SMEs on the transnational market; Establishing support mechanisms for innovation and increasing awareness of the potential for innovation, research and development in the food industry in the South-East European regions (Inno-Food SEE); Convention for waste management for inland navigation on the Danube (CO WANDA); Anchoring the Danube River Network of Protected Areas as Platform for Preservation of Danube Natural Heritage (DANUBEPARKS STEP 2.0); Widening the Thermal Solar Energy Exploitation by the Successful Models (Wide the SEE by Succ Mod); Hydropower targeted to improve water resource management for a growing renewable energy production (SEE HYDROPOWER); Road safety in South East European regions (ROSEE); South East Neighbourhood Safe Routes (SENSOR); Sustainable Transport and Tourism along the Danube (TRANSDANUBE); Integrated Urban Development of Vital Historic Towns as Regional Centres in South East Europe (ViTo); The Spatial Development Concept of Interregional Co-operation in the Danube Space (DONAUREGIONEN+); Sustainable Transport and Tourism along the Danube (TRANSDANUBE); and in the following projects with *regional impact*: Transnational integrated management of water resources in agriculture for the European WATER emergency control (EU. Water); Establishment and promotion of new approaches and tools for the strengthening of primary sector’s competitiveness and innovation in the South East Europe (APP4INNO); Launching local level heritage entrepreneurship: strategies and tools to unite forces, safeguard the place, mobilize cultural values, and deliver the experience (SAGITTARIUS); Strategic Territorial Agendas for “Small and Middle-Sized Towns” Urban Systems (STATUS).

Within the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) Moldova has been participating in four cross-border and transnational programmes as mentioned below.

(1) Joint Operational Programme Romania-Moldova²⁶ aims at contributing to a region of prosperity and good neighbourliness through soft and hard investment projects.

The programme priorities are: institutional cooperation in the educational field for increasing access to education and quality of education; promotion and support for

²⁵ Transnational Cooperation Programme “South-East Europe,” accessed 22 July 2019, <http://www.southeast-europe.net/>.

²⁶ Joint Operational Programme Romania-Moldova.

research and innovation; preservation and promotion of the cultural and historical heritage; development of cross border transport and ICT infrastructure; support to the development of health services and access to health; support to joint activities for the prevention of natural and man-made disasters as well as joint actions during emergency situations; prevention and fight against organized crime and police cooperation.

The programme area covers: Botoşani, Iaşi, Vaslui, and Galaţi counties, including adjacent the cities of Bucharest, Neamţ, Bacău and and Suceava; the whole territory of Moldova.

For the time being, there have been contracted a few projects by the technical secretariat.

(2) Black Sea Basin Joint Operational Programme 2014–2020²⁷ aims at improving the welfare of the people in the Black Sea basin regions through sustainable growth and joint environmental protection (business, entrepreneurship, environmental protection, reduction of marine litter).

The priorities of the programme are: to promote jointly business and entrepreneurship in the tourism and cultural sectors; to increase cross-border trade opportunities and modernization in the agricultural and connected sectors; to improve joint environmental monitoring; to promote common awareness-raising and joint actions to reduce river and marine litter.

Area of implementation includes: the whole territories of Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia; Bulgaria (NUTS II regions Severoiztochen and Yugoiztochen), Greece (NUTS II regions Anatoliki Makedonia, Kentriki Makedonia and Thraki), Romania (NUTS II Southeast Region), Turkey (NUTS equivalent II region of İstanbul, Tekirdağ, Kocaeli, Zonguldak, Kastamonu, Samsun and Trabzon), Ukraine (regions of Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Donetsk Zaporoshye, Autonomous Republic of Crimea and city of Sevastopol).

For the time being, the list of awarded projects with Moldova's participation is as follows: Sustainable Agricultural Trade Network in Black Sea Basin; Black Sea Joint Environmental Monitoring and Protection; Marine and River Litter Elimination New Approach; Waste Free Rivers for a Clean Black Sea; Joint Cultural Heritage – Source for Development of Entrepreneurship in the Black Sea Basin; Black Sea Basin interdisciplinary cooperation network for sustainable joint monitoring of environmental toxicants migration, improved evaluation of ecological state and human health impact of harmful substances, and public exposure prevention; Creating a System of Innovative Transboundary Monitoring of the Transformations of the Black Sea River Ecosystems under the Impact of Hydropower Development and Climate Change; Green tourism and historical heritage – a stepping stone for the development of the Black Sea Basin; Increase Trading and Modernization of the Beekeeping and Connected Sectors in the Black Sea Basin; Trade and Innovation in Wine Industry; Sustainable Use of Natural Resources – Integrated Services Establishment²⁸. As it turns out Moldova is involved in about half of selected projects under this financing tool.

²⁷ Black Sea Basin Joint Operational Programme.

²⁸ Black Sea Basin Joint Operational Programme, “List of Awarded Projects,” accessed July 22, 2019, <https://blacksea-cbc.net/projects/our-projects/>.

(3) Danube Transnational Cooperation Programme ²⁹ aims at supporting development with transnational in research, technology development, innovation, environmental protection, resource efficiency, sustainable transport and infrastructure promotion, institutional capacity building and efficient public administration.

The programme priorities are: to improve framework conditions for innovation; to increase competences for business and social innovation; to strengthen transnational water management and flood risk prevention; to foster sustainable use of natural and cultural heritage and resources; to foster the restoration and management of ecological corridors; to improve preparedness for environmental risk management; to support environmentally-friendly and safe transport systems and balanced accessibility of urban and rural areas; to improve energy security and energy efficiency; to improve institutional capacities to tackle major societal challenges; to support governance and implementation of the EUSDR.

The programme area includes 9 EU countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Germany (Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria), Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia; and 5 non-EU countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Ukraine (Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Zakarpattia and Odessa regions).

Selected projects with Moldova's participation are: Improving Administrative Procedures and Processes for Danube IWT; Transnational Cluster Cooperation active on Agro – food, based on Smart Specialization Approach in Danube region; Embracing failure to facilitate second-chance entrepreneurship in the Danube region; Bridging the Danube Protected Areas towards a Danube Habitat Corridor; Danube Ports Network; Danube River Basin Enhanced Flood Forecasting Cooperation; Regional and Transport Development in the Danube-Black Sea Region towards a Transnational Multiport Gateway Region; Leveraging Finance 4 positive Social Change; High-performance Computing for Effective Innovation in the Danube Region; Strengthening social innovation and entrepreneurial spirit of secondary schools' students by using highly innovative Learning System; Fostering Innovation in the Danube Region through Knowledge Engineering and IPR Management; Targeted capacity building of VET partnerships in the Danube Region for the effective modernisation of VET systems; Linking transnational, multimodal traveller information and journey planners for environmentally-friendly mobility in the Danube Region; Transnational Cooperation to transform knowledge into marketable products and services for the Danubian sustainable society of tomorrow; Mobilising Institutional Learning for Better Exploitation of Research and Innovation for the Circular Economy; Risk Assessment on Danube Area Roads; Changing Discourses, Changing Practices: The Roma as Human Resource; Facilitating macro-regional scope and link up to socio-economic actors of Research Infrastructure in the Danube Region; Strengthening Social Entrepreneurial Landscape through involving socially responsible corporate Practices in Entrepreneurial Competences and Skills enhancement in the DANUBE region; Sediment-quality Information, Monitoring and Assessment System to support transnational cooperation for joint Danube Basin water management; Transdanube.Pearls – Network for Sustainable Mobility along the Danube; Fostering the Young Women Entrepreneurship in the Danube Region ³⁰.

²⁹ Danube Transnational Cooperation Programme, accessed 22 July 2019, <http://www.interreg-danube.eu/>.

³⁰ Danube Transnational Cooperation Programme, "Approved Projects," accessed 22 July 2019, http://www.interreg-danube.eu/approved-projects?approved_project_filter%5Bcall%5D=&approved_project_filter%5Bstatus%5D=&approved_project_filter%5Bpriority%5D=&approved_

(4) Eastern Partnership Territorial Cooperation Programme Moldova-Ukraine³¹ aims at strengthening cross-border contacts between local authorities, communities and civil society organizations to help develop joint solutions to common social and economic development challenges.

The programme priorities are: promotion of closer business links across the border; diversification of income sources and development of alternative employment opportunities in rural areas; solving cross-border environmental problems, enhancing emergency preparedness; promotion of multi-cultural diversity and social integrity of ethnical minorities across the border; facilitation of people-to-people links in social sphere, culture, education and sports with focus on youth issues.

The programme area includes: the whole territory of Moldova, Vinnytsia, Chernivtsi and Odessa regions (Ukraine).

EaPTCM-U awarded the following projects: Common Space for Creative and Cultural Industries; Cross-Border Network for Innovative Agriculture; Developing a territorial early warning system for flood emergencies in the Prut river region; Development of the Ukrainian-Moldavian cross-border production-scientific-educational cluster for processing of winemaking by-products; Enhanced capacity for an efficient waste management in “Lower Danube” Euroregion area; Facilitation of people-to-people links in social, cultural and educational sphere with focus on young care leavers from Republic of Moldova and Chernivtsi region; Healthy way by upgraded cross-border sport infrastructure; Increase of the emergency situations preparedness level of medical structures and population of the regions of Ukraine and Republic of Moldova; Joint Opportunities in Business for Youth; Promotion of Food Heritage in the Lower Danube Region; Rural tourism – a sure step towards boosting the cross-border cooperation between districts of Soroca (Republic of Moldova) and Yampil (Ukraine, Vinnytsia Oblast); Step by Step Towards Separate Collection of the Solid Waste; Strengthening Regional Capacities for Applying Environmentally Friendly Technologies in Integrated Pest Management Systems; Through Sustainable Transport to Clean Environment; Youth in Action.

Within the priority of *stronger connectivity*, sector of *cross-border cooperation*, the European Union has implemented many macro-scale projects in Moldova: Construction of the Jointly Operated Border Crossing Point Palanca on the territory of the Republic of Moldova; Increased Opportunities and Better Living Conditions across the Nistru River; The European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM); Support to the Modernisation of Customs Service of Moldova in line with AA Requirements MD 13 ENPI FI 07 17 (MD/19); OPEN Neighbourhood – Media Hub: Networking, on-the-job training and support to media professionals across the EU Neighbourhood area; OPEN Neighbourhood – Communicating for a stronger partnership: connecting with citizens across the Eastern Neighbourhood; Eastern Partnership – Integrated Border Management – Capacity Building Project; Implementation of the Programmatic Cooperation framework with the Council of Europe in the Eastern Partnership; Eastern Partnership Territorial Cooperation Programmes; Support to

project_filter%5Bacronym%5D=&approved_project_filter%5BprojectCountry%5D%5B%5D=MD&approved_project_filter%5B_token%5D=IREC-H9muC0Rh1orJEeJgyIvttvGc_rripErWXCdq8.

³¹ Eastern Partnership Territorial Cooperation Programme Moldova-Ukraine, accessed 22 July 2019, <http://www.eaptc.eu/en/program/view-moldova-ukraine.html>.

implementation of Visa Liberalisation Action Plan; Fixed and Mobile Communications Network for the Border Guard Service in the Republic of Moldova: Phase 2 Horești to Otaci – Infrastructure & IT Equipment; Support to the Programmation of the Single Support Framework in Moldova (2014–2020); Support to the implementation of the agreements between the Republic of Moldova and the EU; Supervision of the Fixed and Mobile Communication Network for the Moldovan Border Guard Service – Ungheni to Giurgiulești; External Results Oriented Monitoring (ROM) of projects and programmes financed by the European Union in the European Neighbourhood region; National Integrity System Assessments in European Neighbourhood East region; Developing Cross Border tourism by promoting the Mansion of Manuc Bey, Elena Ioan Cuza Mortuary Complex and the Blesciunov Mansion; Assistance at the tender supply procedure and the delivery of equipment for Biometric Passports production to the Republic of Moldova; Joint Border patrolling on the Green and Blue Border between Republic of Moldova and Ukraine – Supply of Thermo Vision Vehicles for Moldovan Border Police; Support to UNHCR activities in Eastern Europe in the context of EU Regional Protection Programmes – Phase II; Strengthening Capacities and Cooperation in the Identification of Forged and Falsified Travel Documents at the Moldova-Romania Border; Regional electronic communications regulatory framework harmonization between the EU and the Eastern Partnership Partner Countries; Production and publication of the 2013 Neighbourhood Investment Facility (NIF) and 2014 Neighbourhood Investment Facility (NIF) Annual Operational Reports; Strengthening the Link Between Migration and Development: Testing an Integrated Service Provider to Moldovan Migrants and their Communities; The effects of migration in Moldova and Georgia on children and elderly left behind; Equipment for the introduction of biometric passports in the Republic of Moldova, Lot 1; Local Integration of Refugees in Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine; Consolidation of migration management capacities in the Republic of Moldova; Equipment for the introduction of biometric passports in the Republic of Moldova, Lot 2; Support to the Eastern Partnership Panel on Migration and Asylum; Building Migration Partnerships (BMP) project – A platform for applying the Global Approach to Migration to the Eastern and South-Eastern Regions Neighbouring the European Union; EaP Connect; Enlarged Sustainable Partnership for Decentralization Reform (ESPDR); Technical assistance to the Bureau for Reintegration of the Republic of Moldova; Supporting the implementation of the EC visa facilitation and readmission agreements; Information seminars/press trips for journalists from the EU Member States to the countries of Neighbourhood East; BOMUK 4 – Border Management Improvement: Equipment Supply to the Border Guard Services of Ukraine and Moldova (Lot 1); European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) Phase 10; Remittances Developing Moldovan Communities – Sustainable Use of Remittances by Generating Local Income in the Republic of Moldova; Eastern European Partnership – IBM Flagship Initiative Training Project (EaP IBM FIT); Supporting the Republic of Moldova to implement the EU-Moldova Action Plan on Visa Liberalisation; Support to the Eastern Partnership Panel on Migration and Asylum; The Eastern Partnership Youth Regional Unit; Support to Implementation of EC Readmission Agreements with the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation and Ukraine: Facilitation of Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (SIREADA); E-Platform for Neighbourhood; Cross-border cultural activities – premise for a multilateral sustainable cooperation; An integrated approach for the sustainability of the tourism production; Strengthening Migration Management and Cooperation on Readmission in Eastern Europe (MIGRECO);

Preparation of Draft Law on the Transnistrian Settlement Process; Addressing the Negative Effects of Migration on Minors and Families Left Behind; Development of the touristic roads in Nisporeni-Prut cross-border area; Building bridges: linking Europe's neighbourhoods to ensure public finance for public benefit; Supervision of the supply contracts of a fixed and mobile communications network for Border Guard in the Republic of Moldova Phase II Horești to Otaci; Effective government of labour migration and its skills dimensions; Costs assessment: Upgrade and Extension of the Fixed and Mobile Communication Network for the Moldovan Border Guard Service; Eastern Partnership and Black Sea events; Fixed and Mobile Communication Network for the Border Guard Service, Ungheni to Giurgiulești; Supporting the implementation of the migration and development component of the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership and harnessing its benefits for the residents of the Transnistria Region of the Republic of Moldova; Fixed and Mobile Communications Network for the Border Guard Service in the Republic of Moldova: Phase 2 Horești to Otaci – Radio Equipment, in 1 lot; Facility for the cross border cooperation programmes at the EU's external borders (ENPI CBC) – INTERACT ENPI II; Supporting the implementation of the migration and development component of the EU-Moldova Mobility Partnership; Pre-feasibility Study for Projects to be possibly Funded under the Eastern Partnership Integrated Border Management Flagship Initiative; Assisting the tender procedures for future supervision service contract Phase 2 Fixed and Mobile Communications Network for Border Guards Service; Monitoring of the implementation of the Cross Border Cooperation programmes under the 2007–2013 European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI); Eastern Partnership cooperation in the fight against irregular migration – Supporting the implementation of the Prague Process Action Plan (EaP-SIPPAP); Preparation of Twinning fiche and ancillary supply contract (including NCTS component) for strengthening the Single Window approach to the Customs Service of the Republic of Moldova³². The allocated funds vary from a couple of thousands of Euro to millions of Euro.

Impact

The long records are compiled for the first time in a paper. They have been presented to show the magnitude of EU engagement and high visibility in cross-border cooperation initiatives implemented in Moldova. The long records highlight quantitative and qualitative support for Moldovan authorities, institutions, organizations and civil society actors. Cross-border cooperation includes soft and hard projects, mono-beneficiaries and multi-beneficiaries, in partnership with other countries and solely for Moldova.

Cross-border cooperation projects contributed to mutual understanding, broader cooperation between decision-makers and other stakeholders, exchange of experiences and good practices, building institutional capacities, solving common problems by identifying common solutions.

There are a lot of learned lessons by participating parties, added value which is of higher importance for sustainable development. Changes for development would have not occurred without substantial support of cross-border cooperation programmes and projects implemented in Moldova for a long time.

³² Delegation of the European Union to Moldova, Projects Funded by the European Union in Moldova, accessed July 23, 2019, <https://www.eu4moldova.md/en>.

Long records demonstrate that large amounts of finances have been oriented towards local beneficiaries; however, effects of implemented projects seem to have low visibility, only for implementation duration, exploited inappropriately in a long run, by beneficiaries. This could be explained to a certain extent by faced multiple challenges: legal differences in financial management, procurement, and incurred costs; inflexible institutional frameworks; insufficiency of qualified human resources; insufficient financial resources or unwillingness of institutional management in supporting applicants to participate in EU programmes; improper institutional and professional capacity as culture as well of participating partners.

All in all, the trend has a positive value for beneficiaries, partners and financing authorities. Cross-border cooperation projects produced and continue to produce the foreseen impact, even if the initiatives address differently to the speed and quality of effects that could be a temporal matter of fact for involved parties. Project results in cross-border cooperation produce irreversible changes in improving border collaboration.

Conclusion

Cross-border cooperation programmes and projects contribute to bringing added value to transfrontier collaboration, to political level, to socio-economic life of the country, to cultural level, to institutional plane, and to people-to-people contacts. In other words, cross-border cooperation programmes and projects build on added value of sustainable development.

The experience of cross-border cooperation programmes and projects reveals a huge move from separation to interface, better governance of borders by understanding and exploiting the benefits from borders. Cross-border cooperation programmes and projects play a crucial role in recreating proximity from negative to positive valences, on the one hand. On the other hand, cross-border cooperation depends on external funds; the quality of cross-border dialogue is yet in progress. Cross-border cooperation needs rather bottom-up than top-down approaches and initiatives to explore all the benefits of borders. Multi-actorness in cross-border cooperation is also needed to create a border for all, a friendly border that unites people of a small country and makes them more cooperative in the region.

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Carpathian Euroregion. The Specific Character of the Euroregion and the Financing of its Activities, Based on the Example of Poland as a Party

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Abstract. *Despite their location in the peripheral areas of countries, by engaging in local cooperation border areas contribute to the development of the regions, and consequently of European countries, especially in social terms. The complexity of Euroregions as entities and the way in which they function encourages in-depth research and makes them an interesting research area. The main subject of the analysis is the Carpathian Euroregion as an example of socio-economic cross-border cooperation, in particular the characterisation of its genesis, objectives and tasks, institutions and specific nature. Since the Carpathian Euroregion Interregional Union is not an organisation in the meaning of international law and has no legal personality, but is only a form of political cooperation, it performs its tasks formally through the activities of national structures. Despite 26 years of activity of the Euroregion, only the Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian sides have a legal structure enabling cooperation and therefore its effects are visible on the Polish and Slovak sides, as well as on the Polish and Ukrainian sides of the Euroregion. They are essentially only bilateral in nature, and are usually socially, less often economically oriented. The financing of projects with the participation of the Polish side is possible due to the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland, which makes financial resources, mainly from the EU budget, available to local entities for the implementation of micro-projects for the development of tourism, ecology, culture, science and education. The Association also raises funds for the implementation of its own projects, especially those aimed at technical assistance for project recipients and promotion of the Euroregion.*

Keywords: *Carpathian Euroregion, Euroregion, cross-border cooperation, financing of projects, micro-projects*

Introduction to the issue of Euroregions

The demarcation of borders between countries often results in a situation where an ethnically cohesive region is divided with a border. That is when a so-called cross-border region¹ comes into existence. Due to the connecting factors between the border areas thus

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¹ Marianna Greta, *Euroregiony a integracja europejska: wnioski dla Polski* [Euroregions and European integration: conclusions for Poland] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2003), 28.

divided, cooperation between such territories usually deepens naturally and the border does not necessarily have to be a limiting factor.

The idea of and the need for cooperation between both local and regional communities across national borders was born in the 1950s in Western Europe. Its main objective was to eliminate barriers preventing cooperation to ensure the flow of experience between regions of different countries, and thus to support the activities aimed at improving the quality of the functioning of local government institutions, facilitating the development of tourism, ensuring coordination of infrastructure development on both sides of a state border, as well as cultural and educational development of the region.

Cross-border cooperation itself is a common form of activating border areas belonging to various state organisms. When it is institutionalised, organised and sustainable bottom-up organisation that activates local authorities and has its own statute², a cross-border region becomes a Euroregion. A Euroregion is a separate area with both natural and acquired characteristics. It differs from a typical region due to its organised structure in the form of Euroregional institutions. The transition from cross-border cooperation to Euroregional cooperation is usually a multi-stage process of improving ties in border regions undertaking cooperation with each other.

Therefore, a Euroregion constitutes a form of cross-border region, resulting from the preceding presence of cross-border cooperation in a given area. It is an association of two or more subjects of border states which conclude cooperation agreements in various aspects³. It owes its name to the first unit of this type – the Euroregio Euroregional structure. It is created on the basis of political, economic, historical, social or cultural premises, which give rise to the need for legal regulation of forms of neighbourly cooperation. At the same time, it is worth noting that the existence of legal structures and their proximity, as well as the fact that Euroregions are usually small territorial units, usually make it possible to undertake actions and initiatives more quickly⁴.

The transition from unregulated to formalised forms of cooperation and their institutionalisation requires the consent and goodwill of the national authorities of the states whose areas it consists of. This also comes along with certain challenges. The legal status of a Euroregion is based on the internal law of the individual states. It is therefore necessary to balance the privileges of Euroregions in their mutual relations⁵. The legal form should allow all parties to benefit, which is the primary objective of a Euroregion.

In the literature concerning the subject, the term “Euroregion” is heterogeneous. In one approach, the definition is focused on the cross-border nature of the area and the distance factor to the national border⁶. This assumption is shared, among others, by T.

² John Harry Dunning, *Regions, Globalization and the Knowledge-Based Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 18.

³ Marianna Greta, *Euroregiony polskie w procesie integracji europejskiej oraz w przewyżczeniu peryferyjności i dysproporcji regionalnych* [Polish Euroregions in the process of European integration and overcoming peripherality and regional disparities] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2013), 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁵ Jan Róg, *Relacje społeczno-ekonomiczne na pograniczu polsko-czeskim* [Socio-economic relations on the Polish-Czech border] (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2001), 135–136.

⁶ Ołeh Tiszczenko and Serhij Trojan, “Wpływ procesów demokratyzacji w państwach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej na współpracę transgraniczną” [Impact of democratisation processes in Central and Eastern European countries on cross-border cooperation], in *Granice i pogranicza nowej Unii Europejskiej. Z badań regionalnych, etnicznych i lokalnych* [Borders and borderlines

Łoś-Nowak, who claims that “a Euroregion is an area that crosses at least one state border and is the sum of at least two socio-economic spaces with polycentric organisation”⁷. K. Sodu, in turn, describes a Euroregion as “a group of municipal units belonging to states on different sides of the border that have a common administrative structure”. In a different approach to the definition of a Euroregion, attention is primarily on the economic, social, cultural or legal diversity of the areas concerned. A. Fajferek, who assumes that a Euroregion is “a territorial production and service complex, distinguished by specific forms of development”. A Euroregion is at the same time a historical category, subject to constant changes and development. However, according to A. Stasiak, it is “a specific form of cross-border cooperation, which additionally highlights a further characteristic, i.e. a higher degree of institutionalisation of cross-border cooperation structures”⁸. The lack of a uniform definition of a Euroregion results from the fact that the basis for this phenomenon is multilevel. The multithreaded nature of the concept also attests to the complexity of the phenomenon.

In Central and Eastern Europe, the process of creating Euroregions began at the beginning of the 1990s and was connected with the systemic transformation and preparation of the Eastern Bloc countries for their integration with Western Europe. The assumption was that cooperation within Euroregions was to have not only a local dimension for border communities, but also a national dimension for the countries which are parties to the Euroregions, and even a European dimension⁹. At present, over 200 Euroregions are registered in Europe, out of which about 75% are active¹⁰. The Carpathian Euroregion, which is the subject of this analysis, is therefore one of many Euroregions currently operating on the European continent. However, its activity is not conducted evenly in all its parties and should, by definition, enable all parties to benefit on the basis of the partnership. Apart from discussing the genesis and specificity of the Euroregion, the financing of projects with the participation of Poland as a party will be presented, as it is the one most involved in the cooperation in this Euroregion.

Genesis and the specific character of the Carpathian Euroregion

The Carpathian Euroregion was established on 14th February 1993 in Debrecen, Hungary, as the Inter-Regional Association of the Carpathian Euroregion, on the initiative of local authorities from the border areas: Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary. Its statute was signed by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Poland, Hungary and Ukraine,

of the new European Union. From regional, ethnic and local research], ed. Marian Malikowski and Dariusz Wojakowski (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2005), 99–101.

⁷ Sabina Sanetra-Pólgrabi, *Funkcjonowanie Euroregionów na pograniczu południowym Polski, Studium porównawcze euroregionów: „Śląsk Cieszyński”, „Beskidy”, i „Tatry”* [Functioning of Euroregions on the southern border of Poland, Comparative study of Euroregions: “Cieszyn Silesia,” “Beskids,” and “Tatry”] (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2015), 45.

⁸ Andrzej Stasiak, *Wprowadzenie* [Introduction] in *Euroregiony Wschodniego Pogranicza – założenia i osiągnięcia* [Euroregions of the Eastern Borderland – assumptions and achievements], ed. Andrzej Stasiak (Białystok: Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomiczna w Białymstoku, 2002), 9.

⁹ Marianna Greta and Jacek Otto, “Euroregion jako organizacja pozarządowa i potencjalny stymulator rozwoju turystyki transgranicznej” [Euroregion as a non-governmental organization and potential stimulator of cross-border tourism development], *EPT* 41, no. 1 (2018): 76.

¹⁰ Antoni Durà Guimerà et al., *Euroregions, Excellence and Innovation across EU borders. A Catalogue of good Practices*. (Barcelona: Department of Geography, 2018), 34, accessed May 15, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/recot_crii_catalogue_0.pdf.

and a representative of the Slovak local government, in the presence of the then Secretary-General of the Council of Europe, Catherine Lalumière¹¹. At the same time, the *Declaration on Cooperation of Communities Residing in the Carpathian Euroregion* was signed as an expression of great interest of the signatories in the development of cooperation.

It should be stressed that two years before the meeting in Debrecen (in February 1991), the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs proposed a Euroregional cooperation project along the borders of five countries: Poland, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania. The first contacts between the voivodship authorities of Krosno and Przemyśl and the local authorities of eastern Slovakia, western Ukraine and north-eastern Hungary were established in 1990. The follow up took place in November 1991 in Michalovce, Slovakia, where President Václav Havel and the Deputy Voivod of Krosno, Adam Pędziół, discussed cross-border cooperation. In November 1991, the aforementioned project of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was handed over to the voivods from Krosno and Przemyśl. It was discussed at an international seminar organised in Jasło on February 15, 1992, titled “The possibilities and perspectives of cooperation between the neighbouring regions of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Ukraine”. The seminar was held under the honorary patronage of the then President of Poland Lech Wałęsa. The seminar was attended by representatives of central authorities, diplomatic missions, interested countries, NGOs and experts. In Jasło, it was decided to establish the Interregional Cooperation Council of Podkarpacie with the participation of a representative of local authorities from Uzhgorod, Miskolc, Michaloviec and Krosno. At the same time, the above project was made available to the New York Institute for East-West Studies. The Board of the Institute, chaired by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, proposed financial and organisational support for local authorities in the process of creating the Euroregion¹². Other European, American and Japanese institutions, such as the Council of Europe, the European Community, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Mac Arthur, Ford and Sasakava Foundation, also joined the Institute in its support for the initiative. The Institute for East-West Studies also funded a conference in Nyiregyhaza, Hungary¹³, where representatives of the countries of the region exchanged proposals and suggestions for the creation of foundations for cooperation to alleviate tensions and mutual prejudices, strengthen friendship and promote good neighbourly relations between the nations¹⁴. The New York Institute prepared the Carpathian Euroregion Project in May 1992. The founding document and statute were agreed and initialled during two meetings in October 1992 in Krosno and in November 1992 in Zemplińska Szirava. The creation of the Carpathian Euroregion was therefore a political

¹¹ Janusz Bek, *Rozwój powiązań przygranicznych województwa podkarpackiego ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Euroregionu Karpackiego* [Development of cross-border connections of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship with particular emphasis on the role of the Carpathian Euroregion], in *Euroregiony Wschodniego Pogranicza – założenia i osiągnięcia* [Euroregions of the Eastern Borderland – assumptions and achievements], ed. Andrzej Stasiak (Białystok: Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomiczna w Białymstoku, 2002), 232.

¹² Ewa Orłof, “Związek Międzyregionalny Euroregion Karpacki i jego znaczenie” [Interregional Union of the Carpathian Euroregion and its importance], *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne* no. 2 (1998): 84.

¹³ Hiroshi Tanaka, “Carpathian Euroregion and Cross-Border Governance,” *The Journal of Comparative Economic Studies* 2 (2006): 64.

¹⁴ Rudolf Bauer, *The Carpathian Euroregion Project. Short Study* (Budapest: CESCI, 2015), 5, accessed May 15, 2019, http://cesci-net.eu/tiny_mce/uploaded/CER_study.pdf.

priority not only for individual states, but also for international organisations and institutions.

In December 1993, the Romanian government annulled the applications of the Romanian departments to join the Euroregion. However, following the parliamentary and local elections in 1996 and the conclusion of the Romanian-Hungarian Treaty, the Romanian government changed its position. In spring 1997, a formal request to accept the north-western departments of Romania as a member of the Euroregion was submitted at the Euroregion Council meeting in Nyiregyhaza (Hungary). Based on that, since 1997, the Carpathian Euroregion has also included the local authorities in Romania, which is the fifth country.

The objectives and responsibilities of the Carpathian Euroregion are defined in the establishment agreement. They are defined as: organising and coordinating activities for the development of cooperation between members in the fields of economy, ecology, culture, science and education, helping and supporting specific projects and plans of common interest, developing and facilitating contacts between inhabitants, including contacts between experts in various fields, developing good neighbourly relations, identifying potential areas for multilateral cooperation between members, mediating and facilitating the cooperation of members with organisations, agencies and institutions¹⁵.

The activity of the Carpathian Euroregion is based on institutions which, nevertheless, perform only advisory, consultative and coordinating functions. The statute mentions the Council of the Union (a higher decision-making level of the Union), the President of the Union (a representative elected every two years), the Presidium of the Council of the Union, the International Secretariat (operations), the National Offices and five Working Committees run by different countries. Furthermore, the founding agreement of the Union defines the territorial coverage of the members, which it may evaluate. At present, it includes:

- Poland – Podkarpackie voivodeship and member self-governments of the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland;
- Ukraine – the area of Lviv, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk and Chernivtsi districts;
- Slovakia – areas of the countries: Prešovský, Košice, and the area of self-governments of the members of the Carpathian Region Association;
- Hungary – cantonal areas: Borsad-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hajdú-Bihar, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Shabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and the cities of Nyíregyháza, Miskolc, Debrecen, Eter;
- Romania – departments areas: Szatmár, Maramureş, Bihar, Suceava, Szilágy, Botoşani, Harghita.

Notably, the Interregional Association of the Carpathian Euroregion is not an organisation in the meaning of international law and does not have a legal personality, it is only a form of political cooperation, and therefore it performs its tasks formally through the activities of national structures. For this reason in Poland, in July 2000, Euro-Carpathia: the Association for the Carpathian Euroregion (currently the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland) was established, which legally represents the Polish side

¹⁵ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Historia Euroregionu” [History of the Euroregion], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/euroregion-karpacki/historia-euroregionu/>.

of the Carpathian Euroregion¹⁶. Creation and registration of the Association and takeover of the responsibility for running the Office of the Polish Carpathian Euroregion, starting in March 2001, allowed to end the eight-year period of the Euroregion's functioning without legal personality. As a result, the Polish side of the Carpathian Euroregion was reorganised due to the creation of a legal structure based on the member states' self-governments, as well as developing the methods and cooperation within the framework of the Carpathian Euroregion¹⁷. Apart from Poland, the Euroregional Associations currently operate in Slovakia (Association of the Carpathian Euroregion, North Slovakia) and Ukraine (Association of Local Governments, Carpathian Euroregion – Ukraine), therefore the cooperation is most visible between these entities. The Hungarian and Romanian sides still do not have legal personality, so they need to undergo formal and legal changes in order to commence their activities.

The Carpathian Euroregion is the first Euroregion in Europe established by the former Eastern Bloc countries without the participation of the European Union Member States. It is one of the largest Euroregions, as well as one of the Euroregions of the so-called eastern border of Poland, which are located along the EU's external borders at the same time. At present, it covers about 154,000 km², and its territory is inhabited by over 15 million people¹⁸ of different nationalities, cultures and religions. In the past, this area was characterised by constant changes in the interstate borders.

The main common elements connecting all parts of the Carpathian Euroregion are attractive areas with cultural peculiarities and the significance of industry and food processing. Agriculture also plays a key role: crop and livestock farming, but also wine growing in the Tokaj region give the Euroregion its key tourist value. Not highly developed, intact areas and the unique culture of the region are also a great tourist asset. Its characteristic, central location in Europe is not without significance either. Therefore, it has at its disposal an excellent location, connecting the areas through which the shortest routes pass from east to west and between the countries of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea¹⁹.

However, a significant part of this area is characterised by a number of negative social and economic phenomena, such as: economic backwardness, diversification of GDP per capita, unfavourable population phenomena (outflow of inhabitants, professional inactivity of the society, ageing of the society, poor education), lower level of access to higher quality goods and services. The Euroregion is lagging behind in economic terms in comparison to other areas of all five countries it covers. For this reason, these areas require specific actions, such as external financial assistance, otherwise they are exposed to an increase in negative phenomena and processes.

¹⁶ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, "Euroregion Karpacki Polska" [Carpathian Euroregion Poland], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karr.com.pl/obszary-dzialan/wspolpraca-transgraniczna/euroregion-karpacki-polska/>.

¹⁷ Elżbieta Małecka, Sławomir Banazak, Dorota Wilczyńska, *Euroregiony na granicach Polski 2007* [Euroregions at the borders of Poland 2007] (Wrocław: Urząd Statystyczny we Wrocławiu, 2007), 137.

¹⁸ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, "Euroregion Karpacki" [Carpathian Euroregion], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/euroregion-karpacki/>.

¹⁹ Igor Żurba, "Euroregion jako najbardziej zaawansowany organizacyjnie i funkcjonalnie poziom współpracy transgranicznej" [Euroregion as the most advanced organisational and functional level of cross-border cooperation], *Nierówności społeczne a wzrost gospodarczy* no. 12 (2008): 128.

It is also important to note that four of the five Member States of the Carpathian Euroregion are currently part of the European Union and in addition, Romania has still not joined the Schengen area. This state of affairs makes cooperation even more difficult, for example, due to border control. Nevertheless, there are grounds for eliminating these difficulties – Romania is theoretically ready to join the Schengen area and Ukraine signed an association agreement with the European Union in 2014²⁰.

Financing projects in the Carpathian Euroregion with the participation of Poland as a party

As mentioned earlier, financing of projects in the Carpathian Euroregion with the participation of Polish entities is possible thanks to the activity of the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland. It conducts a multidisciplinary activity, coordinating the activities of its members, i.e. local governments and other organisations, in the field of territorial cooperation and regional development²¹. The Association is first of all an organisation enabling formal involvement of its members in the functioning of the Inter-Regional Association of the Carpathian Euroregion and is a coordinator of cooperation from the identification of common problems to the implementation of investment and non-investment projects. What distinguishes the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland from other associations gathering local government units in the Podkarpackie region, as well as from other national sides of the Carpathian Euroregion, is the fact that the Association acts as an Implementing Authority for some components of the European Union's cross-border cooperation programmes. The Association offers its members assistance in the coordination of activities, especially those related to the use of EU funds, and provides the possibility of direct support for cooperation through so-called micro-projects. The Association is competent to receive and consider applications for co-financing from beneficiaries, select projects and sign agreements with beneficiaries, monitor the implementation of individual projects, verify the use of funds by beneficiaries, collect and transmit information about irregularities and frauds, prepare reports on the implementation of tasks entrusted to it and conduct informational activities.

Due to its functions related to the implementation of cross-border programmes, the EU is a full member both in the international working groups responsible for the preparation of individual operational programmes and in the meetings of the decision-making bodies (Monitoring Committee) with full voting rights. It is therefore an institution with real impact on current and future European Union programmes from the moment of their creation to the moment of the projects' approval for implementation. The Association also acts as an intermediary in finding partners for projects implemented by local government units, other public institutions (e.g. schools, community centres), and acts as an intermediary in establishing contacts with business partners in cooperation with many different organisations of different profiles²².

In the years 2000–2003, the Association of Carpathian Euroregion Poland implemented pre-accession EU funds within the framework of the PHARE National

²⁰ Bauer, 17.

²¹ Małgorzata Lechwar, “Instytucjonalny wymiar współpracy transgranicznej w regionie podkarpackim” [The institutional dimension of cross-border cooperation in the Podkarpackie region], *Nierówności społeczne a wzrost gospodarczy* no. 26 (2012): 171.

²² Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Stowarzyszenie Euroregion Karpacki Polska” [Association of Carpathian Euroregion Poland], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/stowarzyszenie-karpaty/>.

Programme for Poland and the Poland-Slovakia PHARE Cross-Border Cooperation Programme. The EU support was intended for small projects under the Small Projects Fund, whose co-financing did not exceed EUR 50.000, and the value of individual projects ranged from EUR 50.000 to EUR 300.000. The financing priorities included, first of all, cultural exchange, development of local democracy, and development of human resources, developmental concepts and studies, and the development of tourism in the border areas²³. The undertakings were therefore mainly related to the organisation of seminars, workshops, and trainings, including language courses, creation of social and economic institutions and support for youth exchanges, which resulted from the cooperation of local government units and non-profit organisations with partners on the other side of the Slovak and Ukrainian borders. Until 2004, 86 projects were financed under the Small Projects Fund from the PHARE National Programme for Poland through the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland, for a total amount of almost EUR 3 million²⁴. Most of the funds went to local government administration, cultural centres and associations. On the other hand, 41 projects worth over EUR 700.000 were implemented under the Small Projects Fund from the PHARE Poland-Slovakia Cross-Border Cooperation Programme, whose largest beneficiaries were self-government administration, schools and associations.

In the following years, the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland implemented the European Regional Development Fund within the framework of the INTERREG IIIA/TACIS CBC Poland-Belarus-Ukraine Neighbourhood Programme and the INTERREG IIIA Poland-Slovakia Programme for the years 2004–2006. The purpose of the INTERREG IIIA/TACIS CBC Poland-Belarus-Ukraine Neighbourhood Programme was to support cross-border cooperation on the external border of the European Union, which is the Polish border with Ukraine and Belarus. The priorities financed from the programme were: the development of human capital and institutional forms of cross-border cooperation, the improvement of security at the EU borders, as well as technical assistance and support for local community initiatives. The Program financed 89 projects worth over PLN 7.131 million, and the total amount of investments exceeded PLN 9.508 million²⁵. The INTERREG IIIA Poland-Slovakia Programme, on the other hand, implemented 31 projects worth over PLN 1.4 million²⁶. It aimed to develop the social and cultural sphere in Poland and Slovakia by supporting local community initiatives.

Meanwhile, in the years 2007–2013, the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland selected 123 micro-projects with the total value of over EUR 4.8 million from the Cross-Border Cooperation Programme of the Republic of Poland – the Slovak Republic

²³ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Działalność Stowarzyszenia Euroregion Karpaccy Polska w zakresie zarządzania europejskimi programami transgranicznymi” [Activities of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland Association in the management of European cross-border programs], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/gfx/karpacki/pl/defaultopisy/124/57/1/phare.pdf>.

²⁴ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, accessed May 18, 2019, The full list of projects co-financed from the Program: http://www.karpacki.pl/gfx/karpacki/pl/defaultopisy/124/57/1/lista_projektow_dofinansowanych_przez_sekp_phare.pdf.

²⁵ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, accessed May 18, 2019, The full list of projects co-financed from the Program: http://www.karpacki.pl/gfx/karpacki/pl/defaultopisy/126/58/1/lista_zrealizowanych_projektow_pbu_2004-2006.pdf.

²⁶ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, accessed May 18, 2019, The full list of projects co-financed from the Program: http://www.karpacki.pl/gfx/karpacki/pl/defaultopisy/125/59/1/lista_zrealizowanych_mikroprojektow_interreg_iiiia_plsk.pdf.

from the European Regional Development Fund. Most of the projects were implemented by entities from the Rzeszów and Krosno poviats, the least from Lubaczów. The average value of the grant awarded was EUR 33.000. Within the framework of micro-projects, it was possible to support the following undertakings:

- organisation of joint cultural events (workshops, art competitions, exhibitions, festivals, festivals);
- protection and conservation of cultural heritage;
- publishing activities promoting cross-border cooperation in a variety of fields (preparation of publications, brochures or catalogues);
- sport, tourism and recreation projects (sports competitions, contests, training camps, rallies, meetings);
- promotion of natural environment values;
- informational activities: websites, leaflets, brochures, notice boards, banners, posters, radio and television programmes;
- protection and valorisation of natural heritage;
- organisation of conferences, seminars and workshops;
- organisation of trade fairs;
- networking through the development of institutional links between social, economic, cultural and other organisations;
- measures for active ageing and prolongation of professional life;
- activities to improve the quality of and access to initial vocational and tertiary education and training;
- implementation of small infrastructure investments related to "soft" projects in the field of culture, sport, tourism and environmental protection.

Additionally, in the years 2007–2013, an umbrella project “Promotion of common historical and cultural heritage of Poland and Ukraine – the Przemyśl Fortress” was implemented within the framework of the Poland-Belarus-Ukraine Cross-Border Cooperation Programme from the European Regional Development Fund by the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland. Its aim was the social and economic development of border areas in the industrial district in Poland and the Mościce region by promoting the infrastructure of the “Przemyśl Fortress”. During the 12 months of the project's duration, 10 micro-projects led workshops for the tourism sector, prepared virtual tours of fortifications and other historically interesting places on the borderland, reconstruction of the historical struggle for Przemyśl, culinary and art workshops, sports events; a youth volunteer program was launched to renovate buildings and forts, graves and chapels in military cemeteries, and cooperation between schools from the Przemyśl county and the Mościsko region was established in order to cultivate cultural and historical heritage. The total value of the umbrella project was almost EUR 541.000 and the value of the grant exceeded EUR 492.500²⁷.

At present, thanks to the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland from the Interreg V-A Poland-Slovakia Programme 2014–2020, micro-projects are being implemented on the Polish-Slovak border under umbrella projects implemented under two priority axes of the Programme: axis 1. Protection and development of the natural and cultural heritage of the border area, for which more than EUR 6.275 million has been

²⁷ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Projekt Parasolowy Polska – Białoruś – Ukraina 2007–2013” [Umbrella Project Poland – Belarus – Ukraine 2007–2013], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/fundusze/pppbu-2007-2013/>.

allocated, and axis 3. Development of cross-border education and lifelong learning (over EUR 697.000). The umbrella projects are implemented as part of the partnership between the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland and the Higher Territorial Unit in Prešov. Compared to previous years, micro-projects in the years 2014–2020 are distinguished by a greater thematic concentration and the principle of being results-orientated. For the micro-beneficiaries, this means a narrower and more precisely defined scope of activities that can be financed and a greater responsibility in relation to the product indicators that are to be the effect of the implemented micro-projects. Entities implementing micro-projects may only include the institutions whose basic activity is not of a commercial nature, i.e.: government and local administration bodies, their unions and associations; units established by the state or local government to provide public services, vocational training institutions, research institutions, universities, churches and religious associations, and non-profit NGOs²⁸.

Axis 1 priorities include the following measures:

- construction or modernisation of recreational infrastructure in the vicinity of cultural institutions, monuments, landscape and national parks which are part of cross-border tourist routes;
 - rehabilitation and conservation projects, modernisation of cultural heritage sites on cross-border tourist routes;
 - cooperation programmes between institutions, including mutual exchange of movable monuments and museum collections;
 - establishment and development of cross-border, cross-sectorial cooperation for the benefit of the heritage of the border area between entities in the field of preservation and protection of cross-border cultural and natural resources;
 - development and implementation of common cross-border standards/guidelines for the protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage;
 - educational activities promoting cultural and natural heritage;
 - actions for cross-border integration and building a common identity through e.g. coordinated educational programmes/initiatives including activities on historical and cultural heritage and ecology, as well as sport and language courses;
 - educational activities in the field of risk management and safety;
 - joint training for guides, conservators and representatives of institutions involved in activities for the protection of the natural and cultural heritage of the border area;
 - joint cross-border promotion devoted to the cultural and natural heritage of the border area and to increasing the number of visits (e.g. organisation of and participation in joint events, fairs, conferences, workshops and seminars);
 - use of ICT tools for the preservation and promotion of cultural and natural heritage; digitisation and digital exchange of resources, multimedia presentation of cross-border heritage, exchange of expertise on digitisation of cultural heritage;
 - actions for the mutual protection of the environment.
- Meanwhile, Axis 3 priorities include:
- joint cross-border programmes/initiatives for pupils and teachers in specialised and vocational education establishments;

²⁸ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Specyfika mikroprojektów” [The specificity of microprojects], accessed May 18, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/specyfika-mikroprojektow-mikroprojekty-polska-slowacja-interreg/>.

- joint development and promotion of the available specialist and vocational education;
- implementation of cross-border activities supporting so-called social inclusion and social participation, integrating the border area as a functional area; courses, postgraduate studies, programmes and trainings;
- cross-border exchange of good practices in the implementation of programmes/initiatives for specialist and vocational education and model solutions in education and lifelong learning institutions, as well as good practices in the area of education management and education system financing;
- actions aimed at identifying needs in the context of specialised and vocational education.

As presented above, the idea and main point of micro-projects is to support the implementation of social projects. The “human dimension” of these projects therefore stands above the purely economic dimension. The Small Projects Fund supported “soft” projects carried out by local entities, in particular in the following areas: tourism development, cultural, scientific, sporting, ecological, health, information and communication events. The purpose of the grant is to initiate and support sustainable cooperation between residents and institutions in border areas, as well as to integrate local communities across the border.

In addition to EU funds for the implementation of micro-projects, the Polish side of the Carpathian Euroregion already in 1995 received non-returnable aid for statutory purposes in the amount of about USD 100 thousand from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Institute for East-West Studies. Between 1999 and 2011, it also received over USD 5.461 million in total from various non-governmental organizations, such as the Batory Foundation or the Polish-American-Ukrainian Cooperation Initiative²⁹.

In the following years, the Association had financial resources to develop the economic and tourist potential of the Carpathians by transferring Swiss practices³⁰ from the Swiss-Polish Cooperation Programme intended for the new Member States of the European Union. The main objectives of this programme were to support local export, promotion and investment activities in the field of local, regional, traditional and ecological products and to contribute to the development of entrepreneurship in the region. During the 11 calls for proposals, 187 projects worth over PLN 9.5 million were financed, implemented by small- and medium-sized enterprises, non-governmental organisations and local government units contributing to the development of local entrepreneurship and agricultural processing and to the creation of non-agricultural sources of income in rural areas. As a result of this project, the Carpathian Centre for Economic Cooperation and Regional Product and the Office for Regional, Traditional and Organic Products in Rzeszów were established, responsible for the promotion of regional, traditional and organic products, as well as for training and advisory support. Four editions of the International Fair “Alpine-Carpathian Forum of Cooperation” were also organised, a territorial Carpathian Brand “Carpathia” was created, the Podkarpackie Flavours Cluster was established, bringing together 52 entities from the agri-food sector and the Culinary Trail of Subcarpathian Flavours, which brings together 50 objects

²⁹ Bauer, 20.

³⁰ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Fundusze grantowe – opis” [Grant Funds – description], accessed May 20, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/granty-szwajcarskie/unduszerantowe-opis/>.

(restaurants, inns, roadhouses) that offer traditional, regional cuisine. A number of promotional materials were also published, including publications and newsletters, such as the “Alpine-Carpathian Horizon” and “Carpathian Economic Review”³¹. “Mark Brand,” whose task is to distinguish tourist products and services that come from the Carpathian Mountains, is particularly important for the Euroregion. It is intended to provide a strong impulse for the development of local tourism based on the rich, centuries-old cultural, multi-religious and natural heritage of the Carpathians. The brand is supposed to be more than just a logotype – it is an idea that connects the inhabitants of the Euroregion in the creation of a unique tourist offer and an opportunity to tell its fascinating history³².

The Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland, apart from the implementation of financial resources, implements its own projects, co-financed mainly from the EU budget. They are of a broader nature as far as the recipients are concerned than it is the case with the beneficiaries of micro-projects. The priorities of projects implemented by the Association include in particular technical assistance in identifying development problems that can be solved in the Euroregion, finding suitable partners, preparation of assumptions for cooperation, preparation of investment projects and “soft” projects for the local government of a member state, professional training for staff related to the preparation of projects, organising and running professional project teams, or creating professional cross-border cooperation institutions, such as the Carpathian Regional Development Agency, the Network of the Carpathian Euroregion Cities, the Euroregion Cooperation System, the Carpathian NGO Forum, or the Carpathian Media Council. Therefore, the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland, together with its counterparts in Slovakia and Ukraine, conducts activities aimed at mobilisation and consolidation of the institutional and expert environment ready to cooperate for the development of the Carpathians. These efforts are characterised by a systemic and network approach. Networking is a way of thematic and task-based linking of active entities within the Euroregion and the policy of the “two-speed Euroregion,” i.e. adapting cooperation structures to the interests and expectations of the best prepared actors of territorial cooperation³³.

As part of the projects’ implementation, the Association also conducts economic promotion and investment activation through standardisation of the system for providing information to potential investors about investment opportunities through the www.investincarpathians.eu website, as well as through promotion of tourist and spa qualities of the region through the www.uzdrowiskakarpackie.eu website or publication of a pro-health guide. The Association has also implemented projects in the field of researching demand and increasing educational and professional opportunities for young people, which resulted in, among others, the publication of a multimedia guide “ABC of studying and working in Poland” on CD, an information brochure containing a practical

³¹ Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Alpejsko-Karpacki Most Współpracy” [Alpine-Carpathian Cooperation Bridge], accessed May 20, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/stowarzyszenie-karpaty/projekty-wlasne/alpejsko--karpacki-most-wspolpracy/>.

³² Polish website of the Carpathian Euroregion, “Marka Carpathia” [Carpathian brand], accessed May 20, 2019, <http://www.karpacki.pl/marka-carpathia/marka-carpathia/>.

³³ InvestinCarpathians.eu, “Euroregion Karpacki – innowacyjna platforma współpracy w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej” [Carpathian Euroregion – an innovative cooperation platform in Central and Eastern Europe], accessed May 20, 2019, <http://investincarpathians.eu/podstrona/euroregion-karpacki---innowacyjna-platforma-wspolpracy-w-europie-srodkowo---wschodniej.html>.

guide and advice for young people on job searching and organisation of professional consultancy workshops.

The financial resources implemented by the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland enable the implementation of projects of various scopes and significance. Due to the fact that the Association cooperates mainly with counterparts from Ukraine and Slovakia, the results of this cooperation are most visible in the Polish and Slovak parts of the Euroregion, as well as in the Polish and Ukrainian parts of the Euroregion, which means that they are bilateral in nature. Analysing the projects implemented by the Association of the Carpathian Euroregion Poland and for the benefit of other entities, it can be confirmed that most of them are focused on people-to-people micro-projects, and that there are few projects implemented on a larger scale. On the other hand, the Association's own projects are mainly related to technical assistance for entities in the Euroregion and its promotion.

Conclusions

The Carpathian Euroregion, one of the largest Euroregions, was created as an ambitious cross-border initiative, at the time meant to symbolise the preparedness of Central and Eastern European countries for cooperation and integration with the European Community. However, the 26 years of its existence have disclosed a number of its shortcomings. In addition to covering a vast area, it is populated by different nationalities, cultures and religions. Still, compared to other regions of these countries, these areas are less economically developed, diversified in terms of GDP per capita, characterised by outflow of inhabitants, population inactivity and ageing, as well as low level of education. Its enormous potential in terms of natural and cultural wealth and heritage, as well as its location, are still not exploited. At present, Ukraine is still not a member of the EU and Romania has not joined the Schengen area, which makes cooperation in the Euroregion more difficult. More importantly, Romania and Hungary do not have any legal entities that could engage in active cooperation within the Euroregion.

The Polish side, through the activities of the Association Euroregion Karpaty Poland, was the first to join the cooperation in the Euroregion. The Association is an entity that implements its own projects, aimed mainly at technical assistance for cross-border cooperation and promotion of the Euroregion, as well as making funds available to local entities for the implementation of micro-projects for development and modernization of infrastructure, environmental protection, science, education and culture, health, tourism and sport. It can be seen that the implementation of small projects through the Association has produced the following results:

- mastering the procedures of project preparation, implementation and settlement by the beneficiaries;
- bringing together Poles, Slovaks and Ukrainians from different social and professional backgrounds and breaking down mutual prejudices and animosities;
- participation of borderland residents in numerous events;
- development of cooperation between local governments, social organisations, cultural institutions, schools, sports clubs, etc.;
- signing of many agreements and declarations of cooperation between entities;
- promotion of the Euroregion.

As the cooperation in the Euroregion is visible in the relations between Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine and is mainly of micro-project and bilateral nature, the legitimacy of the functioning of the Euroregion can be undermined.

The integration process of the Euroregion countries with the EC and the related possibility of financial support for projects by the Community has already brought great hopes for the development of cooperation between the Carpathian areas. Unfortunately, it can be said that, to date, financial support from the European Union for this area has been of limited significance. Apart from pilot financial instruments in the pre-accession period and programmes implemented within the framework of INTERREG, there was no specific financial programme supporting the development of the Euroregion, not only in terms of investment, but also in terms of support for multilateral cooperation or joint conceptual work, mainly for the implementation of micro-projects. So far, the financial support from other entities has also been slight. As a result of economic, systemic and legal inequalities and limited financial resources, cross-border interconnections in the Carpathian Euroregion still show low financial and investment effectiveness.

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The Ways to Strengthen Socio-economic Cooperation in the Ukrainian-Romanian Cross-Border Region

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Abstract. *Cross-border cooperation is an efficient way to boost good-neighbourhood relations between adjoining countries. It possesses the necessary set of tools to address the most urgent issues at the level of regions and local communities and is the encouraging factor to urge state authorities to promote cooperation with neighbouring countries in institutional and financial aspects. Cross-border cooperation within Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border region provides numerous opportunities to its residents, business entities and communities in general to improve their living standards, however local and state authorities should have the strong will in creating favourable functioning environment. The paper aims to examine the current condition of Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border region's socio-economic development and to suggest the ways to activate it.*

For this matter, the authors examine current institutional environment of Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border region's functioning and its legal foundation. Special attention is paid to the major priorities of Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border region development in the context of 2016–2020 State Program of Cross-Border Cooperation Development of Ukraine. Economic situation in Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border region is studied based on the GDP per capita and average monthly wages and pensions rates in the adjoining “oblasts” and “județ”. The authors also emphasize the role of such cross-border cooperation instruments as participation in CBC ENI Programs and in institutionalized forms of cross-border cooperation as far as the region is eligible for three CBC Programs and has four Euroregions established at its territory.

Keywords: *Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border region, socio-economic development, European integration processes, Euroregions, cross-border cooperation programs*

Introduction

Establishment and support of good neighbourly relations at internal and external borders of the EU is one of the ways to maintain security and development of all its countries. Therefore, socio-economic development of neighbouring border regions and development of mechanisms and instruments of their stimulation have always been in the focus of EU regional policy priorities. Cross-border cooperation has become the major tool that has proved its efficiency in providing good neighbourly relations, strengthening European integration processes and boosting socio-economic development of border regions in adjoining countries. Although Ukraine promotes cross-border cooperation with

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all neighbouring EU Member States, the level of efficiency of such cooperation remains to be different depending on the border area.

Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border relations provide institutional opportunities to secure cooperation between four Ukrainian oblasts (Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska and Odeska) and five “județe” (Satu-Mare, Maramureș, Suceava, Botoșani and Tulcea) in various forms along the whole common border. This has lately contributed to slight boosting of cross-border cooperation. Still, there should be more understanding of the importance of common work and endeavours of local authorities for the residents of Ukrainian and Romanian border areas to feel the improvement of their living standards and socio-economic environment.

The paper aims to search for priority directions to strengthen socio-economic development of border areas in Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border region.

Institutional and legal background of cross-border cooperation between Ukraine and Romania

The first legal bilateral document laying down some aspects of cross-border cooperation between Romania and Ukraine was signed on 29 March 1996 (came into force on 14 November 1996). It was the Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Romania on simplified procedure of crossing the state border by residents of border rayons and “județe” (counties). Major principles of cooperation between Ukraine and Romania are provided in the agreement “On Good Neighbourhood Relations and Cooperation between Ukraine and Romania” as of 17 July 1997. Currently the basis of bilateral documents covering the cooperation between Romania and Ukraine encompasses about 60 of them, including the Agreement between Ukraine and Romania on the regimen of Ukrainian–Romanian state border, cooperation and mutual assistance in border issues signed on 17 June 2003, Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Romania on border crossing points at Ukrainian–Romanian border (came into force on 26 November 2006), Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Romania on local border movement (came into force on 14 May 2015), Agreement (in the form of exchange of notes) between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Romania on opening of international border crossing point at Ukrainian–Romanian state border for ferry, passenger and freight traffic between settlements Orlivka (Ukraine) and Isaccea (Romania) (came into force on 12 October 2015), etc.¹

On the multilateral level, one of the major agreements that promotes cross-border cooperation is the Agreement on cooperation between the General Meeting of Bács Kiskun County (Hungary), General Meeting of Borsod Abaúj Zemplén County (Hungary), General Meeting of Csongrád County (Hungary), General Meeting of Hajdú-Bihar County (Hungary), General Meeting of Heves County (Hungary), General Meeting of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County (Hungary), General Meeting of Košický Self-Governing County (Slovakia), Zakarpatska Oblast Council (Ukraine), Maramureș County Council (Romania), General Meeting of Szabolcs Szatmár Bereg County (Hungary), Satu Mare County Council (Romania), Vojvodina Autonomous Province (Serbia) in the framework of cross-border cooperation of territorial authorities in the basin of river Tisza signed in 2016. The list of activities includes the establishment of EGTC, flood prevention,

¹ Khrystyna Prytula, ed., *Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine and EU Member States: Current Challenges and Opportunities* (Lviv: SI “Institute of Regional Research Named after M.I. Dolishniy of the NAS of Ukraine”, 2019), 89–90.

improvement of tourism attractiveness, creation of favourable investment environment, development of existing border crossing points and construction of new ones as well as development of large transnational road and transport networks².

The list of documents on regional level in the Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border cooperation includes the Program of Joint Actions for 2018 between Zakarpatska Oblast State Administration (Ukraine), Maramureş County Prefecture (Romania) and Satu-Mare County Prefecture (Romania), which provides activities till 2020, Agreement on cooperation between Zakarpatska oblast and Maramureş County, Agreements on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between Ivano-Frankivska Oblast State Administration and Vaslui County Council, Suceava County Council, Maramureş County Council, Agreements on trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between Odeska Oblast Council and Galaţi County Council and Iaşi County Council, Agreement on cooperation between Intercommunity Development Association “Zona Metropolitană Botoşani” and local governments of Novoselytskyi, Hlybotskyi and Hertsaiivskyi districts (rayons) of Chernivetska oblast.

The Law of Ukraine on Cross-Border Cooperation³ constitutes the basis of legal maintenance of cross-border cooperation in the country in general. This Law regulates legal, organizational and economic relations in the sphere of cross-border cooperation and outlines the sources of projects (programs) funding in this sphere. In particular, it dwells on the objectives, principles and organizational forms of cross-border cooperation, responsibilities of cross-border cooperation entities, cross-border cooperation bodies and functions of cross-border cooperation entities and authorities in this field. However, this Law has remained to be almost completely unchanged for 13 years since its adoption on June 24, 2004. The only more or less significant amendment was introduced in 2010 concerning joint funding of cross-border cooperation projects (programs).

The 2016–2020 State Program of Cross-Border Cooperation Development⁴ was adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on August 23, 2016. It dwells on priorities of cross-border cooperation with neighbouring countries. For cooperation with Romania the priorities are the following: renewal of already existing and creation of new infrastructure in order to improve access to regions and to promote transport, communication and tourism development; strengthening of cooperation in the sphere of education, research, technological achievements and innovations; environmental protection, solution of common problems for creation of joint wastes management and water management systems, etc.

At the level of regions on Ukrainian side of common cross-border region, the strategies and programs of Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska and Zakarpatska oblasts’ development should logically have been the basis of legal maintenance of cross-border cooperation. However, current Strategy of Ivano-Frankivska Oblast Development till

² “Transkordonne spivrobitnytstvo terytorialnyh orhaniv mistsevoho samovryaduvannya v baseyni r. Tysa” [Cross-border cooperation of territorial governments in the basin of Tysa river], Platform Liga: Zakon, accessed June 18, 2019, <https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/view/ZA160245>.

³ “Zakon Ukrayiny pro transkordonne spivrobitnytstvo” [The Law of Ukraine on cross-border cooperation], Verhovna Rada of Ukraine, accessed June 18, 2019, <http://zakon0.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1861-15>.

⁴ “Derzhavna prohrama rozvytku transkordonnoho spivrobitnytstva na 2016–2020 roky” [2016–2020 State Program of Cross-Border Cooperation Development], Verhovna Rada of Ukraine, accessed June 18, 2019, <http://zakon0.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/554-2016-%D0%BF>.

2020⁵ adopted by Ivano-Frankivska Oblast Council on October 17, 2014 does not mention the issues of cross-border cooperation at all. Instead, Chernivetska oblast envisions its development through expansion of cross-border cooperation. It is stipulated by Strategy of Chernivetska Oblast Development till 2020⁶ adopted on June 18, 2015. However, it is not defined as a separate objective but enlisted under the strategic objective “Entrepreneurship development on innovative basis as the foundation of sustainable economic growth” as one of operational goals. This goal provides relevant tasks – creation of cross-border cooperation networks and strengthening of European integration processes are among them. This strategy also emphasizes the fact that “nowadays capacity of Euroregions with Chernivetska oblast participation, in particular Carpathian Euroregion and Upper Prut Euroregion, is not used to the fullest extent, mainly due to the level of their institutional capacity”. Unfortunately, neither the Strategy nor any Program provides any instruments to change current situation. However, although the Strategy of Ivano-Frankivska Oblast Development till 2020 does not encompass cross-border cooperation as priority sphere, there is the 2016–2020 Regional Target Program of International Cooperation Development in the Oblast⁷ adopted by Ivano-Frankivska Oblast Council on October 16, 2015, which does dwell on the issues of cross-border and Euroregional cooperation. More specifically, it lists the current problematic matters and stipulates the ways to address them.

Strategy of Zakarpatska Oblast Development till 2020 mentions the development of cross-border cooperation only in the strategic objective “Forming of competitive and innovative economy” and the priority “Maintenance of efficient business and investment environment”⁸. However, it is the only oblast of those bordering Romania that has its program of cross-border cooperation. The list of planned activities concerning cooperation with Romania includes holding the good neighbourhood days at the Ukrainian-Romanian border, holding of international conference “Role of Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border bioserve in Maramureşului mountains to preserve European natural and cultural values”, exchange of experience between the organizations of the Oblast and organizations of Satu Mare that provide service to disabled children, taking necessary measures to open new and modernize existing border crossing points at Ukrainian-Romanian border and development of border and road infrastructure⁹.

⁵ “Stratehiya rozvytku Ivano-Frankivskoyi oblasti na period do 2020 roku” [Strategy of Ivano-Frankivska Oblast Development till 2020], Ivano-Frankivska Oblast State Administration, accessed June 18, 2019, <http://www.if.gov.ua/page/19310>.

⁶ “Stratehiya rozvytku Chernivetskoyi oblasti na period do 2020 roku” [Strategy of Chernivetska Oblast Development till 2020], Chernivetska Oblast State Administration, accessed June 18, 2019, <https://bukoda.gov.ua/page/1307>.

⁷ “Rehionalna tsilyova prohrama rozvytku mizhnarodnoho spivrobitnytstva oblasti na 2016–2020 roky” [2016–2020 Regional Target Program of International Cooperation Development in the Oblast], Ivano-Frankivska Oblast State Administration, accessed June 18, 2019, <http://www.if.gov.ua/files/uploads/program.pdf>.

⁸ “Stratehiya rozvytku Zakarpatskoyi oblasti na period do 2020 roku” [Strategy of Zakarpatska Oblast Development till 2020], Ministry of Regional Development, Construction and Housing of Ukraine, accessed June 18, 2019, http://dfrr.minregion.gov.ua/foto/projt_reg_info_norm/2015/05/Strategiya.pdf.

⁹ “Prohrama rozvytku transkordonnoho spivrobitnytstva Zakarpatskoyi oblasti na 2016–2020 roky” [Program of cross-border cooperation development in Zakarpatska Oblast], Platform Liga: Zakon, accessed June 18, 2019, <https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/view/ZA150221>.

Action Plan on implementation of the Strategy of Social and Economic Development of Odeska Oblast in 2018–2020¹⁰ provides the following tasks for cooperation with Romania: development of joint projects of spatial development of border regions, boosting cooperation in the framework of Lower Danube Euroregion and development of border infrastructure.

Romania being the EU Member State adheres to EU legislation in cross-border cooperation. It can be divided into four categories of documents: European regulative documents prepared by major European organizations (Council of Europe, OSCE), intergovernmental bilateral and multilateral treaties, political and judicial commitments of the states taken under the OSCE and internal acts of the institutions of Council of Europe and the European Union¹¹. At the level of national legislation, cross-border cooperation is regulated taking into account the formal framework of European regulations. Some aspects of cross-border cooperation in Romania are covered by the Law nr. 215 as of April 23, 2001.

The 2013–2020 National Strategy of Romania Sustainable Development mentions the development of cross-border cooperation in the context of its activation towards the maintenance of sustainable development in the Black Sea region. It is meant to be implemented through rational and efficient use of funds allocated for this matter by Romanian government and other European and international partners in the framework of Bucharest convention on the Protection of the Black Sea against pollution (1992) as well as through extension of international cooperation through initiating and participating in European, bilateral and cross-border projects and programs¹².

Strategy of 2020 Satu Mare County Development provides analysis of various directions of cooperation with neighbouring countries and their regions. It emphasizes the importance of qualitative border and transport infrastructure for the development of multilateral contacts and substantiates the modernization of access passes to Halmeu border crossing point on the border with Ukraine¹³.

Strategy of 2020 Suceava County Development mentions among the directions to follow in the strategic objective 10. International relations the need to develop cross-border tourism and cross-border information network, to preserve folk traditions in cross-border area and to promote people-to-people cooperation¹⁴.

¹⁰ “Plan zohodiv z realizatsiyi u 2018–2020 rokah Stratehiyi sotsialno-ekonomichnoho rozvytku Odeskoyi oblasti” [Action Plan on implementation of the Strategy of Social and Economic Development of Odeska Oblast in 2018–2020], Odesa Oblast State Administration, accessed June 18, 2019, <https://oda.odessa.gov.ua/statics/pages/files/5a82a80231e54.docx>.

¹¹ Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, Mircea Brie, and Nicolae Toderaş, *Cooperarea transfrontalieră între România și Ucraina, respectiv între România și Republica Moldova. Oportunități și provocări în perioada 2014–2020* [Cross-border cooperation between Romania and Ukraine and between Romania and Republic of Moldova. Opportunities and challenges in 2014–2020 period] (București: Institutul European din Romania, 2016), 57.

¹² Khrystyna Prytula, ed., *Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine and EU Member States: Current Challenges and Opportunities* (Lviv: SI “Institute of Regional Research Named after M.I. Dolishniy of the NAS of Ukraine,” 2019), 93.

¹³ Consiliul Județean Satu Mare, “Strategia de dezvoltare a Județului Satu Mare până în 2020” [Satu Mare county development strategy by 2020], Consiliul Județean Satu Mare, accessed June 18, 2019, https://www.cjasm.ro/proiecte/dezvoltare_regionala/strategii/strategia-de-dezvoltare/.

¹⁴ Consiliul Județean Suceava, “Strategia de dezvoltare economică și socială a Județului Suceava, perioada 2011–2020” [The strategy for economic and social development of Suceava county, 2011–2020], accessed June 18, 2019, <http://www.cjsuceava.ro/documente-nou/strategie/Strategie%20interior.pdf>.

At the level of legislative authorities, the issues of cross-border cooperation of Ukraine with European countries are mostly covered by the Committee on the Issues of European Integration of the Verhovna Rada of Ukraine. The Committee among other things dwells on the following matters: Ukraine's participation in international integration processes related to the activity of European Union, adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to that of European Union, forming of state policy in the sphere of European integration, coordination of EU technical assistance programs to Verhovna Rada of Ukraine and special educational programs, cross-border and interregional cooperation with the Countries of European Union, etc.

The Law of Ukraine on Cross-border Cooperation stipulates that general coordination of cross-border cooperation and control on conformity with the law on cross-border cooperation is conducted by state executive authority that is responsible for forming of state regional policy with participation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and state executive authority that maintains forming of state policy in the sphere of urban planning. The issues of forming of state regional policy and state policy in the sphere of urban planning are all governed by the Ministry of Regional Development, Construction and Housing and Communal Services of Ukraine. Therefore, this ministry is the authority responsible for regulation of Euroregional cooperation.

According to the 2016–2020 State Program of Cross-Border Cooperation Development, Ministry of Regional Development, Construction and Housing and Communal Services of Ukraine, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine are responsible for activity of intergovernmental commissions on the issues of cross-border cooperation and implementation of projects under the Eastern Partnership initiative directed at maintenance of cross-border and interregional cooperation within the Euroregions existing in Ukraine.

There is an Inter-Institutional Commission on the Issues of Cross-Border Cooperation Maintenance. Among the responsibilities of the Commission are the following: analysis of conditions and reasons of problems emerging in the process of state policy implementation in the sphere of cross-border cooperation, consideration of executive authorities' and local governing authorities' suggestion on solution of urgent issues of cross-border cooperation and Euroregions' development, participation in development of draft laws and regulations on cross-border cooperation issues.

There are also three Ukrainian-Romanian joint commissions: Ukrainian-Romanian Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technical Cooperation led by the Minister of Infrastructure of Ukraine from the Ukrainian side, Combined Ukrainian-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission on National Minorities Rights Protection led by the Deputy Minister of Culture on the Issues of European Integration from the Ukrainian side, and the Ukrainian-Romanian Joint Border Commission.

At regional level, the departments under the oblast administrations are responsible for the development of cross-border cooperation.

Socio-economic characteristics of the development of Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border region

Average GRP per capita rate in 2016 in border counties of Romania was much higher (4.5 times) compared to the rate in border oblasts of Ukraine (**Fig. 1**). GRP per capita in border regions of both Ukraine and Romania is 30–50% lower than the average rate by the respective countries in general (**Fig. 2**).

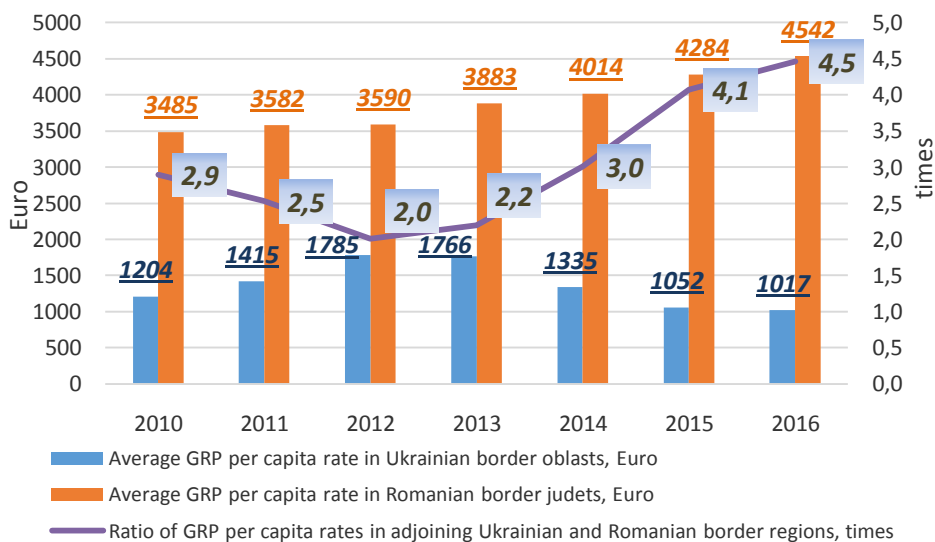


Fig. 1. Dynamics of GRP per capita rates in Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border region, Euro

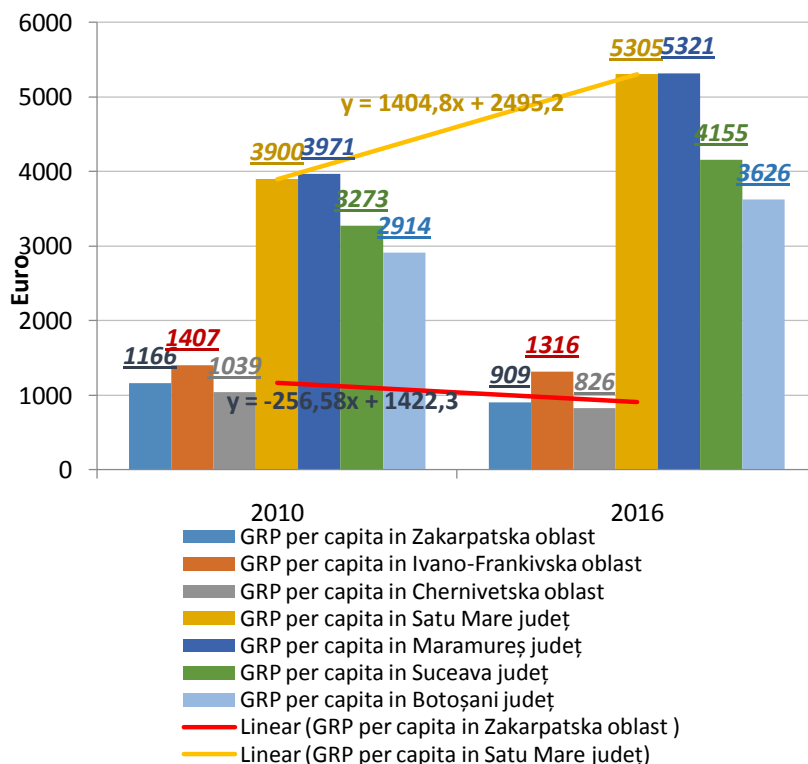


Fig. 2. Comparative characteristics of GRP per capita rates in Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border region in 2010 and 2016.

In 2010–2017, the level of officially recorded unemployment in Romanian border counties was much lower than the rate in Ukrainian border oblasts and ranged within 4–6.5%. Moreover, there is a consistent tendency towards the reduction of the rate in Romanian border areas, while in Ukrainian border areas the rate began growing.

The size of average monthly wages in 2017 in Romanian border judets exceeded the rate in Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska and Chernivetska oblasts by 65% and amounted to € 582.7 (in Satu Mare), € 570.0 (in Maramureş), € 567.9 (in Suceava) and € 570.9 (in Botoşani) (see **Fig. 3**). In 2017, the gap between the rates in Ukrainian–Romanian border area reduced by 5%.

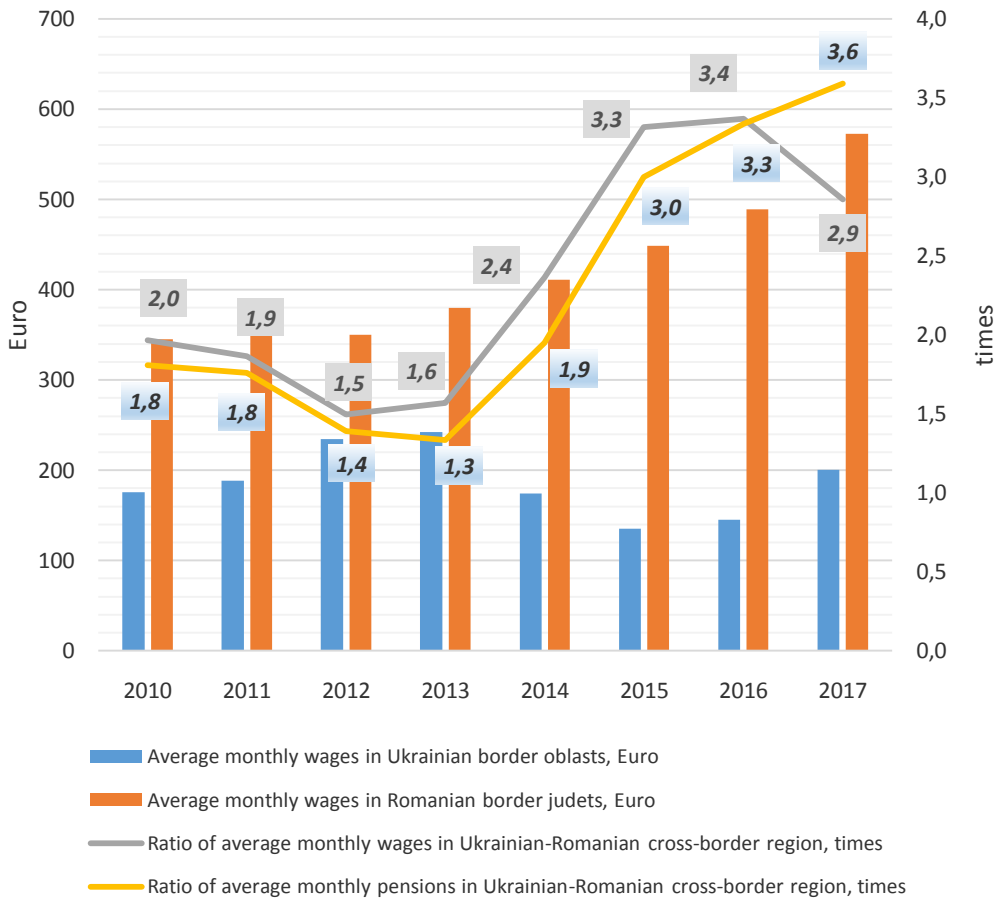


Fig. 3. Dynamics of average monthly wages and the ratio of average monthly pensions in Ukrainian – Romanian cross-border region

The level of investment cooperation of Ukraine and Romania remains to be insignificant. It is stipulated by the fact that both countries do not belong to the countries-donors of capital and they need substantial foreign investment to modernise economy.

Cross-border cooperation programs covering Ukrainian–Romanian cross-border region

The territories of Romanian-Ukrainian cross-border region are eligible for 3 cross-border cooperation programs funded by the European Union.

For the Program Period 2007–2013 Ukraine and Romania jointly participated in 34 projects under the Black Sea CBC Program (**Table 1**). Most of them were implemented under the first two priorities, namely Priority 1. Supporting cross border partnerships for economic and social development based on combined resources and Priority 2. Sharing resources and competencies for environmental protection and conservation.

Table 1. Participation of Romanian and Ukrainian partners in the Black Sea CBC Program

Program period 2007–2013								
Priority	Number of jointly implemented projects	Share of awarded projects under the program, %	Grants amount of jointly implemented projects, €	Share of overall funding, %	Number of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary, €	Number of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary, €
1. Supporting cross border partnerships for economic and social development based on combined resources	12	19	6 072 111.34	35	-	-	3	1 250 391.18
2. Sharing resources and competencies for environmental protection and conservation	16	25	7 692 286.17	45	-	-	4	1 989 961.09
3. Supporting cultural and educational initiatives for the establishment of a common cultural environment in the Basin	6	9.5	1 475 330.18	8.5	1	250 962.51	3	815 484.89
Program period 2014–2020								
Priority	Number of jointly implemented projects	Share of awarded projects under the program, %	Grants amount of jointly implemented projects, €	Share of overall funding, %	Number of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary, €	Number of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary, €
1. Promote business and entrepreneurship within the Black Sea Basin	6	26	4 572 569.83	9	-	-	2	1 325 891.63
2. Promote coordination of environmental protection and joint reduction of marine litter in the Black Sea Basin	4	17	3 218 248.88	7	-	-	1	911 879.81

*developed by authors based on^{15, 16},

However, the countries were not very active as beneficiaries in jointly implemented projects. Ukraine was beneficiary only in one project under the Priority 3. Supporting cultural and educational initiatives for the establishment of a common cultural environment in the Basin. The project was granted to United Nations Development Program in Ukraine. Its major objective was to establish a strong network of actors able to

¹⁵ “Grants awarded until 31 of December 2013”, Joint Operational Programme Black Sea Basin 2007–2013, accessed June 19, 2019, <https://blacksea-cbc.net/our-projects-2007-2013/>.

¹⁶ “List of awarded projects 2014–2020”, Joint Operational Programme Black Sea Basin 2014–2020, accessed June 19, 2019, <https://blacksea-cbc.net/projects/our-projects/>.

discover and preserve cultural heritage through the cooperative collection, storage and promotion of the regional history. Romania was the beneficiary in 10 projects. Jointly implemented projects addressed various important issues of preserving the Black Sea and improvement of living standards in the Black Sea Region, including the support of SMEs, business incubators and their cooperation with business support organizations and authorities, agriculture, wine production, introduction of joint management instruments, development of monitoring systems to preserve natural environment, management of solid wastes, research of global changes in the region, prevention of natural disasters, strengthening of the role of civil organizations, cooperation between port cities of Danube and Black Sea regions, lifetime education, preserving of cultural and historical heritage, tourism, exchange programs, etc.

The grants were awarded currently under two calls for proposals of the Black Sea CBC 2014–2020 by the Thematic Objective 1. Promote business and entrepreneurship within the Black Sea Basin and Thematic Objective 2. Promote coordination of environmental protection and joint reduction of marine litter in the Black Sea Basin. Romania and Ukraine jointly implement 10 projects, 6 under the first thematic objective and 4 under the second one. Romania is the beneficiary in three of them. Ukraine, however, is only the partner in all the jointly implemented projects. The projects, where Romania is the beneficiary, concern SMEs in fishery and aquaculture, beekeeping and evaluation of the impact of human activity on ecosystems. The rest of jointly implemented projects address the promotion of local traditional products, tourism, information support of environmental protection, elimination of litter from the sea and rivers and the systems of monitoring of changes of river ecosystems.

For the Hungary–Slovakia–Romania–Ukraine CBC 2007–2013 the information on the awarded projects is not available across the priorities, therefore, we analyse the activity of Ukrainian and Romanian partners in the Program across the calls for proposals (**Table 2**). Joint participation of these countries grew with each announced call for proposals starting from 17 under the first call to 21 under the third one, achieving almost 50% of all awarded projects. They were more active as beneficiaries in jointly implemented projects compared to the Black Sea CBC Program, Ukraine – in 16 projects and Romania in 29 projects. Romania was also more active compared to Ukraine. The projects awarded to the partners under the first call for proposals included such issues as energy saving, youth development, solid wastes management, creation of cross-border natural park, management of natural resources of rivers Tisza and Tur, examining of cross-border labour market and creation of cross-border institutions, namely the parliament. The second call for proposals awarded grants to create conditions for opening of cross-border border crossing point, reforming of preschool education, rehabilitation of visually impaired persons, development of common standards for media, prevention of natural disasters and development of entrepreneurship culture among youth. The projects implemented under the third call in addition to abovementioned spheres also addressed the issues of efficient functioning of Carpathian Euroregion, popularisation of voluntarism in schools, creation of cross-border database for monitoring of sustainable development, building of railway routes to the places of Carpathian cultural heritage and development of efficient and secure borders.

Table 2. Participation of Romanian and Ukrainian partners in the Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine CBC Program

Program period 2007–2013								
Priority	Number of jointly implemented projects	Share of awarded projects under the call, %	Grants amount of jointly implemented projects, €	Share of overall funding, %	Number of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary, €	Number of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary, €
Call for proposals 1. All priorities	17	36	5 130 028.74	7.5	7	2 931 870.85	6	1 154 347.34
Call for proposals 2. All priorities	19	41	6 586 941.48	9.6	4	1 602 493.29	13	4 396 105.87
Call for proposals 3. All priorities	21	46	12 189 020.65	17.8	5	1 448 533.13	10	9 072 338.15
Program period 2014–2020								
Priority	Number of jointly implemented projects	Share of awarded projects under the program, %	Grants amount of jointly implemented projects, €	Share of overall funding, %	Number of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary, €	Number of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary, €
3. Promotion of local culture and preservation of historical heritage	5	15	3 380 784.72	4.6	1	518 473.38	4	2 862 311.34
6. Environmental protection, climate change mitigation and adaptation	5	15	3 600 000.00	4.9	2	898 903.41	2	1 732 860.77
7. Improvement of accessibility to the regions, development of sustainable and climate-proof transport and communication networks and systems	4	12	3 524 154.59	4.8	2	1 585 055.88	1	964 564.59
8. Common challenges in the field of safety and security	6	18	5 005 366.08	6.8	1	844 294.69	4	3 313 440.68

* developed by authors based on ^{17, 18}

¹⁷ Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENPI Cross-Border Cooperation Programme 2007–2013, “Awarded projects”, accessed June 19, 2019, <http://www.huskroua-cbc.net/en/awarded-projects>.

¹⁸ “Managing Authority Publishes the list of Second call Awarded Projects,” Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENI Cross-Border Cooperation Program 2014–2020, accessed June 19, 2019,

2014–2020 Program Period opened 2 calls for proposals by four priorities. The first call was for large infrastructural projects. Five were awarded and are now being implemented, however they do not include the Romanian-Ukrainian partnership. Under the second call, the partners from these countries have 20 joint projects distributed evenly among priorities. Both Ukraine and Romania are beneficiaries of the projects by all priorities. Romania again is a more active beneficiary.

Romania–Ukraine–Moldova CBC Program 2007–2013 had the largest total EU contribution of all the programs with Romanian and Ukrainian participation, namely € 138.1 million compared to € 68,638 million for Hungary–Slovakia–Romania–Ukraine CBC Program 2007–2013 and € 17.306 million for Black Sea CBC Program 2007–2013. 87 projects out of 133 had the partners both from Ukraine and Romania (**Table 3**). More than the half of them were implemented under the Priority 3. People to people co-operation. It is interesting that both Romania and Ukraine participated in all 23 projects awarded under the third priority in the second call for proposals. Romania is especially active in this program, being the beneficiary of 47 out of 87 jointly implemented projects.

Table 3. Participation of Romanian and Ukrainian partners in the Romania-Ukraine-Moldova CBC Program

Program period 2007–2013								
Priority	Number of jointly implemented projects	Share of awarded project under the program, %	Grants amount of jointly implemented projects, €	Share of overall funding, %	Number of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Ukraine is the beneficiary, €	Number of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary	Grants amounts of joint projects where Romania is the beneficiary, €
1. Towards a more competitive border economy	28	21	31 657 046.55	23	9	7 274 936.26	15	18 144 304.03
2. Environmental challenges and emergency preparedness	13	10	16 187 319.82	12	5	5 366 969.59	4	5 658 668.65
3. People to people co-operation	46	35	5 177 797.72	4	9	1 211 636.77	28	3 074 722.54

*developed by authors based on¹⁹

The projects awarded to Romania and Ukraine under the first priority “Towards a more competitive border economy” concern the development of qualitative infrastructure, evaluation of tourism capacity and support of different tourism types, modernisation of culture centers, support of SMEs and creation of favourable investment climate, rehabilitation of cattle and agricultural farms, energy saving and research of chronic diseases. The projects under the second priority “Environmental challenges and emergency preparedness” aim to protect biodiversity and sustainable development of Danube and Lower Prut regions, clear waters, manage wastes in rural areas, prevent

<https://huskroua-cbc.eu/news/programme-news/managing-authority-publishes-the-list-of-second-call-awarded-projects>.

¹⁹ Romania-Ukraine-Republic of Moldova Cross-border Cooperation Program, “Awarded projects,” accessed June 19, 2019, <http://www.ro-ua-md.net/projects/awarded-projects/>.

natural disasters and reduce pollution, improve ecological systems of rivers Prut and Dnister, battle the soil erosion and protect borders from the threat of homeless animals. The projects under the third priority address the improvement of the quality of medical services, voluntarism, creation of cross-border network of ecological agriculture, modernization of libraries, organization of festivals, promotion of folklore, development of sports, educational exchanges, development and management of common urban planning and combating human trafficking.

Four large infrastructure projects were approved for financing under Romania-Ukraine CBC Programme 2014–2020. The EU grants amount to € 17.5 million. The projects are: Improvement of the population safety and security level in the cross-border area by enhancing the joint training and cooperation actions in emergency management; Clean River; Regional cooperation for prevention and fighting of cross-border crime between Romania-Ukraine; Cross-Border Health Infrastructure²⁰. The contract for the latter project is the first one to be signed. The beneficiary is the Tulcea County Council. The partners from Ukraine are Danube Regional Hospital of Odessa and Izmail City Council. „Lower Danube Euroregion” Association of Cross Border Cooperation is another partner. The total budget of the project is € 4.2 million (€ 3.7 million are European funds)²¹. 12 hard projects under the Romania–Ukraine CBC Programme 2014–2020 have been selected after the technical and financial evaluation and 18 are on the reserve list. Soft projects are now undergoing the technical and financial evaluation.

Euroregions as integral part of Ukrainian-Romanian cooperation

Establishment and support of good neighbourly relations at internal and external borders of the EU is one of the ways to maintain security and development of all its countries. Partnership and co-operation agreement between the European communities and their member states, and Ukraine as of June 4, 1994 (Agreement ratified by the Law №237/94-VR as of November 10, 1994) can be deemed as the beginning of good neighbourly relations, which was preceded by establishment of the Carpathian Euroregion on February 14, 1993 (Slovak Republic, Hungary, Romania). Therefore, cooperation at regional level started earlier than at national due to forming of institutionalized forms of cross-border cooperation.

Cooperation between border regions of Ukraine and Romania is strengthened by functioning of three more Euroregions in addition to the abovementioned Carpathian Euroregion (Ukraine (Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Lvivska and Chernivetska oblasts), Poland (Podkarpackie voivodeship, gminas, powiats that are the members of Euro-Carpaty Association that supports Carpathian Euroregion), Slovakia (Kosický and Presovský krajs), Hungary (Borsod–Abaúj–Zemplén, Hajdú-Bihar, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megyes and municipalities Debrecen, Eger, Miskolc, Nyíregyháza), Romania (Bihar, Botoşani, Maramureş Suceava, Satu Mare and Harghita

²⁰ Romania-Ukraine ENI Cross-Border Cooperation Program, “Four Large Infrastructure Projects Have bBeen Approved for Financing under Romania-Ukraine Joint Operational Programme 2014–2020”, accessed June 19, 2019, <http://ro-ua.net/en/communication-en/news/954-four-large-infrastructure-projects-have-been-approved-for-financing-under-romania-ukraine-joint-operational-programme-2014-2020.html>.

²¹ Romania-Ukraine ENI Cross-Border Cooperation Program, “Cross Border Health Infrastructure, the first Financing Contract Signed under Romania-Ukraine Programme,” accessed June 19, 2019, <http://ro-ua.net/en/communication-en/news/960-cross-border-health-infrastructure,-the-first-financing-contract-signer-under-romania-ukraine-programme.html>.

County)). They are Upper Prut Euroregion (Ukraine (Ivano-Frankivska and Chernivetska oblasts), Moldova (Edineț, Fălești, Glodeni, Ocnița, Rîșcani and Briceni rayons (districts)), Romania (Botoșani and Suceava counties)), Lower Danube Euroregion (Ukraine (Ivano-Frankivska and Chernivetska oblasts), Moldova (Edineț, Fălești, Glodeni, Ocnița, Rîșcani and Briceni rayons (districts)), Romania (Botoșani and Suceava counties)) and Black Sea Euroregion (Ukraine, Romania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Greece, Georgia, Moldova, Turkey, Armenia, Russia).

Carpathian Euroregion is the most active on Ukrainian side. Its activity is directed at socio-economic development of border areas through support of cross-border cooperation in economic, cultural, ecological, scientific and educational spheres. Association of Local Governments “Carpathian Euroregion – Ukraine” efficiently functions within the Euroregion on Ukrainian side. It is the national representative body in the Euroregion. Activity of “Carpathian Euroregion – Ukraine” Association is mostly oriented at implementation of tasks by four priorities:

- Cross-border cooperation (implementation of projects, assistance to local governments in writing projects in the framework of EU cross-border cooperation programs; legislative initiatives on promotion of cross-border cooperation in Ukraine; elaboration of recommendations on the development of border crossing points; trainings on writing cross-border projects (30 activities, about 1000 persons), etc.);

- Local and regional development (preparation of draft decisions, strategies, programs on local and regional development; granting financial assistance to local initiatives; consulting assistance to local governments and civil organization on the development of Carpathian regions, etc.);

- Interregional cooperation (coordinating the activity of Carpathian Euroregion Local Development Network; participation in interregional initiatives (Council of Carpathian Media, communication platform of cooperation between Euroregions Slobozhanshzhyna, Dnipro, Dnister, Bug, etc.));

- Popularization of the capacity of Carpathian region (promotion activity in terms of popularization of Carpathian region; establishment of bilingual quarterly issue “Bulletin of Carpathian Euroregion”; conducting of common cross-border activities and training visits on popularization of Carpathians’ capacity).

Association of Local Governments “Carpathian Euroregion – Ukraine” has attracted grant funds for the development of Ukrainian border regions in the amount of 7 333.7 thous. UAH starting from the beginning of its activity during 2008-2017 (implemented projects)²². At the same time, in 2018–2019 it will implement 3 projects with the total amount of € 5.1 million under the Poland-Belarus-Ukraine CBC Program 2014–2020²³.

Asociația Euroregiunea Carpatica Siret functions on the Romanian side, Stowarzyszenie Euroregion Karpacki Polska efficiently operates on Polish side, Slovak side is represented by Karpatský euroregión Slovensko, Hungary – by Regional Development Association for the Carpathian Euroregion Interregional Association.

²² “Zvit pro diyal'nist' za 2007–2017 roky “10 rokov spil'no dlya rozvytku Karpat”,” [Report on Activity in 2007–2017 “10 years jointly for the development of Carpathians”], Carpathian Euroregion, accessed May 21, 2018, http://euroregionkarpaty.com.ua/images/Zvity_pro_diyalnist/Zvit_web.pdf.

²³ “Zvit pro robotu Asotsiatsiyi za zhovten' 2017 roku” [Report on operation of the Association in October 2017], Association of Local Governments “Carpathian Euroregion – Ukraine,” accessed May 18, 2019, http://euroregionkarpaty.com.ua/images/zvity/ЄКУ_Звіт_жовтень.pdf.

Lately, Euroregional cooperation in Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border regions has gained impetus due to active participation of Lower Danube Euroregion in EU cross-border cooperation programs. The structure combines public administrations of three countries.

Jointly established in 2009 non-public entity Association for Cross-Border Cooperation “Lower Danube Euroregion” functions within the activity of the Euroregion. On Ukrainian side the Euroregion is also represented by the non-public entity the Agency of Sustainable Development and European Integration “Lower Danube Euroregion”. The Agency implements two projects with the total budget of €1 677 133.57 under the Black Sea CBC Program. Namely, Ukrainian party attracted € 269 854 by the project “Development of Sustainable Cultural Tourism in the Black Sea Basin” (Agency – € 128 520; Executive Committee of Izmail City Council – € 141 334)²⁴ and € 96 895.00 by the project “DACIAT – Improving the existing competences and developing new ones in the aquaculture and fish products trade sector”. Moreover, Euroregion participates in such an important project for Odesa region as construction of ferry crossing in Orlivka – Isakcea and Izmail – Tulcea²⁵. In 2018, EU approved the implementation of large infrastructural project “Clear river” (total budget – €4 353 696.00), which aims to construct, reconstruct and modernise sewage systems at the border areas of Danube Delta.

Cooperation within Upper Prut Euroregion is of no less importance for the development of cross-border cooperation and social and economic development of territories than participation in EU CBC Programs. However, its activity in Ukrainian-Romanian and Ukrainian-Moldavian cross-border regions is quite low. Lately it came down to mostly establishment of partnership relations to implement separate projects with the defined participants circle without clear coordination and vision of Euroregion development at a whole. One reason for this is that all Euroregions with participation of Ukrainian border regions, except for Euroregion “Bug”, were formed by the central government due to the appropriate initiative of local authorities. As the result, cooperation takes place at the level of regional authorities, while local governments are hardly involved in this process. However, the activity of the Euroregions could be more effective if an association of local governments were created on the side of each partner country within the Euroregion like the Carpathian Euroregion. In this case such activity would be more stable and closer to border residents’ needs. Although it would not solve all problems, but at least it would activate Euroregion.

Regarding the Black Sea Euroregion, which was founded on 26 September 2008 and has the most participating countries, some special efficiency of cooperation on Ukrainian part is not observed. Maybe due to the fact that Ukraine is just an observer here.

Perspectives for participation of Ukrainian and Romanian territories in the cross-border cooperation forms and EU cross-border cooperation programs

Non-coherence of organisation provision of cross-border cooperation on different sides of the border is caused by non-conforming administrative and territorial division of Ukraine and those of EU countries. It complicates the process of cooperation between

²⁴ Black Sea Basin CBC. Development of Sustainable Cultural Tourism in the Black Sea Basin. “Discover #BlackSeaBasin Projects on the Programme Website, Section our Projects 2014–2020!” <https://www.facebook.com/BlackSeaBasin/videos/376519169883059/UzpfSTI3NTg4ODk0MzA3OTE0ODE6MzI2MjcyNDU1NzA3NDYzMA/>.

²⁵ “Investytsiyni proekty” [Investment projects], Odesa Oblast Council, accessed May 28, 2019, <http://oblrada.odessa.gov.ua/blog/investytsijni-proekty/>.

adjoining border territories. Moreover, local authorities are the structures that impact the conditions of cross-border cooperation the most and usually are its main participants. Therefore, it is important that they have the broadest scope of liabilities. It is obvious that the levels of authorities and their liabilities substantially differ in Ukraine and in European Union. The on-going reform of local governance in Ukraine, which is based on the principles of authorities' decentralisation and relevant changes in the system of administrative and territorial structure, is capable to largely eliminate organisational barriers to efficient cross-border cooperation. The reform stipulates the transfer of functions related to economic and social development of territories from oblast and rayon (district) state administrations to executive bodies of oblast and rayon (district) councils and establishment of capable consolidated territorial communities with higher financial and budget capacity and budget independence. It will eliminate available obstacles of communities' participation in cross-border cooperation forms and programs and create opportunities for co-funding of projects implemented under CBC programs that Ukraine participates in.

On the other hand, these processes face the lack of qualified staff in each territorial community competent in the issues of cross-border cooperation and writing of projects and outflow of professionals abroad in general. Moreover, it is important to establish information channels both among the authorities of all levels in Ukraine to be acquainted with available opportunities for cross-border cooperation in our country and Europe and with partners abroad. The latter also includes the infrastructural component of information provision, because a certain share of border communities has no access even to daily means of communications, like internet or telephone service.

What is most important, a very small percentage of Ukrainians is aware about the opportunities of cross-border cooperation. Moreover, not all representatives of authorities at local level, which is the CBC foundation, are competent in these issues. It is essential to conduct extensive informational campaign to acquaint local authorities and communities with the nature and advantages of this phenomenon in terms of improvement of the level of communities' socio-economic development.

EU regional policy uses different financial incentives, which secure achievement of desired goals, i.e. creation of new job places, forming of competitive business environment, maintenance of sustainable development and economic growth, improvement of residents' living standards in bordering regions, etc. Ukrainian regions, including those on the border with Romania, have access to some of them and can attract financial resources in order to improve their social and economic development through different programs (Global Environmental Facility Small Grants Programme, EaPTC, Visegrad 4 Eastern Partnership Programme, USAID, etc.), funds (The United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF), ERSTE Stiftung, Green for Growth Fund (GGF). Southeast Europe, Robert Bosch Stiftung, SECO Start-up Fund (SSF), East Europe Foundation (EEF), Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation (PAUCI), etc.) and grants of the EU and other countries worldwide (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Ukraine, Sweden Embassy in Ukraine, the Finish Local Cooperation Fund, etc.). However, Ukrainian border regions can obtain the largest number of financial opportunities for the development through participation in EU cross-border cooperation programs (**Table 4**).

Table 4. Perspectives of financial assistance attraction for CBC development by Ukrainian regions bordering Romania

Donor / organisation	Zakarpatska oblast	Ivano-Frankivska oblast	Chernivetska oblast	Odeska oblast	Scope
Visegrad 4 Eastern Partnership Programme	+	+	+	+	CBC; public society; culture and art, tourism, education; governance; youth, scholarship for study; democracy and human rights.
Eastern Partnership Territorial Cooperation			+	+	CBC; private sector development (business environment); creation of job places; environmental protection; culture and art, tourism, education, youth, management capacity development.
EU CBC programmes	+++	+++	+	++	CBC, accessibility and transport, creation of job places, social policy, environmental protection, energy efficiency, culture and art, tourism, education, governance, management capacity development, competitive ability, economic growth.
The EU Strategy for the Danube Region	+	+	+	+	CBC, accessibility and transport, creation of job places, social policy, environmental protection public society, culture and art, tourism, governance, management capacity development, research, innovations.
ERSTE Stiftung	+	+	+	+	CBC, public society, culture and art, education, youth
Black Sea Trust Foundation	+	+	+	+	CBC, creation of job places, public society, culture and art, tourism, education, youth, governance, management capacity development
EU-Eastern Partnership Culture and Creativity Programme	+	+	+	+	CBC with participation of cultural and creative organizations of various countries – program participants; contributing to cultural policy reforms; culture.

Conclusions

Cross-border cooperation is the instrument of promotion of good neighbourly relations between the countries and elimination of common economic and social problems. The role of border regions and cross-border instruments of their development stimulation has been gaining importance lately in the European Union. Ukraine as the closest EU neighbour can benefit greatly from its policy.

Current condition of Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border cooperation testifies to the desire and readiness of the countries to further expand and strengthen the foundations of good neighbourly relations. The legal basis of cooperation between these countries is expanding, the governors of neighbouring regions participate in frequent meetings regarding the expansion of cooperation directions, especially in terms of modernization of existing and construction of new border crossing points and access roads to them. National and regional strategic and programming documents emphasize neighbouring countries as strategic partners and provide primary directions of relations intensification. There are joint intergovernmental commissions that cover the solution of long-lasting and newly emerging problems. Still, the level of socio-economic development of Romanian regions is higher compared to the Ukrainian ones and Ukraine needs to use the extended range of

means to boost the development level of its regions, including those provided by cross-border cooperation. Currently and for the future Euroregional cooperation and participation in EU cross-border cooperation programs seem to be the major directions of cooperation between Ukraine and Romania.

However, cooperation between Ukraine and Romania in the framework of Euroregions has intensified lately only in the Lower Danube Euroregion. For the rest of Euroregions, cooperation of these countries is more active with other partners. This is mostly due to the limited opportunities of Euroregions compared to the other institutionalized forms of cross-border cooperation and therefore – unwillingness of local authorities on both sides of the border (which are the major participants of Euroregions) to cooperate. In addition to this, there are also some internal institutional problems in Ukraine with functioning of Euroregions. They have to be addressed in the first place.

As for the projects under the EU CBC programs, Ukraine and Romania are active in all three programs they are eligible for. They implement both bilateral projects and in partnership with other countries. The spectrum of addressed problems is diverse. However, their participation as beneficiaries, especially Ukraine, is weaker compared to the countries like Hungary, Slovakia or Bulgaria. Overall, the ongoing decentralization reform in Ukraine, efficient information campaign among population, established cooperation between authorities, civil organizations and scientists as well as the well-considered mechanism of public co-financing of cross-border cooperation forms and projects are the issues that should be primarily addressed to boost cooperation and socio-economic development in Ukrainian-Romanian cross-border region.

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Problems of Cross-Border Cooperation Development along the EU External Borders

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Abstract. *This article is dedicated to the problems of cross-border cooperation in a constantly changing world. The events which occurred in Ukraine in 2013–2014 had a huge influence on political polarization. New format of “political game” which was suggested by Russian Federation by Crimea annexation led to the new reality where Ukraine is in the centre of geopolitics; and a number of events which are occurring within the EU are connected with it. The problem of security, especially in information sphere, is actualized nowadays. And only coordinated efforts can help to avoid a global crisis.*

Keywords: *cross-border cooperation, Ukraine, the European Union, information warfare, identity.*

Introduction

For last centuries Europe simultaneously was the player and the witness of the number of political events which destroyed one international system of security and built another. The last happened for several times. The XIXth century just opened the new realities of the contemporary world in all spheres of life. So, the scientific and technological discoveries of the end of XIX – beginning of the XX century, changes in living standards in previous century opened a new era in the everyday life of Europeans and more. It is political development that has become decisive in the further organization of the life of population around the world. And such events as World War I and World War II which have been started on the continent changed the life of millions people all over the world. They changed both everyday life and political regimes which managed it for people. The interwar period, the development of the divided after the World War II Europe, the Cold war, the Velvet Revolution and the further collapse of the socialist system were the time of the domination of politics and ideology in all spheres of life. The world was conditionally divided into democratic and authoritarian (in some cases, totalitarian) parts. Formal democratic procedures, which were used in socialist states, proved the weakness of the system in whole. And at the end of previous century it was obvious that that system needed the radical changes.

The person who tried to change the system was M. Gorbachev. He was elected as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR and became the real leader of the Soviet state. He understood the necessity of the changes in the system of values and priorities of state building. On our opinion, he tried to introduce the Chinese variant of economic changes in the Soviet system (the experience of Deng Xiaoping), but failed. The changes which started in the Soviet Union and other socialistic states demonstrated the attractiveness and strength of democracy. Opening so called “white spots” in history,

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unification of Germany, pluralism etc. opened the new epoch in the history of a number of states, especially post-Soviet and post-socialistic.

1991 was the time of the collapse of the socialist system and the USSR. The peoples of the Soviet Union demonstrated their willingness to independence from the authoritarian system. But the vision of independence was different. For Ukrainians, for example, that meant the national sovereignty, but for Russian Federation – the possibility of restructuring the USSR under new conditions. On author's position, the following decades proved the antagonistic views on national construction processes in two neighbouring states.

After 1991 the cooperation between Russian Federation and Ukraine has gained new forms and has undergone significant changes. First of all, it should be noticed that the main problem was and still is the real recognition of Ukrainian independence by Russian authorities and partly by society. By data of sociological offices of "Levada-Centre" and Kyiv International Institute of Sociology of 2016 (it's a pity, but we couldn't find more recent ones connected to the topic) the number of Russians who believes that Ukrainians and Russians are the same is 49%, and only 36% are in favour of the recognition of Ukraine as the other states – with boundaries, customs, visas etc.¹. And that is after 25 years of independence of Ukraine and collapse of the USSR!

Formally Russian Federation represented by B. Yeltsin did it on December 2, 1991, just after the referendum on independence. But in fact the situation remained complex and uncertain and even officially Russia tried to influence on Ukrainian internal and foreign policy in different ways. Even the general Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation was signed on May 31, 1997 and entered into force on January 14, 1998². But still the number of problems of mutual cooperation and relations were unsolved. And between them were the problems of Russian Fleet in Crimea, Russian-Ukrainian boundaries delimitation and so on.

From the very beginning of independence Ukrainian society demonstrated the willingness of building the democratic state. But the historical and ideological stereotypes slowed down this process which was interrupted by president and parliament elections where such leaders as L. Kuchma, V. Yanukovich, etc. were elected.

Ukraine belongs to the states which are still moving to the democracy. And as far as we can see, this way is more than complicated because of lack of knowledge and genuine will to build a democratic system. Double standards planted the previous systems, especially Soviet, negate the benefits of the democracy for the vast majority of society. And situation in Ukraine and concerning Ukraine is becoming more unpredictable after the last president and parliament elections. The last is influenced on cross-border cooperation of our state and neighbouring countries, especially along the EU external border. However, previous years have highlighted a number of common problems and

¹ "Rossiiane priznali, nakonets, nezavisiost' Ukrainy" [Russians Recognised, at Last, the Independence of Ukraine], *dsnews.ua*, 16 June 2016, accessed July 26, 2019, <http://www.dsnews.ua/world/rossiyane-priznali-nakonets-nezavisimost-ukrainy-16062016161900>.

² Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine [Supreme Council of Ukraine], "Dohovir pro Druzhu, Spivrobotnytstvo i Parnerstvo mizh Ukrainoiu i Rosiiskoiu Federatsiieiu" [Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and Russian Federation], accessed July 31, 2019, https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/643_006.

challenges in cross-border cooperation, the solution of which will determine the further development of the region.

Identity: is it possible to manage with it?

One of the most interesting and complex question for both politicians and scientists in different spheres is the question on identity. There is a number of works dedicated to the issues on identity of the concrete person, collective identity, identity of the people etc. While scientists are looking for definitions of the term “identity” through justification, meanings and explanation of it, politicians are practically using different “identities” in their political activities. The beginning of XXIst century demonstrated the growing meaning of the “identity” both for theory and practice. For last decades this question became more than actual in the geopolitics because of the real changes on the political map of the world. And the last was partly the consequence of changes in the minds of citizens as the part of their personal identity.

After 1991 the consciousness of former citizens of the Soviet Union has to be transformed. In some cases, the changes occurred peacefully and harmoniously. People were internally ready not only to accept new realities, but also to transform the political and economic system into a new one. In other cases, it is rather complicated to make a classification: some of the people became the organic part of the new realities, another kept their old vision and attitudes to the world; others can be conditionally divided into mini-groups, whose members either mimicked or created an eclectic approach that combines Soviet and after-Soviet reality, or... This list can and should be continued but in another research.

So, what is identity and why does it play so important role in contemporary political life? The term “identity” was firstly examined in details by American psychologist Eric Homburger Erikson by whom identity is based on a sense of oneness with yourself as well as an awareness of the fact that this oneness and continuity are recognised by the environment³. In the second half of XXth century the issue was developed a lot and right now it is possible to find a numerous definition of the term “identity”. As another scientist James D. Fearon argues, nowadays “identity” refers “to either (a) a social category, defined by membership rules and (alleged) characteristic attributes or expected behaviours, or (b) socially distinguishing features that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable but socially consequential (or (a) and (b) at once)”⁴.

Alexander Wendt in his “Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics” is stressed that identities are “relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self”⁵. The identities are acquired “by participating in ... collective meanings” and are “within a specific, socially constructed world”⁶. During the second part of the XXth – beginning of the XXIst century humanity

³ “Identitychnist” [Identity], a-z-gender.net, accessed July 29, 2019, <http://a-z-gender.net/ua/identichnist.html>.

⁴ James D. Fearon, “What Is Identity (as We Now Use the Word)?” accessed July 29, 2019, <https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf>.

⁵ Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy Is what States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *International Organization* 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992): 391–425 (Excerpts), accessed July 28, 2019, <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pol116/wendt.htm>.

⁶ Ibid.

faced with different expressions of ethnic and political identity, and some of them were really constructed recently or the process of identity construction didn't go to the end like the attempts to create special Transnistrian identity in the Republic of Moldova⁷. From one point of view, identity is something what is given at birth, but in many cases identity can be both a conscious choice of the citizen and the results of political and historical manipulations with the consciousness of the population. Later we'll return to this issue in more detail.

Nowadays we witness that the vast changes in geopolitics and certain number of them are caused by identity issues. The changes on political map of the world are the result of the political regimes and political systems changes. The collapse of the socialist system has caused the appearance of the new states in the world. Moreover, some of the previously existing sovereign states have changed their national symbols. And this new attitude toward state building reflects in national self-perception or identity. As W. Bloom argued, "national identity is condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalized the symbols of the nation"⁸.

There are many examples which confirm this thesis. But on our point of view the most interesting are examples of modern EU and former Soviet Union border regions. If look attentively at the nearest past we'll see that the changes to national symbols have led to much debate within the country, for instance, contemporary Russian Federation. It is the biggest state in Eurasian continent. During the XXth century it changed their symbols several times. Its transformation into a modern world state was accompanied by the formation of a new emblem and flag, the writing of a new anthem. And contemporary Russian symbols have combined the past of the tsarist and Soviet regimes. The emblem is the attempt to look into future through the past without any referring to the Soviet part of the Russian history. It mostly refers to Peter the First and further tsarist symbols of the former empire. The flag of the state has a numerous symbolic meanings and it's impossible to find any referring to the Soviet past. But the anthem has a really interesting history. The music and background of the text were borrowed from the Soviet anthem – the composer was A. Aleksandrov and the poet – S. Mikhalkov⁹. And what is the most interesting and unbelievable: S. Mikhalkov was the author of two redactions of Soviet anthem (1943 and 1977) and the author of contemporary Russian one. In 1993 he became a member of the Commission for the creation of the anthem of the Russian Federation. And in 2003 he became the author of the third anthem¹⁰. But this time, the author of the sovereign Russia.

All these changes were the part of the natural process of the searching the new form of the statehood and its representation within and outside. There were a great number of questions to which the authorities had to give the answer including the political regime, new symbols, future relations with former Soviet republics etc. And as far as we can see,

⁷ V. M. Yakushik, "Gosudarestvennost; Pridnestrovia: tsivilizatsionnoie i politicheskoe izmereniie" [Statehood of Transnistria: Civilization and Political Dimension], accessed July 29, 2019, http://ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/1077/Yakushyk_Gosudarstvennost.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y/.

⁸ Cited by: Djoko Utomo, "ARSIP as National Identity: Case of Indonesia," accessed July 29, 2019, http://ica2012.ica.org/files/pdf/Full%20papers%20upload/ica12Final_00096.pdf.

⁹ "Slavsia, strana. My gordimsia toboi!" [Glory to the Country. We are proud of You!], accessed August 5, 2019, http://www.nbchr.ru/virt_konst/history_2_3.html.

¹⁰ Maria Troshenkova, "Tri gimna Sergeia Mikhalkova [Three Anthems of Sergei Mikhalkov], *Vecherniaia Moskva*, March 13, 2013, <https://vm.ru/news/187110.html>.

the new symbols were chosen with the respect to the past, both imperial and Soviet, the regime was chosen as democratic and the Commonwealth of the Independent States was created as the attempt to keep strong relations within former Soviet space. Further politics of the Russian Federation need more substantive analysis in the light of new circumstances, but partly we'll deal with it a little bit later.

Returning to the identity issue, we can suppose that connection between citizen and state symbols is extremely tight. This symbolic eclecticism generates an identity mix in the souls of citizens who are ultimately incapable of deciding on their vision of their own state, its past, present and future. For instance, the whole process and the results of national competition "The Name of the Russia-2008" can be accounted as visible part of the identical iceberg of the Russians. At the beginning of July 2008 the leaders of internet-voting were tsar Nikolai II, singer and actor Vladimir Vysotskii, leader of young Soviet state Vladimir Lenin. On July 18, 2008 the first place between the leaders of internet-voting got Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. After that all numbers were nullified¹¹. The new results were more neutral for surrounding world. Probably between the reasons was the fact that J. Stalin common with A. Hitler is the world recognised totalitarian leader and Russia proclaimed itself as the democratic state? It is possible to suppose, that from the other side, symbolic eclecticism gives mechanism of keeping previous system of values and the remnants of political regime in the social consciousness which is used by a number of post-Soviet leaders in Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan etc.

So, we came to the question: is it possible to manage with the identity? The question is more than complicated. But recent political history demonstrates that the attempt to do it was in the past, is in the present and most likely will be in the future. In the history and nowadays it is possible to find many examples of influencing on social consciousness through the identity. For example, the processes of creating new political (or even ethno-political) identity are on-going in, for example, Transnistria (Republic of Moldova). And active use of the symbolic politics contributes to the formation of new identity markers in the public consciousness.

The contemporary interaction between states demonstrates that the identity issues are in the centre of information attention because they are viewed as the mechanism for achieving a number of political and economic goals. And this is one of the most actual challenges for the cross-border cooperation nowadays.

Identity issues in contemporary geopolitics: ensuring cooperation or political manipulation?

While reflecting on political identity, we conclude that it can be created in a certain space at a certain time. Of course, the process of creation needs time but the results can be unpredictable and long lasting. The former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics can be assumed as the one of the brightest examples of authority's generated identity and political manipulation in this direction. For decades the so-called "soviet" identity was creating through the different mechanisms of influence on population. Between them the huge role played media, education, art, etc. Even after the collapse of the Soviet state a number of people still believed that they are "soviet" and hoped for restoring the USSR updated or revised.

¹¹ "I sloves vashih ne slushiem. Podvedeny itogi konkursa "Imia Rossii" [And We don't Listen to Your Words. Results of the Competition "Name of Russia" were summed up], accessed August 10, 2019, <https://lenta.ru/articles/2008/12/29/name/>.

Even after the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine this problem was still actual for Ukraine. At the end of 2014 – beginning 2015 the definite number of Ukrainians recognized themselves as “soviet”. This fact is confirmed by sociological investigation held by Il’ko Kucheriv Foundation from December 25, 2014 till January 15, 2015. The investigation was held in 11 regions of Ukraine (excluding occupied territories – Luhansk and the annexed Crimea). Total number of respondents was 4413. In Donbas region the percentage of those who identified themselves as the citizens of the former Soviet Union was 5. Totally less than 3% of the citizens of Ukraine considered themselves as citizens of the former USSR¹². The fact is that that investigation was conducted just after the bloody events in Kyiv (on the central Maidan of the state), after the Revolution of Dignity. And which is equally important that till December, 2014 more than 23 years passed after the collapse of the USSR and proclaiming the independent Ukraine. So, it is necessary to admit that during the XXth century the so-called “Soviet identity” has been created by the Soviet authorities. And some of people, who even didn’t live in the Soviet Union, partially absorbed the spirit of the Soviet era. The identity issues are actualized nowadays. They are playing the role of a kind of basis for achieving the diverse political and economic interests of international actors. This is the factor that is still permanently used by the Russian Federation, especially in its contemporary policy toward former Soviet republics.

For better understanding and visualization of the last thesis, it is necessary to pay attention to a number of examples of so-called “Soviet renaissance” (by author’s definition) in the post-Soviet space. These processes had roots both up and down. Political elite and partly the population of the former USSR believed in the need to preserve the Union.

The first institutional attempt to re-build the USSR was done just at the beginning of 1990^s. The collapse of the socialist system led to the appearance of new political players on the world political map. Simultaneously with the collapse of the USSR, a process of creating a new political community has been started. It was the Commonwealth of the Independent States. The proclaiming the independence by the former socialist republics didn’t become the end of the Soviet attitudes in the politics of the new states. The idea of keeping close cross-border cooperation within the former Soviet space looked logical and obvious for the leaders of those states. For decades their countries were an integral part of Soviet state. The economic ties were really closed and all Soviet republics were interdependent first of all in the sphere of economy, not mention political dependence on Moscow’s decisions. And the creation of new political community without the communist ideological pressure looked as inevitable part of the process of creation one’s own statehood. Of course, that idea wasn’t popular among the entire population and political beau monde, however the critical mass responded positively to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) creation.

The new Commonwealth has been started from the Agreement on Creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Statement by the Heads of States Republic of Belarus, Ukraine, and Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic which were done on December 8, 1991¹³. The parliaments of the three named states ratified the Agreement

¹² “Shcho objednuie ta rozjednuie ukrajintsiv?” [What Unites and Separates Ukrainians], accessed August 12, 2019, <https://dif.org.ua/article/shcho-obednue-ta-rozednue-ukrajintsiv>.

¹³ V. Ivanov, “Istoriia sozdaniia i perspektivy razvitiia Sodruzhestva Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv” [The history of creation and the perspectives of development of the Commonwealth of the Independent States], <https://cyberleninka.ru>, accessed August 3, 2019, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/istoriya-sozdaniya-i-perspektivy-razvitiya-sodruzhestva-nezavisimyh-gosudarstv-1>.

during 1991–1992¹⁴. During the second part of the December 1991 11 former Soviet republics signed the Protocol to the CIS agreement. Baltic States and Georgia didn't sign it.

Public consciousness expected from the Commonwealth of the Independent States solving the urgent problems of people¹⁵. The last was based on the statements of politicians, but the next years proved that the Commonwealth is more focused on interstate engagement than on meeting the need of the citizens of member states. After the events in Ukraine in 2013–2014 the question is: will the CIS survive, and if so, in what form?

This institutional attempt to prolong the life of the former USSR can be considered as the peculiar and unsuccessful on author's opinion way of preserving a person of "Soviet type". As far as we could see this Commonwealth has not become a real mechanism of international interaction and geopolitical influence.

To be objective, the Heads of some states managed the internal and external policy in a direction of keeping Soviet mentality, for example Republic of Belarus. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus, state symbols kept deep roots and connection with the Soviet ones. Flag, emblem, and anthem are almost the same as they were during the Soviet period, but without sickle and hammer. The anthem kept the Soviet music but the words are differing¹⁶. So, even in the sphere of the symbolic politics the Belorussian authorities are trying to influence on the consciousness of the people in the direction of keeping the soviet paradigm.

In the sphere of public administration there were done steps forward developing close relation with Russia and creating the common state – Union State of the Republic of Belarus and Russian Federation. The process started from 1992. On April 29, 1996 Heads of Parliaments of two states signed the agreement on Parliamentary Assembly. On April 2, 1997 the Heads of Belarus and Russia signed the Agreement on Union of Belarus and Russia. From that year the date April 2 is celebrating as the Day of Unity of People of Belarus and Russia¹⁷. Of course, the Agreement had the political basis, first of all. But the mechanisms of influencing on people of Belarus towards the rapprochement of two peoples were developed. Most notable are the areas of linguistic, educational, and informational. The Russian language was kept the status of the state one. Formally it has the same status as Belorussian, but de facto the experts from UNESCO mark Belorussian language as vulnerable¹⁸. The absence of the single university with the Belorussian language of studying, on our opinion, explains the attitude of the authorities to the language and identity question which is directly related to it.

So, from one point of view it is possible to talk about the developing cross-border cooperation in different spheres between Belarus and Russia. But from another, modern Belarus can be considered as a wide base for the spread of Russian information products, often aimed at enhancing Russia's geopolitical role. And this is just one part of the information belt that "defends" the former Soviet space from the EU's influence.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ "Gosudarstvennyie simvolyy" [State Symbols], *Belarus.by*, <https://www.belarus.by>, accessed August 5, 2019, <https://www.belarus.by/ru/government/symbols-and-anthem-of-the-republic-of-belarus>.

¹⁷ "Informatsionno-analiticheskii portal Coiuznogo Gosudarsntva" [Information-Analytic Portal of the Union State], <http://www.soyuz.by>, accessed August 5, 2019, <http://www.soyuz.by/about/>.

¹⁸ "Biloruska mova v Bilorusi: derzhavnyi status chy dekoratsiia?" [Belorussian Language in Belarus: State Status or Decoration?], *Deutsche Welle*, accessed August 5, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/uk/білоруська-мова-в-білорусі-державний-статус-чи-декорація/a-19063646>.

The other part of that belt is a little bit outside from the EU eastern border. The case of Transnistria is well known and noteworthy. On the map below it is obvious that Transnistria is the region of the Republic of Moldova which has not a common border with the EU member states, but has a long common border with Ukraine.



Source: “Ukrajins'ka diaspora v Moldovi” [Ukrainian diaspora in Moldova], accessed August 08, 2019, <https://we.org.ua/demografiya/ukrayinska-diaspora-v-moldovi/#imageclose-511>.

For last decades the region became a textbook example which illustrates the possible origins and consequences of political separatism in the modern world. Going back to the history of the conflict, which is still influences Republic of Moldova’s European integration movement, it is necessary to point out that the last decade of the previous century became crushable period in its history. First of all, it’s necessary to stress out that during the mid-1980^s years the national renaissance has been started in the republic. There were a number of political movements the biggest of which entered in the history as “moldovenism” and “unionism.” They still have supporters both inside Moldova and from outside, especially from Russia and Romania.

The beginning of the 1990^s was the period of replacing the Russians and “Russian-speaking” people from the spheres of political and social life of Moldova. It was “the struggle” of ideas, visions, and identities. Moldavian language was turned to the Latin alphabet; the country took national and state symbols almost similar to Romanian. In August, 1991 Moldova condemned “the coup” of SCNR in Moscow and declared its independence. But the split of identities, the presence of two separatist enclaves (Transnistria and Gagauzia) and the Russian army etc. made it one of the weakest on the ruins of the former USSR. While pro-Romanian ideas shared throughout Moldovan population Russian-speaking part of it tried to separate to defend themselves from possible union with Romania. The fear concerning future was particularly acute experienced in Gagauzia and Transnistria. The leaders of those parts of the Republic of Moldova started the separatism actions to force central authorities to make concessions in language and other painful for society questions.

The independence of Transnistria was proclaimed on August 25, 1991. The origins, history, influence of the conflict on the surrounding world was analysed by researchers from Moldova, Ukraine, Romania, Russia, Poland, Germany etc. The activity of central authority which used police and military forces, the role of Russian military forces in the conflict were widely covered in various publications on the issue. But it is the

fact that today Transnistria is just formally the part of the Republic of Moldova and de-facto is unrecognized state with a strong financial, political and military support from Moscow. The Transnistrian authorities are really dependent from Moscow. As the result, Transnistrian card is often used by Moscow in its relations with Moldova and other European countries.

From early beginning of Transnistrian separatism Tiraspol claimed its wish to enter the Russian Federation. And the appeal toward entering the Russian Federation became stronger after Crimea annexation. In April 2014 the Parliament of Transnistria appealed to Russian Federation authorities to recognize independence. But Moscow needs neither really independent Transnistria, nor Transnistria as a part of the Russian state. The main value of the region for contemporary politics of Russia is the possibility to influence on Chisinau foreign policy under the pressure of territorial collapse or the economic default of the state. And also, the Transnistrian region is being considered as a means of influencing the surrounding world, in particular Ukraine, especially after 2014. On the author's point of view Russia is afraid to lose its influence on Moldova and want to keep it in the sphere of its own influence. So, it tries to use Transnistria as the mean of influence of Chisinau authorities. And the events of last years in the Republic of Moldova prove that thesis.

Summing it up, the author wants to stress out that the identity issues are playing a huge role in geopolitics in the contemporary world. The number of different identities of the person or the people in the whole can be both a goal and a means at the same time to achieve fundamental geopolitical goals. And these goals can be either cooperation or manipulation depending on political system, political culture and political consciousness of the representatives of the states – international players.

Information: challenge or possibility for Cross-Border Cooperation?

From the ancient times till nowadays information played the special role in creating and destroying connections between individuals and between peoples and states as a whole. The historical development of humanity confirms that information has always been the basis for the formation or destruction of communication and other links between political actors. And we can suppose that in future information will keep or even strengthen its role in political communication.

The active development and further application of information technologies caused a revolution both in technological and consciousness spheres. From this point of view present is the reminiscent of the fantastic descriptions of famous writers, including G. Wells, A. Azimov, A. Clark and others¹⁹.

Over last decades the paradigms of communication are actively changing. And the speed of information dissemination is often a determinant of its relevance, especially in the sphere of political relations. There are some claims that information society became the reality of our epoch. The everyday life of a concrete person in a numerous cases is starting from mobiles, social networks etc. And the factor of information dependence is becoming more influential not only in personal life but also in the life of the states and even humanity as a whole. The last together with identity crises can change the direction of political processes in the concrete region and even for the world as a single system.

¹⁹ Dmitri Bunetsky, "Shcho peredbachyly fantasy" [What the sci-fi predicted?], 23 June 2014, accessed August 14, 2019, <https://ukr.segodnya.ua/lifestyle/fun/chto-predskazali-fantasy-531086.html>.

There is no a common approach to the understanding and interpretation the term “information society.” There are two main attitudes to it: 1) the main attention is paid to the information component (first of all, the interpretation of term “information”); 2) the role and importance of information for modernity. The history of using the term is going back to the 1960^s. Japanese professor Y. Masuda became one of the founders of the concept of the information society. He tried to comprehend future evolution of society where the computer technology will become the basis of the new one²⁰. Japan’s undoubted achievement was that at the state level the idea of computerizing public and other spheres of life was embodied here for the first time. Understanding of importance of changing approaches in public administration and the main strategic goals of state development were implemented in Japan in the early 1970^s²¹.

Later similar steps were done by the EU member states. And all members of the EU at the beginning of XXIst century embarked on the path of information and innovation, primarily technological. That had a positive influence on the system of public administration, involving the people into the process of decision-making, etc. The transition to the stage of the information society has been the impetus for the further rapid penetration of ideas, views, and information insights into the lives of both individuals and peoples. The last is used by some political actors for keeping their influence in world politics. And the position of Russian Federation toward Ukrainian question is completely correlative to the named thesis.

Ukrainian-Russian relations were being formed in previous centuries. It’s hard to find even a short period when the policy of Russian (in medieval times – Moscow) authorities was directed to the recognition Ukraine and Ukrainians as different state and different people. It is not about the official recognizing Ukraine in 1991. It’s about the general policy of the authorities toward Ukraine as the separate from “Russian world” state. And this question is important because Ukraine has declared its intensions for European integration and has a common border with the EU. In turn, Russia is interested in maintaining its role in world politics and its influence over Ukraine.

As far as it was told previously, the “Soviet type” person or Homo Sovieticus was the product of Soviet propaganda. And Russian Federation as the descendant of the USSR continued to implement the main principles and techniques of it. Ukraine was and in some cases still left the consumer of Russian information product. That influences on the mentality and the way of thinking of citizens. Part of them has a critical thinking and compares the information from different sources. But part is strong believers in information from Russian side. The last can be a topic of a separate research.

Returning to the challenges of cross-border cooperation along the EU external border, it is necessary to point out that for last several years Ukrainian question became the crucial factor for political development both the EU member states and for changing attitudes toward cross-border interaction. Modern Ukrainian history to some extent resembles waves – periods of revolutionary upheaval followed by the period of declines. The Revolution on the Granite, the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity pushed Ukrainian society and authorities to the necessary changes in all spheres of life, especially state governing. First two were peaceful confrontation between the people and authorities, but the last completely changed the perception of Ukrainian about themselves and the surrounding world. The bloody events on Maidan in 2013–2014 proved that

²⁰ Iryna Mukomela, “Ideia informatyinoho suspilstva v kontseptualnykh rozrobkakh Y. Masudy” [The Idea of Information Society in Y. Masuda Conception], *Forum Prava*, №3 (2014): 254–258.

²¹ Ibid.

Ukrainian society is ready for self-sacrifice in order to preserve democratic values and implementation of democratic principles of governance at home state. They also changed the attitude of the Europeans toward Ukraine and Ukrainians. For the whole time of existence of the EU, Ukraine has become the first state which has paid with blood for its desire to become the member of the European community. The Russian policy toward Ukraine was recognised as aggressive and there were introduced sanctions toward Russia because of its' policy in Ukraine.

From 2013 till nowadays we are the witnesses of a number of events in Ukraine and within the EU which are directly or indirectly related to Ukraine. The Russian Federation was trying to keep Ukraine in its sphere of influence, to prove that Ukraine is the traditional part of the “Russian world”. And the Crimea became the first objective of the joint political, informational and military company with and for Ukraine. In winter 2014 Russia brought so called “green people” (de facto, military troops) in Ukrainian Crimea. They occupied the building of Supreme Council and Council of Ministers of Crimea on February 27, 2014. Till mid-March 2014 the whole Crimea was under the control of Russian troops. Almost immediately the self-proclaimed puppet government began preparations to referendum on the state status of peninsula. The information campaign in the Crimea includes mainly simple instruments for information processing of the population. The images which were used were familiar for all post-Soviet people from the different narratives about World War II period. On all bill-boards Ukraine was shown as a Nazi state while Russia looked like a native home for the citizens of the Autonomy Republic of Crimea. To give the example of visual propaganda we'd like to suggest at least glancing on one of the example:

Picture 1: “On March 16 we choose...”



Source: “Russkaja propaganda v Krymu v preddverii referendum. Obešanija i real'nost” [Russian propaganda in Crimea on the eve of the referendum. Promises and reality], 15 March 2014, accessed August 02, 2019, <http://www.ostro.org/general/politics/articles/440058/>.

The results of the referendum were predictable and by independent data falsified. It was announced that 96% of population voted for Russia. After all, Crimea was included to Russia's state. As far as we could see, the appeal to the propaganda's traditions of the World War II brought its result in Ukraine and demonstrated its' effectiveness for Homo Sovieticus who is still living in post-Soviet space.

After the annexation of Crimea Russian Federation started (or continued) to strengthen its presence in information, social, political space in Ukraine and around the world, especially in Europe. The situation with the Ukrainian Crimea was the first military revision of boundaries since the World War II. It has to become the lesson for all states

and to encourage them to step up cooperation in the field of information security, especially in the regions where people with different national or religious identity are living or border regions with a complicated history of ethnic and state interaction.

But in fact next events demonstrated that the closer cooperation in the sphere of information security needs extra efforts and deeper understanding the origins of the policy and the goals of a certain political actor in contemporary world. For last years the European community has been confronted with interference in public administration at various levels. The so-called “controlled chaos” became the political reality of the EU and even the USA. The specific of this way of information influence and political manipulation which is provided by Russian Federation is to show the weakness of democratic institutes for the authorities and population of the states. The main idea is that “information can be used to disorganise governance, organize anti-government protests, delude adversaries, influence public opinion, and reduce an opponent’s will to resist”²². But while the means were changed the main principles of the tactics left as they’ve been in mid-XXth century, when the USSR “supported” so called “people democracies” in Central and Eastern European countries.

To prevent the further development of the scenario proposed by Moscow, concentrated efforts of democratic states are needed. Otherwise the situation with Scotland, Spain etc. will repeat, and also in other “hot points” of the world. Spain, for example, felt intervention into the political and social life of the state in 2017. It was done with the assistance of media and social networks which in turn were used as the mechanisms of influencing on the identity feelings of Catalonians. The Spain defence and foreign ministers stressed that there is evidence that “state and private-sector Russian groups, as well as groups in Venezuela, used Twitter, Facebook and other Internet sites to massively publicize the separatist cause and swing public opinion behind it in the run-up to the Oct. 1 referendum”²³. We can assume that such activity of Russian Federation was caused by its desire to legitimize the annexation of Crimea in European context. The referendum provoked a huge discussion and political noise within Spain and the EU. And this situation is comparable with the situation in Great Britain with the Scottish referendum.

Along the EU eastern border, the situation is even more complicated. Such states as Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Romania have common borders with Ukraine. And the history of ethnic interaction between them and Ukraine wasn’t simple. There are many conflicting events in the history, and the modern relations between the states leave much better to be desired. For example, Poland and Ukraine have a number of conflicting pages in common history. They tried to overcome them after the 1991, but certain protest moods left in every state. And they are used by the Kremlin agents in Poland, for example²⁴. The

²² Margarita Jaitner, “Russian Information Warfare: Lessons from Ukraine,” *Cyber War in Perspective: Russian Aggression against Ukraine*, ed. Kenneth Geers, 89 (Tallinn: NATO CCD COE Publications, 2015), 88.

²³ Robin Emmott, “Spain Sees Russian Interference in Catalonia Separatist Vote,” <https://www.reuters.com>, accessed August 15, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-politics-catalonia-russia/spain-sees-russian-interference-in-catalonia-separatist-vote-idUSKBN1DD20Y>.

²⁴ Kyrylo Mefodiiev, “Za antyukraiinskymy aktsiiamy u Polshci stoiit’ Kreml – analiz vykrytoho lystuvannia” [The Kremlin stands behind anti-Ukrainian actions in Poland – an analysis of exposed correspondence], accessed August 15, 2019, <https://informnapalm.org/ua/za->

prolonged confrontation between Poland and Ukraine in historical issues which is supported by Russian information and financial inputs led to deterioration of bilateral relations. It's necessary to take into consideration, in Poland the main purpose is creation of negative image of Ukraine but not the positive image of Russia, because Polish politicians are mainly antagonistic toward Russia. Confirmation of Poland's solidarity position is the fact that 410 out of 460 members of the Polish Parliament voted in favour of the resolution calling for the release of Oleg Sentsov and other political prisoners²⁵.

And right now the main question in the bilateral Ukrainian-Polish relations is why cooperation in the sphere of information security and opposition to the Russian threat is still not on the agenda. For Ukrainian experts, this question should be put on agenda on the level of Presidents' Administrations, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and common session of parliaments²⁶.

So, information today is simultaneously the possibility and the challenge for international relations. And in cross-border cooperation between states it keeps it crucial role. Only the coordinated efforts of the representatives of different states can develop effective counteraction to information challenges of the present and to weave a protective net to democratic institutions.

Conclusions

The identity issues today are more than just theoretical searches. While a number of scientists are working on theoretical aspects of identity as the part of person consciousness, the politicians are practically working with different identities at both on the personal and collective levels. The identity is something which is differing person or group from others. It shows who someone is, what are his / her beliefs, ideas, system of values etc.

After the collapse of the socialist system and the USSR, the question of identity belonging aroused and actualised for socialist republics. Imagine: yesterday person felt himself as a Soviet citizen, and today – Ukrainian, Russian, and Tatar etc. The identity transformations covered all post-Soviet space. In some cases, they were insensitive, and in some became the starting points for radical political and territorial changes. The biggest problem, on our view, was the attempt to preserve Soviet and add national to the political consciousness of people of certain state. The glorification of Soviet heroes, events in Soviet history created the basis for the preservation for a person of Soviet type or Homo Sovieticus. And after more than 20 years after the collapse of the Union it still exists on post-Soviet space, and even outside of it.

The last caused a number of conflicts in post-Soviet space. And Transnistrian one is between them. The willingness to preserve linguistic identity, territorial sovereignty etc. led to the appearance on the political maps of the world the Transnistrian Republic. The conflict transformed into “frozen” one. And between results were the attempts to construct Transnistrian identity, appearing of the unstable territory practically in the centre of the European continent and total dependence of Transnistria from Russian Federation.

antyukrayinskymy-aktsiyamy-v-polshhi-stoyit-kreml/?fbclid=IwAR3tiPK9k4d8dl
CacihuVhYrSwgkzP4MQHI_NVVFzNygmN_1V6QU6bWUBg8.

²⁵ Kateryna Zarembo, “Varshavski druzi Putina: yak podolaty vplyv RF ya ukrainsko-polski vidnosyny” [Warsaw friends of Putin: How to overcome the influence of RF on Ukrainian-Polish relations], accessed August 19, 2019, <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2019/05/31/7096777/>.

²⁶ Ibid.

There were some other attempts to influence on identity creation or identity feelings after 1991, and institutional (the CIS) were between them. But the most actively the process of using identity issues as possibility to intervene the policy of the state was done all over the Europe after the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine. Starting from the annexation of Crimea Russian Federation used it for its external policy in Ukraine, in the EU member states, in bordering to the EU states. And the main aim was the destabilising the political life in the region.

Spain can be considered as the brightest example of radicalization the mass activity because of the identity and state belonging of Catalonia. Ukrainian-Polish relations demonstrate the possibility of using anti-sentiment, even with the presence of negative attitude toward the political player (Russian Federation in this case).

All these events are pushing for more cross-border cooperation in the field of security, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The question of common overcoming of challenges in information sphere became the common issue for both EU states and its bordering states like Ukraine. And this cooperation should be provided both on national and civic society levels.

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Book reviews

Alina STOICA (Oradea) ◀▶ *Social Representations on the Border*

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Social Representations on the Border

*Alina STOICA**

Review of: Sylvie Considère, Thomas Perrin, eds. *Frontières et représentations sociales. Questions et perspectives méthodologiques*. Académie L'Harmattan, 2017. ISBN 978-2-8061-0327-7

In recent years, numerous researches have been dedicated to changes in the field of international relations. The new world order¹ and its causes, among which we mention the most important ones – globalization, new technologies or religious wars – can be found in thousands of described and analysed pages. The new paradigms regarding the reorganization of the world have eroded the clear boundaries, according to Robert Kaplan², in a powerful cultural interactive context, over which the processes of globalization have been overlapped. The latter have reconfigured the architecture of politics and society, changing the relations of forces between states and markets³. The balance of power has been shifted. “Where states were once masters of markets, now markets are the ones that, in many essential issues, run national governments.”⁴ Even more, the authority of states is increasingly transferred to international institutions, regional bodies and transnational companies, giving rise to a new concept of paradiplomacy.

These realities determine a growth of the scientific debates on borders in recent years. For example, a renowned business and business consultant, Kenichi Ohmae, believes that the emergence of the global economy is the basis for the withdrawal of borders. He uses the term “borderless world” to describe a world marked by inevitable globalization, in which all obstacles to the movement of production factors have been removed. For him, the economic frontier not only has no relevance, but it also damages the economic relations between companies or states. Therefore, “the global economy ignores barriers, but if they are not eliminated, they create dysfunctions”⁵. The global economy follows its own logic, which does not follow the logic of state borders.

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¹ Henry Hissinger, *Ordinea mondială* [World order] (București: RAO, 2015); Robert D. Kaplan, *Revenirea lumii lui Marco Polo. Război, strategii și interese americane în secolul XXI* [The return of Marco Polo's world. War, strategy, and American interests in the twenty-first century] (București: Editura Humanitas, 2019).

² Kaplan, 21; Valentin Naumescu, *Politica Marilor Puteri în Europa Centrală și de Est. 30 de ani de la sfârșitul Războiului Rece* [The politics of Great Powers in Central and Eastern Europe. 30 years since the Cold War] (București: Humanitas, 2019), 37–42.

³ Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State. The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Kenichi Ohmae, *The Next Global Stage. Challenges and Opportunities in Our Borderless World* (New Jersey: Wharton School Publishing, 2005), XXV; Peter Dickens, *Global Shift. Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2011), 6.

And yet, specialists have different approaches to understanding and explaining the ultra-contemporary reality. Anderson and Bort see the world as a whole of individual states, separated by the barriers imposed on trade and trade between rich and poor countries. According to their work⁶, the borders still retain important differences between states, especially in terms of economic activity and organization. Robert Gilpin also supports this idea, considering that “while market forces (trade, finance and investment) go beyond political boundaries and integrate societies, governments frequently restrict and orient economic activities to serve the interests of their own society and those of the big groups within these companies”⁷.

As a result, there is a growing awareness of understanding the nature of borders, from the need to clarify the opportunities for cooperation between the societies that exist on both sides. “Borders are inherently ambiguous, paradoxical and contradictory, and now they are becoming increasingly differentiated from each other also in terms of filtering effects on different social processes. We need to look at how they function in order to understand the obstacles to cross-border cooperation, how to build trust networks and how to achieve the democratic governance of cooperation”⁸.

The constant interest of researchers from the University of Oradea, within the *Oradea-Debrecean Institute of Euroregional Studies*, a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, for the issues of borders has remained constant since 2006 and until now, under all aspects that borders can assume. This is yet another reason to support our interest for the research analysed in this text.

The book focuses on the social representations of borders. The authors express interest in the approaches and methodologies used to analyse this representation. The question arises regarding the data that can be collected and how it can be done. Also pursued are the objectives from which the analyst starts to reach results, which go beyond anecdotal or singularity. The book thus contributes to the enrichment of the knowledge of borders, border areas and their associated representations.

According to the coordinators, the borders can be either the place of passage, place of transactions or the limit that must not be exceeded, but they also protect against the unknown, also marking the differences. The social representations are developed and are spread through oral, textual, iconographic, symbolic discourses that cross the different social groups. They feed on individual perceptions and reflections, but are transformed, within the exchanges between individuals into vernacular knowledge systems, in a non-scientific sense, orienting and guiding new perceptions of the world⁹.

Symbols and meanings are the result of a mental process that result in the specific construction of the object. In other words, the subject reconstructs the real it is facing, proceeding as a true “mental modelling” of the object. Thus, the information provided by the object is categorized, transformed, amended in order to give a concrete meaning to the

⁶ Malcolm Anderson and Eberhard Bort, *The Frontiers of the European Union*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, 37.

⁷ Robert Gilpin, *Global Political Economy. Understanding the International Economic Order* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 81.

⁸ Liam O’Dowd, James Anderson, and Thomas M. Wilson, *New Borders for a Changing Europe. Cross-Border Cooperation and Governance* (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2003).

⁹ Sylvie Considère and Thomas Perrin, “Introduction Générale. La front frontière ière en question, ou comment débusquer les représentations sociales de frontières,” in *Frontières et représentations sociales. Questions et perspectives méthodologiques*, ed. Sylvie Considère and Thomas Perrin (Louvain la Neuve: Académie L’Harmattan, 2017), 17.

reality. A representation is most often generated collectively. It is shared by the individuals of a group and is therefore the specific mark of the group.¹⁰

The book focuses in particular on the approaches and methodology implemented by the researchers who have published here, being based on the studies on the social representations of the borders and border areas. The analyses we refer to can be done from two perspectives: from the outside and, in this case, they can somehow guarantee the objectivity and a priori, an inherent method necessary to give an important place to subjectivity, *à un vécu de la frontière*, observed from the inside.¹¹

The authors of this book faced the difficult question during the research – how to deal with this subjectivity needed to be added to the scientific knowledge on the subject. We also understand the difficulty of authors in determining what kind of data can be collected, how to do it, or what the target goals would be.

The pragmatic contributions gathered in this book followed three main methodological tendencies, three types of inputs, which gave some structure to the volume and which aimed to understand the complexity and richness of the representations associated with the border and the cross-border dynamics:

1. the border experienced by the daily practices
2. the border built by speeches
3. the border materialized by artefacts.

The first approach can be found for example in the studies of Sylvie Considère and Fabienne Leloup, whose analysis took place between 2014–2015, in the context of the continuous enlargement of the borders of the European Union, which determined the modification of border types, starting with the physical ones. The authors were interested in analysing the effects on the population living on the border and the impact of the border on their practices and feelings, trying to identify their values, experience and their family and social influence.

On the other hand, discourses are particularly important in revealing the social representations associated with borders. This is especially the case when the discourse of one group builds the relationship with the other especially in a border area. Particularly interested in the approaches based on the relations between states, it was very interesting for us to follow the analysis of the situation on the border between Finland and Russia (1990–2010). An example is a study by the authors of the volume, by collecting information from the texts of opinion, as is the case with letters, oral testimonies or articles from the local press. The conclusions are found at the transition from forced Russification to declared friendship.

As a result, social representations are a fruitful input for the analysis of borders and border space, allowing the concept of identity to be related to space and territory. The numerous sub-chapters therefore follow the outlines of social representations seen as a complex and cyclical system, nourished not only by perceived information, but also collected from others outside the context, taking into account that the information was

¹⁰ Rosemarie Haineş, “Reprezentările sociale și construirea imaginii publice” [Social representations and the construction of the public image], accessed October 20, 2019, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwj818OUt4XnAhWQ26QKHdVFDPwQFjAAegQIBRAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffrtsa.ro%2Ffrtsa%2Findex.php%2Ffrtsa%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F249%2F244&usq=AOvVaw1OVGuVPMQI_LPYT28IJRLD.

¹¹ Ibid.

processed, thus obtaining a interpretation that made sense to those involved in writing the volume.

The peripheral areas are generally buffer zones between a changing reality and the core that must remain solid for both the individual and the social group, in which the former is the guarantor of cohesion.

The social representations of the border do not evolve at the same rate as their institutional and theoretical reality. A gap is created between the images of the border and the definition of its role. Understanding this discrepancy is proposed in this paper as a key to understanding local development.

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The Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine – Current Evaluations and Directions for Future Development

*Alina-Carmen BRIHAN**

Review of: *Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine with the EU Countries: Current Challenges and Possibilities: Monograph*, edited by Khrystyna Prytula, Lviv: SI „Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishniy of NASU,” 2019. ISBN 978-966-02-8889-8.

The volume – titled “Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine with the EU Countries: Current Challenges and Possibilities: Monograph” – was prepared and published within the framework of the project implementation Jean Monnet – Erasmus+ Programme „Boosting Local Economic Growth in Border Regions in the Process of EU Integration: Best Practices of Eastern Partnership (EaP) Countries”, no. 599948-EPP-1-2018-1-UA-EPPJMO-SUPPA. The 220 pages of the Monograph were elaborated by a team consisting of: Khrystyna Prytula (editor) – PhD in Economics, Olena Pasternak – PhD in Economics, Yuliya Tsybul'ska – PhD in Economics, Yaroslava Kalat, Olha Demedyuk and Oksana Tsisinka.

The Monograph approaches the topic of the cross-border cooperation, namely the development of border areas and the strengthening of the European integration processes in Ukraine. In this regard, as mentioned in the “Introduction”, the authors analyze “the mechanisms, instruments and forms of cross-border cooperation in the EU-Ukraine cross-border space, outline the level the border oblasts use the opportunities for cross-border cooperation and examines whether the European integration processes impact the transformation of economic and social environment at border territories”¹. Therefore, these aims are approached along four chapters: “Theoretical and methodological foundations of the development of interaction mechanisms between economic entities in the EU – Ukraine cross-border space” (Chapter 1); “Peculiarities of social and economic development of cross-border regions with Ukrainian participation” (Chapter 2); “Cross-border cooperation in the context of socio-economic development of Ukrainian border oblasts” (Chapter 3); and “Directions to intensify cross-border cooperation between Ukraine and EU member states” (Chapter 4).

The first chapter – “Theoretical and methodological foundations of the development of interaction mechanisms between economic entities in the EU – Ukraine cross-border space”² – is structured in four sub-chapters and it is the result of the contributions of Khrystyna Prytula, Yuliya Tsybul'ska, Yaroslava Kalat, Olha Demedyuk and Oksana Tsisinka. The sub-chapter 1.1 analyses the regional policy in the sphere of cross-border cooperation through the scientific foundations and peculiarities of its

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¹ *Cross-Border Cooperation of Ukraine with the EU Countries: Current Challenges and Possibilities: Monograph*, ed. Khrystyna Prytula (Lviv: SI „Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishniy of NASU”, 2019), 7.

² *Ibid.*, 13–65.

implementation in Ukraine³. The sub-chapter targets the analysis of the major concepts used by the theory of cross-border cooperation: border region, cross-border region and cross-border space. If the “border region” represents the “administrative and territorial unit of lower than state level, which is adjacent to the state border”⁴, the “cross-border region” is “a single integral specific territorial polystructural formation” which consists of at least two different socio-economic spaces (border regions) of neighbouring countries. In this regard it is mentioned the fact that, along 5637.982 km, Ukraine shares land borders with seven countries: Poland, Slovak Republic, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Russia and Belarus, so that seven cross-border regions with adjacent countries function in the Ukrainian territory⁵. Moreover, the creation of links and contractual relations at border territories in order to search for solutions to common and identical problems, leads to the formation of the “cross-border space”⁶. “Euroregions” are considered, currently, the most efficient institutionalized form of cross-border cooperation, however the authors consider that there is a need for the creation and establishment of new forms of cross-border cooperation, because of the functioning problems the Euroregions encounter due to the lack of understanding their role⁷. Besides Euroregions are mentioned, also, other forms of cross-border cooperation – such as the cross-border clusters, the European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTCs), the Euroregional Cooperation Groupings (ECGs), the cross-border innovation projects, the cross-border industrial parks, etc.⁸ In Ukraine, most of the cross-border forms are represented: 10 Euroregions (four established with EU member states – Carpathian Euroregion, Euroregion Bug, Euroregion Lower Danube and Euroregion Upper Prut; and six with non-EU member states – Euroregion Dniester, Euroregion Dnepr, Euroregion Slobozhanshchyna, Euroregion Yaroslavna and Euroregion Donbas); EGTC “Tisza”; 36 industrial parks, etc. The new norm and requirement of the EU for each member – namely the signing of the agreements on local border movement (LBM) – are considered, by the authors, a serious impetus for cross-border cooperation development in Ukraine, as they eliminate existing obstacles for business, social and cultural cooperation. In this regard, are also described the procedures for receiving LBM permits between Ukraine and neighbouring EU member states as Poland, Hungary, Romania and Slovak Republic⁹.

In the sub-chapter 1.2 – named “Characteristics of the mechanisms of interaction between economic entities in cross-border space based on their classification”¹⁰ – the mechanisms are classified along several criteria: by the interaction entities, by markets, by the level of interaction, by the regulation sphere, by the type of cooperation, by the cooperation direction, by the institutionalization level, by the level of normative – legal regulation, by time of action, by impact, by stage of life cycle and by the way of forming¹¹. The authors define the types of mechanisms along these criteria; they give examples and analyse their functioning in Ukraine’s context.

³ Ibid., 15–29.

⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁷ Ibid., 22.

⁸ Ibid., 24–25.

⁹ Ibid., 26–28.

¹⁰ Ibid., 30–43.

¹¹ Ibid., 31–32.

The foreign experience of the development of interaction mechanisms between economic entities in the cross-border space is presented in the sub-chapter 1.3.¹² In the context of the modern concept of the development of the EU border regions, the negative features of peripherality are changed into advantages through compliance with the major principles of European regional policy: subsidiarity, decentralization, partnership, programming, concentration and additionality¹³. Therefore, it is concluded that the aim of cooperation within the cross-border regions is not to create new administrative level, but to develop the cooperation structures, procedures and instruments to facilitate elimination of obstacles¹⁴. In this context, it is analysed the Euroregion, as it represents the form of highest institutionalization level and an efficient mechanism of strengthening the interaction in the framework of cross-border cooperation. The Euroregions are considered according to the two models – Central European and Scandinavian – that differ in the specificity of their activity, but also by the organization and legal structure (most of the Euroregions created with Ukrainian participation are considered to be established according to the principle “from top to bottom”¹⁵, and most of Ukrainian border regions’ experience in the development of Euroregional structures was adopted from Poland). In the same time, the cluster approach¹⁶ is seen as playing an important role in the development of the mechanisms of interaction between economic entities in the cross-border space. Most of the EU member states (Belgium, France, Poland, Hungary, etc.) are actively developing and implementing the cluster policy at national and regional levels, and the European Commission is playing an important role in this process. In a comparison between the EU internal border regions and the external border regions of Central and Eastern Europe, the authors consider that the major challenge for the first ones is to promote the institutional border cooperation in order to reduce obstacles that retard regional integration, while the latter face the problems of the improvement of their functional integration and quality and density of border infrastructure¹⁷.

The retrospective analysis of the European practice of the economic environment transformation at border territories in the process of the EU enlargement is realized in the sub-chapter 1.4.¹⁸ The specifics of border areas requires the use of specific instruments to stimulate their development, instruments that have been used by the EU member states since the 1980s, in the process of implementation of the Regional Policy. The authors appreciate that the problems of the border regions’ development gained its utmost importance in the context of the EU’s enlargement in 2004, and after the signing of the Association Agreements with Bosnia and Herzegovina (2015), Georgia, Moldova and Kosovo (2016) and Ukraine (2017)¹⁹.

In the same time, the authors present, synthetically, the documents that are considered to mostly define the EU policy in the sphere of the border regions’ development, from the ‘80s to nowadays²⁰: European Outline Convention of Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities as of 21 May 1980;

¹² Ibid., 44–54.

¹³ Ibid., 45–46.

¹⁴ Ibid., 46.

¹⁵ Ibid., 47–48.

¹⁶ Ibid., 49–51.

¹⁷ Ibid., 53.

¹⁸ Ibid., 55–65.

¹⁹ Ibid., 55.

²⁰ Ibid., 55–56.

Protocols to European Outline Convention of Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, in particular Protocol No. 3 concerning Euroregional Cooperation Groupings (ECGs) as of 16 November 2009; Regulation (EC) No. 1082/2006 on a European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) as of 5 July 2006, etc. Also, if the Communication on the Impact of Enlargement on Regions Bordering Candidate Countries, as of 25 July 2001, focused on the new activities and a better coordination of the existing policies in terms of the border regions' preparation for the EU enlargement, the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Boosting Growth and Cohesion in EU Border Regions as of 20 September 2017, is directed at revealing and eliminating the legal, administrative and financial obstacles to socio-economic growth of the EU border regions²¹. In the same time, the authors gave a special attention to the EU's preparation processes for the enlargements of 2004 and 2007, so they outline the directions of allocation of the EU's financial assistance²² – through INTERREG III A, INTERREG III B, URBAN II, LEADER+, etc.

The second chapter of the book – titled “Peculiarities of social and economic development of cross-border regions with Ukrainian participation”²³ – is the result of the scientific collaboration of Khrystyna Prytula, Olena Pasternak, Yuliya Tsybulska, Yaroslava Kalat and Oksana Tsisinka. As mentioned in the title, this chapter examines the four cross-border regions established, by Ukraine, with its neighbouring EU member states: Ukrainian – Polish cross-border region, Ukrainian – Slovakian cross-border region, Ukrainian – Hungarian cross-border region and Ukrainian – Romanian cross-border region. The four cross-border regions are analysed according to different aspects, that provide an exhaustive overview on the cross-border cooperation of Ukraine with the four countries, such as: the formal documents and institutional mechanisms that establish the interregional and the cross-border cooperation between each of the two countries; the forms of interregional and cross-border cooperation (Ukraine – Poland: Carpathian Euroregion, Euroregion Bug, agreements of interregional cooperation among almost all Ukrainian oblasts and Polish voivodeships, almost 450 agreements on cooperation signed at regional and local levels, etc.; Ukraine – Slovakia: the cross-border region includes three administrative territorial units – Zakarpatska oblast, Prešovský and Košický krajs; 50 agreements of cooperation at interregional level, established contacts between all 8 krajs of Slovakia and 10 oblasts of Ukraine, etc.; Ukraine – Hungary: the cross-border region includes Zakarpatska oblast, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megye, etc.; Ukraine – Romania: participation of both countries in the Carpathian Euroregion, Lower Danube Euroregion, Upper Prut Euroregion, Black Sea Euroregion; etc.); the domains of cooperation (economic, trade, transport, tourism, agriculture, scientific, technical, cultural, etc.); the projects implemented; the socio-economic characteristics of the development of the cross-border regions; recommendations for an efficient development of cross-border cooperation and for strengthening the partnership between each of the two countries (Ukraine – Poland²⁴: the expansion and improvement of the regulative basis regarding the trade-economic and energy cooperation, search for common interests in the logistics and transport, solution to ecological problems, strengthening of cooperation in the spheres of cultural – humanitarian and youth policies, etc.; Ukraine – Slovakia²⁵: better use of

²¹ Ibid., 57.

²² Ibid., 58–59.

²³ Ibid., 69–96.

²⁴ Ibid., 73.

²⁵ Ibid., 79.

opportunities and instruments of cross-border cooperation; Ukraine – Hungary²⁶: a higher involvement of the local authorities, the trade and industrial chambers, etc., in increasing the volume investments at the territory of border oblasts, through the development of joint investment projects, search for new forms of entrepreneurship in common cross-border space, etc.; Ukraine – Romania²⁷: the consolidation of the level of investment cooperation).

The third chapter of the book – named “Cross-border cooperation in the context of socio-economic development of Ukrainian border oblasts”²⁸ – consists of four sub-chapters and is elaborated by Khrystyna Prytula, Olena Pasternak, Yuliya Tsybulska, Yaroslava Kalat, Olha Demedyuk and Oksana Tsisinka. The sub-chapter 3.1²⁹ presents the results of an expert survey of 91 local authorities’ representatives from 16 border oblasts of Ukraine, competent in cross-border cooperation development and analyses the current situation and the development tendencies of cross-border cooperation with the participation of the Ukrainian border regions³⁰. The objective of the study was, therefore, to examine the existing obstacles and to determine the necessary steps towards the activation of cross-border cooperation. Before presenting the survey’s result, the authors outline several peculiarities of the cross-border cooperation development in Ukraine: after the EU’s enlargements from 2004 and 2007, six border regions of Ukraine (Volynska, Lvivska, Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska and Odeska oblasts) have become objects of the EU’s regional policy, a situation that created additional possibilities for the border territories to use their development potential effectively³¹; the development of cross-border cooperation with other neighbouring countries – as Republic of Moldova and Belarus – is no less important; and, in the conditions of the economic crisis, the remoteness of border regions from the centres of concentration of investment and entrepreneurial activities and lack of financial resources on the local level, the cross-border cooperation is considered to acquire new value and content in the process of realization of the state’s regional policy. As a consequence, the authors appreciate that the main tasks of the cross-border cooperation in Ukraine are the development of border territories and the deepening of the Eurointegration process as, currently, the border regions of Ukraine significantly lag behind the other regions of the country by the level of their development. The answers offered by the respondents show that the majority of them evaluate the current cross-border cooperation development positively and the cross-border projects, the cross-border cooperation agreements and cross-border partnerships are considered the most effective forms for the development of the regions. As regards the level of cross-border cooperation development by types of the activities, it can be noticed the low level of the economic development, while higher that of education, health protection, art, sport and recreation³². The range of obstacles that substantially restrain the cross-border cooperation development are considered to be, mainly, the unstable political situation, low level of financial maintenance, inconsistency of legislation, overcentralization of decision-making and poor interest of foreign partners in cooperation,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 97–153.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 99–109.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

³² *Ibid.*, 101–102.

etc.³³ In the same time, the system of information exchange between Ukraine and its foreign partners is considered to be poorly adjusted, which impedes their effective interactions³⁴. The directions and primary steps to activate cross-border cooperation of institutional, legal, organizational, economic and financial nature are suggested³⁵.

The impact of the EU – Ukraine Association Agreement on the development of border oblasts is evaluated in sub-chapter 3.2.³⁶, on the basis of the results of an expert survey of local authorities' representatives on the socio-economic development of the border oblasts under the action of the Agreement. Therefore, the employees from the Cross-Border Cooperation Sector, SI „Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishnyi of NASU”, conducted the survey that targeted the representatives of the cities of republican and oblast significance (city council's officials) and regional state administrations' employees of the six border oblasts – Volynska, Lvivska, Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska and Odeska – meaning 288 experts – representatives of the 113 local authorities³⁷. The study covered issues as: current conditions of border territories' development, the Agreement's influence on the development of border territories and perspective directions of territorial development. The results point out, among others, that: the majority of the respondents (69%) consider that their district (city) shows positive development tendencies only in certain spheres; the types of economic activity seen as leading in their district (city) are: agriculture, forestry and fishery, wholesale and retail sale, wood and paper production and publishing activity, production of food, beverages, and tobacco, etc. (types of economic activity that are also considered to have benefited the most from the introduction of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area); the major factors considered as damaging to the socio-economic development of their territories are: high prices for credit resources, unstable political situation, low level of production infrastructure development; the influence of the Agreement on the development of relevant region (city) is seen as irrelevant by 50.7% of the respondents; the spheres most influenced by the Agreement are indicated as being: investment, foreign economy, economic spheres; the Agreement's advantages are, mainly: the growth of goods and service exports, improvement of the region (city) residents' activity level under Local Border Movement, growth of revenues to local budgets; or that more than 50% of the respondents believe that the legal differences between the EU member states and Ukraine are the major problem of the Ukrainian border regions' economic systems adaptation to the new conditions and rules provided by the Agreement, etc.³⁸.

As the functioning of the “shadow” sector is an integral component of any country's or region's economic system (according to different estimations, among 20–60% of Ukraine's economy is in “shadow”)³⁹, so that the nature of emergence of the shadow economy and the eliminations of its preconditions remain an important subject of scientific research, the authors evaluate, in sub-chapter 3.3.⁴⁰, the shadow economy's level in border regions. In this regard, the authors have used a method applicable at regional

³³ Ibid., 104.

³⁴ Ibid., 106–108.

³⁵ Ibid., 108–109.

³⁶ Ibid., 110–127.

³⁷ Ibid., 110.

³⁸ Ibid., 112–127.

³⁹ Ibid., 128.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 128–138.

level – “population’s expenditures – retail turnover” with which they calculated the level of the shadow economy for the six border regions (Volynska, Lvivska, Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska and Odeska) and Ukraine, in general⁴¹. In the researched period (2010–2016), data have showed that the level of shadow economy in the GRP of border oblasts is higher than in the country and that it can be observed a tendency towards the growth of the gap⁴². In the framework of the direct or macroeconomic approach, based on well-elaborated questionnaires and samples grounded on voluntary replies, the employees of the SI „Institute of Regional Research named after M.I. Dolishnyi of NASU” conducted the expert survey of the representatives of local authorities⁴³. The results have showed that: 49.64% of the respondents consider that the share of shadow economy is between 6–20%; among the reasons that lead to this situation are stated the high tax rates, the expansion of legal nihilism among population, the inefficient existing system of subsidies and benefits in Ukraine, etc.; or that the types of economic activity where the share of the shadow sector is the highest are: the wholesale and retail trade, agriculture, forestry and fishing, construction, hotel and restaurant businesses, etc.⁴⁴.

The sub-chapter 3.4 is dedicated to “The current realities of functioning of local border movement: Ukrainian – Polish border areas”⁴⁵, with the aim of evaluating the situation and the movement of individuals in the Ukrainian – Polish cross-border region and to define its impact on the socio-economic situation at cross-border territories. The authors argue their research option by the fact that Poland is not only Ukraine’s strategic, economic and political partner, but also a country at EU’s external border which, after Poland’s joining of Schengen area, the visa regimen was imposed to the Ukrainian residents and the barrier function of the state border increased⁴⁶. The Agreement on the Local Border Movement between Poland and Ukraine, from 2008, is considered to be the form of simplified border crossing for the residents of the two counties that live in the border areas. The research developed was based on two questionnaires applied directly at the border crossing points. The conducted analysis showed that: the provisions of the Local Border Movement facilitated the crossings of the border; the number of border crossings increased from 2009 to 2018; the crossing of the border is mostly related to the purchase of goods. In consequence, the authors formulate some recommendations, such as: to organize border trade at state and regional levels, at legislative level; to create cross-border logistics and trade centres, networks of wholesale trade and other specialized platforms directly oriented at deeper cooperation within the border trade; the centres should be created up to 30 km to the state border and have well-developed infrastructure; the centres should be located close to the border crossing points with the most intense movement of individuals and automobiles⁴⁷.

The fourth chapter of the Monograph – “Directions to intensify cross-border cooperation between Ukraine and EU member states”⁴⁸ – consists of two sub-chapters and it is the result of the work of Khrystyna Prytula, Olena Pasternak, Yaroslava Kalat and Olha Demedyuk. “The patterns of shadow economy functioning and instruments of EU

⁴¹ Ibid., 130.

⁴² Ibid., 132.

⁴³ Ibid., 133.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 133–138.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 130–153.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 130.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 152–153.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 155–183.

regional policy on stimulation of border territories' socio-economic development"⁴⁹ represents the topic of the sub-chapter 4.2. The authors consider the level of official economy development as the decisive indicator among the range of factors of shadow economy development (tax burden, social protection level, regulating activities, quality of social services, number of self-employed, etc.)⁵⁰, so the boosting of the socio-economic development of territories is an important direction of legalization of the economic processes. An important contribution in this direction had the European Commission through its Communication on Boosting Growth and Cohesion in EU Border Regions, from 2017, in which it suggested a range of new measures to boost border regions' development⁵¹. The authors present two major EU initiatives oriented at the development of border areas – The European Cross-Border Convention and “The Border Focal Point”, and they present extensively the functioning, advantages and roles of the European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTCs) for the development of the border regions, for bringing of the economic activity out of the “shadow”, but also for being an instrument of integration in a cross-border region⁵².

The sub-chapter 4.2 is dedicated to the perspective directions of potential realization of the cross-border development of Ukraine – EU cross-border space⁵³. The authors state that the European integration process of Ukraine, which became relevant with the signing of the EU – Ukraine Association Agreement, brings to the fore the development of the border regions that, generally, are less developed compared to the central regions due to their peripherality⁵⁴. As a consequence, in this sub-chapter, the authors outline the major directions of efficient use of cross-border cooperation capacity, as an important instrument of state regional policy implementation at border areas, as it follows: the enhancement of the institutional and legal development foundation of the cross-border regions of Ukraine; the forming of information background of cross-border cooperation development; the development of the network of trade and logistics centres in Ukrainian – Polish border areas; the development of different economic activities (agricultural processing, production of construction materials, pharmaceuticals, etc.); diversification and activation of foreign economic activity of the border regions with all neighbouring countries – EU members; or the participation in Euroregional cooperation⁵⁵. Therefore, in order to accomplish the efficient development of the Euroregional cooperation in Ukraine, the authors recommend: the further development of reforms and the bringing of its legislation closer to that of the EU; the continuation of the local government reform in Ukraine; the elaboration of a joint strategy of Euroregional cooperation development for each Euroregion, taking into account the strategic priorities of the European, national and regional levels; the creation of a Euroregional platform – a certain formal structure that connects all Euroregions the border areas of some country participate in, and represents them in the dialogue with the central executive, authorities; the official guarantee of financial assistance for the establishment and functioning of the EGTCs in Ukraine; and extensive information campaigns to acquaint the local authorities

⁴⁹ Ibid., 157–165.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 158.

⁵¹ Ibid., 158–159.

⁵² Ibid., 160–165.

⁵³ Ibid., 166–183.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 166.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 166–169.

and communities with the nature and advantages of these entities⁵⁶. The authors' conclusion is that "Ukraine should define the institutional forms of cross-border cooperation as one of the most perspective directions of regions' socio-economic development"⁵⁷.

As a conclusion, the Monograph represents a comprehensive approach of the cross-border cooperation of Ukraine with the EU Countries that covers, in a unitary whole, theoretical and legislative aspects, elaborated case studies or extensive research analyses. The team formed by young and senior researchers tackle the topic of research through different angles – entities, levels of interaction, regulation spheres, types of cooperation, institutionalization level, etc. – the past and current situation, the challenges and possibilities, with the aim of deriving the most grounded conclusions and recommendations for the efficient development of the cross-border cooperation of Ukraine with the EU Countries. For all these reasons, the volume represents a valuable instrument both for the public, private and NGOs actors of Ukraine, and for the academic research on the cross-border cooperation development, in general.

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⁵⁶ Ibid., 179–183.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 183.

The Integration of Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union on the Track of Public Administration Reforms

Anca OLTEAN

Review of: “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” edited by prof. dr. sc. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2, Special issue (2018). ISSN (print): 2537-3676, ISSN (online): 2601-1638.

Keywords: *Eastern neighbourhood, integration, EU, association agreements, Eastern Partnership.*

The special issue of the journal *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies*, “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership” is a scientific monograph that comprises papers of the leading specialists from Ukraine, Republic of Moldova and Georgia concerning the public administration reforms. After an introductory chapter, the monograph is divided in five sections: The European neighbourhood policy, development of public administration theories, local development as a factor for policy formulation for public administration, public administration and estimation of local development efficiency, and, last but not least, public administration: case for Ukraine.

The volume opens with the study of Mykola Popov and Ivan Komarovski, “The European Neighbourhood Policy”, the authors does not want to overestimate the impact of ENP on the public administration reforms in Eastern Partnership countries, however they notice a few evolutionary trends: these countries are guaranteeing social security and economic development to their citizens, try to implement public administration reforms, but they can not escape of Russian negative influences that hinder their perspectives of regional integration. In the same time, the concept of EU Enlargement, without being a promise, stimulate these countries to go on the line of reforms on the integrationist track.¹ The authors notice the necessity to pursue the expansionist strategy of European Union which is possible due to the globalization of markets. In these sense, EU is using its “normative force” in order to implement ENP and to create a “ring of friends” in the Eastern neighbourhood.² Countries like Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia are very important in this sense. “Normative force”, explain the authors, is not expansion because it is not implying a compulsory membership of these countries to European Union. The reasoning of EU in this region is to “export European values and norms to the neighbouring countries”, approaches that will contribute also to the stabilization of Eastern

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¹ Mykola Popov and Ivan Komarovskiy, “The European Neighbourhood Policy,” in “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” ed. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2 (2018): 18.

² *Ibid.*, 19.

neighbourhood.³ The authors try to evaluate the effectiveness of reforms carried out through Eastern Partnership. It is important to see the compliance of these reforms with the European standards. The authors assert that ENP is implemented in 16 countries, each of them with their normative force.⁴ There are also differences in implementing ENP in these countries, consider the authors. The authors consider that the European Neighbourhood Policy is a mechanism for reform in Eastern Europe, concluding that “As a result, the need for a significant amount of costs for participation in the ENP, but without the possibility of EU membership, leads to low motivation of national governments.”⁵ Because of this lack of perspective to be full members in the European Union in Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia reforms were “half-hearted” and their management inconsistent, considers the authors. In Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia consider the authors democratic institutions which to ensure free and fair elections were successfully adopted consider the authors. The authors consider that in these countries, of Eastern partnership “The degree of democratization of society and the effectiveness of reforms in these countries were and remain different.”⁶ The authors focus on the internal factors involved in the process of democratization and Europeanization in the countries signatories of Eastern Partnership that are: socio-economic, cultural, political, diffusion (distribution) of democracy, democracy-promotion.⁷ The authors identify three models of integration in the European Union: “model of external incentives” based on causality, “social learning model” based on relevance and “Lesson-Drawing model” implying the internalisation of EU norms and rules without focusing the ENP field.

The second part of the present volume is entitled “Development of Public Administration Theories” and it is written by L. Prykhodchenko, H. Panchenko, O. Lesyk, O. Dulina. At the basis of the reform of public administration in ENP countries should stay the neo-functional theory and the concept of democratic governance and public management. The authors focus later on “EU Approaches to the Public Administration Reform.” It is a need of continuing the reform of public administration systems, as point out the authors. The authors offer as pattern of development “The Westminster” model used in New Zealand and United Kingdom and, on the other hand, the “American” model of public administration reform. Then they analyse the concept of “new public management” used in UK, New Zealand, USA and Scandinavia starting with the mid-1980s bringing new innovative practices in management of public administration, implementing performance management, and claiming for a “new approach in Public Administration”. A new approach is necessary in the development of new public service, and a new approach in the reform of public administration, point out the authors⁸. This new public service identifies citizens’ interests who stay in the centre of administrative reform. The authors used a table to compare perspectives of the old public administration with the new public management and the new public service. The authors wanted to draw the picture of the sphere of public administration in Georgia starting with 2003 Rose

³ Ibid., 20.

⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁵ Ibid., 23.

⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸ L. Prykhodchenko et al., “Development of Public Administration Theories,” in “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” ed. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2, Special issue (2018): 56.

Revolution. The authors try to identify the patterns of evolution of the public administration in Georgia during the decade 2004–2014. In 2003, Georgia was intending to become “the cheapest and most attractive country for the business of the world economy” which initiated reforms in all sectors of the society and economy. The fight against corruption was a priority in Georgia, especially administrative corruption. The reformers who came to power in 2004 had to confront with an “empty treasury” and “incapacitated government”. A solution in order to make the reforms possible was the creation of a valid system of accountability of the government, public authorities, citizens and business activities. The reforms tried to minimize the communication between citizens and officials. In the implementation of reforms it was pursued to adjust the international experience to the local authorities. In 2011, it was adopted Georgian Organic Law on Economic Freedom that guaranteed the economic freedom of the citizens of Georgia.⁹ In 2014, Georgia adopted the Strategy for Socio-Economic Development, in force until 2020, and which pursued the sustainable development of the country and on June 27, 2014, the Georgian state signed the association agreement with EU. In 2016, EU allocated 30 million EUR to Georgia’s public administration support program.¹⁰ The authors conclude that the public administration system in Georgia improved because of the implementation of democratic governance, the adoption of elements of e-governance, because of the impetus of reforms sustained by EU.¹¹

Part III is entitled “Local development as a factor for policy formulation for public administration” and is written by M. Mykolaichuk, N. Zelinska, O. Holynska, and I. Parubchak. The authors state that decentralization is the ground for the implementation of reforms in Ukraine. In Ukraine took place consultations in order to establish the development agenda after 2015. They were identified priorities such as: the development of an integrated and equitable society, an efficient and honest government, a developed health care system, good conditions for work, an innovative model of economic development, the preservation of a healthy environment, good living conditions for the citizens of Ukraine and education of quality, development of infrastructure in order to harmonize regional disparities.¹² In the opinion of the authors, in Ukraine is necessary to manage financial results and resources on longue term and one of the main objectives of the country is “to ensure the self-sufficiency of the region in financing sustainable development.”¹³ In Ukraine, it prevailed a community-based approach to the local development project. This approach was developed in the framework of TACIS program. This community-based approach to local development project is developed in cooperation with the Ukrainian Ministry of Regional Development, Construction and Housing, together with regional state administrations and regional councils. Public administration tried in the EAP countries to maintain relevant standards in education, science domain and the citizen’s health domain. The regional approach in the public administration domain started to be implemented. The opinion of the authors is that “Consistent state policy in the humanitarian sphere is developed not only by state

⁹ Ibid., 62

¹⁰ Ibid., 64.

¹¹ Ibid., 90.

¹² M. Mykolaichuk et al., „Local Development as a Factor for Policy Formulation for Public Administration,” in “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” ed. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2, Special issue (2018): 103.

¹³ Ibid., 113.

authorities but also by many public organizations, mostly operating in the humanitarian field”¹⁴ They plead for the idea of self-government practice in leading the public administration of a state where preserving and saving financial resources is a must. Speaking about the public associations, the authors think that the difference relies in their nature (peculiarities of functioning, their object of activity, etc.). In the opinion of the authors, it is necessary to have a prudent management at the regional level, but by implementing self-management. The authors conclude that “Involving individuals in the activities of civil society structures creates a basis for deployment of the transformation process at the stage of the establishment of democracy and enables the formation of a democratic administrative culture at the level of society as a whole.”¹⁵

Part 4 is entitled “Public administration and estimation of local development efficiency” and is written by O. Holynska, A. Krupnyk, O. Lesyk and N. Pirozhenko. The study is based on the analysis of national and European publications on the topic of the effectiveness of integrationist processes at the local level in the process of continuous research. This study intends to provide an analysis of the effectiveness of neo-liberal reforms in the context of European integration, it was considered the level of deliberation in public administration at local level in the countries of Eastern European partnership. In the same time it was analysed the role of cross-sectorial cooperation between public authorities and civil society organizations. The countries concerned are the countries of Eastern Partnership, such as Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova and Byelorussia. Then the authors focus on the situation of Ukraine in the context in which social inequalities increases and the income of the population decreases than in comparison with 1989. The authors speak about the necessity of overcoming inequality. The reform of public administration will solve the issue of inequality in what concerns the access to opportunities. As a conclusion to this chapter the authors state: “The analysis of quantitative indicators and indicators of effectiveness of public-managerial transformations in the latest history of the European community showed that all the countries of the Eastern Partnership during the neo-liberal reforms of the late twentieth century experienced significant political, economic, and social constraints. But in the post-Soviet and post-socialist countries, the consequences of these reforms have seen a tangible and painful gap, which manifests itself in the negative dynamics of incomes and in the deterioration of access to opportunities for their filling’.”¹⁶

Part 5 is entitled “Public Administration: Case for Ukraine” and it is written by O. Holynska, L. Prykhodchenko, V. Holynsky. The authors define the purpose of their research which is to build an effective integration model in the Ukrainian public administration system. New issues arise in Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova such as “the separation of policies from (of) public service and the removal of opportunities for political influence in the process of public servants.” In these countries there are oligarchical groups of interests in the process of decision-making. ENP tools will lead to institutional changes, is the opinion of the authors. The concept of “normative force”, considers the author is used in countries of the Eastern Partnership, mainly in Moldova

¹⁴ Ibid., 143.

¹⁵ Ibid., 146.

¹⁶ O. Holynska et al. “Public Administration and Estimation of Local Development Efficiency,” in “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” ed. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2, Special issue (2018): 208.

and Georgia.¹⁷ The conclusion of the authors is that “Evaluation of reforms in Ukraine shows great progress, but implementation should speed up to achieve full results”.¹⁸ In the final remarks the authors underline that the internal corruption in Ukraine threatens to destroy the system of public administration from the interior. Civil society should have more influence in the process of governance, both at local and central level of governance. The authors point out privatization in Ukraine is a double-edged sword for the system of public administration.

This collection of studies was composed of research studies of the specialists from Ukraine, Republic of Moldova and Georgia in the context of Eastern Partnership and of the association agreement with the European Union. It brings in front of the readers new aspects of relation between EU and the states from its Eastern neighbourhood.

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¹⁷ O. Holynska, L. Prykhodchenko, and V. Holynsky. “Public Administration: Case for Ukraine,” in “Public Administration and Practice of Local Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” ed. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2, Special issue (2018): 215.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Development in the Countries of Eastern Partnership,” edited by prof. dr. sc. Liudmyla Prykhodchenko, *Cross-Border Journal for International Studies* (Galați: Galați University Press) 3, no. 2, Special issue (2018): 50–93.

EU Views from Caucasus

*Dianna MLHAMYAN**

Book review of *Georgian Journal for European Studies*, Institute for European Studies of Ivane Javakhashvilli Tbilisi State University, N 1, Tbilisi 2015, N 2-3, Tbilisi 2018, N 4-5, Tbilisi 2018-2019: Ivane Javakhashvilli Tbilisi State University Press. ISSN 2346-7827

The “Georgian Journal for European Studies” is the first bilingual scientific Georgian journal for European Studies. It was published by the Institute for European Studies after the successful implementation of the European Union's grant project “Establishment of Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program in European Studies at Ivane Javakhashvilli Tbilisi State University.” The journal focuses on political, demographic, identical, educational, environmental, economic, etc. issues that are important for grasping the relations not only between the European Union and Georgia but also for the Caucasus region generally. Some papers are discussing doubtful questions and the challenges the region has now.

Regarding some political issues, we have a paper of Tamar Kochoradze “The Challenges of the EU's Policy of Non-recognition and Engagement,” where the author speaks about the situation in the Abkhazia region and Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia after Russia-Georgian war of 2008. She mentions that after this war the relations between Georgia and the European Union became closer and it led to a new policy that the EU started concerning this region. The author pays attention to such aspects as the EU's engagement policy which concerns not only humanitarian and primary aid but also to some investments in such fields as economy, infrastructure, rehabilitation, etc. In the last part of the paper one can read about the EU's policy on granting visas to inhabitants of Abkhazia region and Tskhinvali region/ South Ossetia as this may also increase the sympathy towards the EU.

In several articles, Meri Maghlakelidze touches such problems as the EU enlargement process, relations with Western Balkans, Eastern European countries and the tactics that in one hand the EU and on the other hand these countries use. The EU enlargement process is a work-in-progress, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and at the end of the Cold War there where a chance for the European Union to reunite with its Eastern part, it's wills and the desires of these countries about having new institutional model, political and economic transformations less susceptible and risky, coincided.

European Union considered being a place where every member country has favourable conditions for flourishing, developing its economy, having a safer political and social atmosphere, that is why many countries from and near to this region want to be the member of this Union. But the relations between these countries and the European Union differ from each other. Concerning the Visegrad States (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia) the European Union has special attitude, as Gilbert notes (2012.184) “Budapest,

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Prague and Warsaw were great bastions of European civilization [...] and it was impossible for the EU countries to turn their backs on their cousins east of the Elbe River.”

What concerns Western Balkans, here the EU in return for the efforts of some countries made free access to the Union’s market for almost all goods, lifted requirements for citizens from Serbia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro (since 2009), and Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina (since 2010). As the author of the article Meri Maghlakelidze can notice there are several similarities that the EU applied concerning the countries of CEE and the Western Balkans. As enlargement brings new borders, it leads to forming Eastern Partnership from six countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine), under European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which was established in 2004 and started framework with 16 of the EU’s closest neighbours – Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, and Ukraine. But because of cultural, political, economic differences, many member countries could not find the proper way to cooperate with Arab countries, that is how come out an idea of establishing EaP. As Meri Maghlakelidze analyses the process of Europeanisation differs from country to country. From EaP member countries Georgia and Ukraine seem to be the most enthusiastic about the European Union, showing their eagerness to be the part of this „family”. For its part, the EU provides substantial financial assistance and puts its sign mainly in the modernization of the border agencies transforming them into the law-enforcement organ.

Explaining the Sectoral Integration in the European Union on the Example of the emergency management service of Georgia is the central theme of S. Kvinikhidze’s and T. Mtchedlidze’s article. In their article on this example, they show one of the ways by which the Europeanisation can be held. As the authors notice it will promote introduction of European standards and regulations in civil protection field as well as ensure membership of Georgia in Union Civil Protection Mechanism in future. One of the indicators of cooperation with the EU is a European education model that is highly on practice in Georgia. As we can read in the article of Nino Lapiashvili the EU Commission with Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University established the interfaculty Institute for European Studies, which can help to spread European values in Georgia and make qualified specialists who can use their knowledge not only in the territory of Georgia, but also outside. In addition, it can also be an impulse for Armenia and Azerbaijan to think about such opportunities not only for their integration in the EU, but also for their future generation.

The last topic on which we pay our attention is the problem of national identity in the South Caucasian region (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia). As the author, Irakli Megrelishvili may notice, three nations living in this region have absolutely different understandings of national identity, which is the result of the historical background that they have left behind. There are hundreds of roots that can prove the difference between these three nations, starting from their religion to their languages, even their political ambitions are dissimilar that is why it’s nonsensical to speak about one unite-regional identity.

In conclusion, due to the successful cooperation of the EU and TSU one can read both in Georgian and in English about some important issues related to the South Caucasus region and the EU relations, about their ambitions, visions of the future and possible changes.

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