

Euroregions and Cross Border Areas in South-East Europe: Defining an effective model for the area

Comparative analysis between Bulgaria, Albania and FYROM

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACIT - Albanian Centre for Competitiveness and International Trade

AEBR – Association of European Border Regions

APEC - Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation

BHC – Border Health Commission

CBC – Cross Border Cooperation

CBR – Cross Border Region

COMIP – Comisión Mixta Administradora del Río Paraná (Argentina / Paraguay)

CoR – Council of Europe

CRC- Convention on the Rights of the Child

DPA - Democratic Party of Albanians

DUI - Democratic Union for Integration

ECHR - European Convention of Human Rights

ECRML - European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

EGTC - European Group of Territorial Cooperation

EMDE - Emerging Market and Developing Economies

ENPI - European Neighbourhood Policy Instrument

EU – European Union

FCNM - Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

FYROM - Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GERB - Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria

ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

ICESCR - International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

IGO - International Government Organization

IMF - International Monetary Fund

IMIR - International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations

INGO - International Non Government Organization

INSTAT – Republika e Shqiperise, Instituti Statistikes

IPA - Instrument Pre-Accession

IPA CBC – Instrument Pre-Accession, Cross-Border Cooperation

IR - International Relations

IRTUCs - Inter-regional Trade Union Councils

LACE - Linkage, Assistance and Cooperation for the European Border

MLG – Multi Level governance

MNC - Multi National Corporations

MRF- Movement for Rights and Freedoms

MSSD - Most Similar System Design

NAFTA - North American Free Trade Agreement

NGO – Non Government Organization

NUTS - Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics

PDIU - Albanian Party for Justice, Integration and Unity

QCA - Qualitative Comparative Approach

csQCA – crisp-set Qualitative Comparative Approach

fsQCA – fuzzy-set Qualitative Comparative Approach

RCC - Regional Cooperation Council

SME - Small and Medium Enterprises

TEU - Treaty on European Union

UN – United Nations

URC - Urban Rural Consulting

USAID - US Agency of International Development

VMRO-DPMNE - Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity

СДЦМ - Social Democratic Union of Macedonia

WWII – Second World War

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INTRODUCTION

Cross-border areas and cross-border regions (CBRs) or Euroregions, are a worldwide phenomenon that can be found in different areas. Only in Europe there are more than 180 Euroregions and cross-border cooperation areas active in all the EU members and candidate states (AEBR 2011). The first Euroregional entity - under the name of “Euroregio” - was formalized in the 50s in Europe, on the Dutch-German border. The European Commission defines the CBC as cooperation in contiguous border territories established between local authorities, which aims “to reduce the negative effects of borders as administrative, legal and physical barriers, tackle common problems and exploit untapped potential. Through joint management of programmes and projects, mutual trust and understanding are strengthened and the cooperation process is enhanced” (EU Commission). The CBC involves direct neighbourly cooperation in all areas related to territorial development, between regional and local authorities along the border.

The subject of cross-border cooperation is vast and can lead to initiatives aiming at encouraging entrepreneurship, especially in tourism, culture and cross-border trade; improving joint management of natural resources and protection of the environment; supporting links between urban and rural areas; improving access to transport and communication networks; developing joint use of infrastructure; equal opportunities at work; etc.

Euroregions are defined as administrative-territorial structures intended to promote cross-border cooperation between neighbouring local or regional authorities of different countries located along shared state borders (Lepik 2009). Thus, they are an advanced form of CBC which represents “a more or less institutionalized collaboration between contiguous subnational authorities across national borders” (Perkmann 2003, 2007). Euroregions can be described as: 1) geographical: Euroregion is a territory having a specific geographical position; 2) political: part of the territory is under different legislative authorities of sovereign states, which have common border; 3) administrative: bordering local authorities of states which have common border create a Euroregion; 4) functional: Euroregion is a form of transborder cooperation (Otocan 2010).

The academic and also empirical relevance of CBC - and consequently of cross-border areas and Euroregions – has been documented and has become evident in light of the following elements: 1) CBC and its structures, i.e. institutions and local authorities involved in CBC activities, are changing the significance and the role of borders, from barrier to bridge, from a site of conflict to a site of cooperation; 2) they are linked to the larger phenomena of globalization and regionalism which are re-territorializing new figures of political power, potentially undermining the Westphalian order and shaping a Multi Level Governance (MLG); 3) they are shaping new forms of international relations associated with the local administrative level; 4) in South-East Europe in particular, they have a symbolic value as spatial metaphors that suggest bridge-building and peaceful border change, promoting socio-economic development, security and stability.

Cross Border Cooperation

A Global Issue

Within this context, CBC represents a worldwide phenomenon. It draws an innovative vision, which allows neighbouring countries to share the management and definition of policies on transborder issues. In this sense it can have different aims: as security instrument to control borders from terrorists or irregular migrants; to support trade and economic development; to implement specific planning such as transportation, environmental, educational, tourist, cultural or health projects.

The Georgia Basin-Puget Sound, for example, a cross-border region in the western area between Canada and United States (it includes the major cities of Vancouver, Seattle, Victoria and Olympia, British Columbia CA, and Washington State US) has structured dynamic economic, maritime and tourist cross-border relationships. Moreover, this cross-border area in 2002 has implemented a relevant “International Airshed Strategy” to protect the environment with a common plan capable of sharing trans-frontier information and priorities. The United States-Mexico Border Region, defined as the area of land that stretches approximately for 2.000 miles from the southern tip of Texas to California (it includes four US border states and six Mexican border states), with a total population estimated approximately of 13 million, has concentrated the border

activities on its health challenges creating a Border Health Commission (BHC) in 2000. The BHC intends to solve border health problems of the two countries “providing necessary leadership to develop coordinated and bilateral actions that will improve the health of border residents and eliminate health disparities through an effort that focuses attention on regional health issues” (BHC 2000). In Latin America, as reported by the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR 2010), there are good examples of CBC. The “Comisión Mixta Administradora del Río Paraná” (COMIP), for instance, corresponds to a binational Joint Commission of River Paraná which aims to promote the integration of rural communities along the river on both sides (the Argentinean provinces of Misiones and Corrientes, and six departments in Paraguay). In addition, the “Cross-border route of Jesuit missions” established between Paraguay and Argentina, aims to create and manage a new transnational tourist route, in order to develop a lucrative worldwide tourist product. In Asia, too, there are forms of cross-border cooperation established along the lines of economic development and infrastructure. This is the case of Southern China and Hong Kong (Chan 1998), and of Thailand and the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The latter cooperation led to the construction of a new bridge between the Mukdahan Province TH and Savannakhet Province LAO (Warr, Menon, Yusuf 2009).

More CBC structured forms are registered as the case of “Cascadia” between USA and Canada, San Diego-Tijuana between USA and Mexico, and the Sijori Growth Triangle between Singapore, Johor (Malaysia) and the Riau Islands (Indonesia).

The European Issue

In Europe, the formation of cross-border areas and Euroregions is in an advanced stage. The collapse of the Soviet Union, the realization of the European single market and the dismantling of EU-internal borders, with the signing of the Schengen Treaty and the shifting of EU-internal borders right up to the European Union's external borders, have supported the rise of a myriad of transborder activities. Nowadays, the cross-border cooperation represents a priority economic instrument for the European Union to integrate and harmonize the socio-economic living standards within its borders and to maintain the security with the neighbouring countries. Main instruments used by the EU to reach such aims are the Regional policy, with the Interreg (since 1990) – today with the Cross Border Cooperation dimension of the European Territorial cooperation - and

the External and Foreign Affairs policy, with, for example, the use of IPA and ENPI EU aid instruments.

Primarily, cross-border cooperation is an integral part of the Regional policy of the EU. It is considered vital in the combination of economic growth and regional development. The CBC aims to facilitate the autonomy of local governments and the economic and social growth of various peripheral regions of Europe. The marginal position in relation to the decision-making centre, in fact, puts border areas in political and economic disadvantage (Weyand 1996). The CBC draws its strength in supporting local activities of daily actions useful to citizens in cultural, economic, social, educational fields. The operational strategy of these European policies is thus to increase the trust and interdependence among bordering European regions in order to ensure development, stability and security. The total budget of European Regional policy for the period 2007-2013 is equal to 347 billion euro. This policy is implemented by using three funds: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) - 201 billion euro, the European Social Fund (ESF) - 76 billion euro, and the Cohesion Fund (CF) - 70 billion euro. It is divided in three different objectives: Convergence, Regional competitiveness and employment, and European territorial cooperation. Starting from 2007, the European Regional policy corresponds to the largest item of the EU budget, having overtaken the expenses on CAP (Common Agricultural Policy). In this way, the loans granted to the regions of Europe become the most consistent form of direct action for the Union, and probably also the largest source of visibility of the EU strategy in the area (Scavo 2006). This perspective, strongly related to the principle of subsidiarity¹, corresponding to the European multi-level governance - defined in Article 5 of the Treaty on European Union - is confirmed by the proposed budget 2014-2020 where the European Commission has allocated 376 billion euro for the Regional policy (European Commission 2011). Specifically, with regard to the European Territorial Cooperation objective, which includes cross-border / transnational / interregional cooperation programmes, the budget grows from 8.7 for the period 2007-2013 to 11.7 billion euro for the period 2014-2020 going from the 2.5% to the 3.1% of the overall budget allocated by the EU for European Regional policy.

¹ For further information see the EU glossary:

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm

As mentioned above, the CBC is also a relevant instrument in the Foreign Affairs of the EU, used in the Enlargement and the Neighbourhood policies which follow the European strategies of the Stability Pact for South-East Europe (replaced by the Regional Cooperation Council -RCC- in February 2008), the Eastern Partnership (2009), the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, formerly known as the Barcelona Process, (re-launched in 2008), and the Black Sea Synergy (2008). One of the main objectives of the Enlargement policy is to support the multi-level governance of candidate states encouraging structural reforms needed to reach European socio-economic standards. The Committee of the Regions of the EU (COR/10/35, 2010) expresses the importance for the candidate countries to strengthen the quality of local authorities, as their maturity for the EU membership will depend on the administrative capacity of local and regional bodies. Commissioner Füle, who is in charge for the EU Enlargement policy, stated that “the creation of a system of subsidiary and quality of public administration at all levels is a fundamental prerequisite for entry into the EU. Local and regional authorities must be prepared to meet the obligations of membership. Only in this way the new Member States will be able to benefit fully from the opportunities offered by EU membership”. The Enlargement policy is implemented by different instruments, like IPA (Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance) which is dedicated to the Balkan area (Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, FYROM, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey) and TAIEX (Technical Assistance and Information Exchange) which helps partner countries become acquainted with, apply and enforce EU law, and monitor their progress in doing so. Considering the Neighbourhood policy, the main programme implemented by the EU is ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument) which is aimed at Eastern Europe, the Southern Caucasus and Southern Mediterranean countries. ENPI includes 3 regional programmes, 15 cross-border cooperation programmes and 5 thematic programmes. An Inter-regional Programme (IRP) has also been established to support the ENPI southern and eastern regions. The total budget of ENPI is 11.1 billion euro under the EU's 2007-2013 financial framework. Both IPA and ENPI utilize the local CBC approach financing the so called IPA CBC Programmes and ENPI CBC Med Programmes.

The Research Puzzle

In this general context, the CBC and its different forms represent a consolidated form of European integration, but in South-East Europe it seems to be still too weak or unexploited, and academically under investigated. The research question on which the thesis is based is: *How can a good model of a cross-border cooperation structure be defined in terms of its “policy entrepreneurship” in South-East Europe?* The research, therefore, illustrating the peculiarities of the area, makes an attempt at defining a cross-border area model for South-East Europe, where the dynamism of CBC tends to contribute to the regional socio-economic development.

Specifically, the study carried out through a comparative research design, using the QCA (Qualitative Comparative Approach) method, analyses 9 different cases of border areas in South-East Europe, 3 cases for each separate country: Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). The QCA represents a systematic comparative analysis which keeps the main strengths of the qualitative and quantitative approach supplemented by a comparison of a different number of cases and the identification of causal regularities within the whole set of conditions analysed (Rihoux 2003). To investigate the peculiarities of CBC in South-East Europe, the author re-conceptualizes and implements the well-known Perkmann’s (2007) theory on “policy entrepreneurship” approach of Euroregions, which considers Euroregions “autonomous organisations capable to attract policy tasks and resources” (Perkmann 2007). Thus, the research adopts Perkmann’s work to the cross-border areas in South-East Europe, evaluating their unique geopolitical and historical context, and adding two original independent variables: “diversity management” and “ideological compatibility”, in order to measure their specific multicultural/ethnic and political factors.

Conceptual Framework and Research Innovation

The research, therefore, starting from Perkmann’s (2007) theory on “policy entrepreneurship”, tries to investigate the transborder activities in the context of South-East Europe. Perkmann’s argument is based on a comparative case-study analysis of three Euroregions: Euregio (Germany-the Netherlands), Viadrina (Poland-Germany), and the Tyrol Euroregion (Austria-Italy). He employs the concept of policy entrepreneurship as an analytical lens for capturing variation. This concept provides a tool to measure the degree to which Euroregions represent actual actors able to shape

their environment, and also their ability to establish themselves as autonomous organisations. In particular, Perkmann operationalises the analysis using, at first, three main variables internal to the context of the Euroregions (Cross-border region organization; Resource base; Cross-border cooperation appropriation) and, secondly, one external factor which takes into account the national institutional environment, showing how the administrative setting in different EU member states affects the ability of Euroregions to engage in policy entrepreneurship. Perkmann concludes his article by affirming that across the three case-studies there are considerably different variations and that in any case, independently to their successful degree of policy entrepreneurship, Euroregions and their relative dimensions in terms of organisational size and resources are still too small to be considered new territorial entities. In his research, Perkmann defines Euregio (Germany-the Netherlands) as a “model” of European CBR for its ability to exploit windows of opportunity related to the cross-border theme, and build organisational competence in cross-border policies. He explains this by affirming that Euregio “emerged as a result of the successful bottom-up mobilisation of municipalities on the Dutch-German border, led by an entrepreneurial secretariat, and has asserted itself as a legitimate cross-border development agency in its local context across the Dutch-German border” (Perkmann 2007). Considering that South-East Europe hosts both member and non-member states of the EU, and that unsolved historical issues still cause turmoil in many parts of the region, the interesting theoretical framework of Perkmann cannot be utilized *in toto*.

As Perkmann makes it clear, the “policy entrepreneurs are characterised as actors who position themselves as protagonists within specific policy areas by taking advantage of windows of opportunity opened up by conjunctures within their policy environment”. Referring to Majone and Tame (1996); Mintrom and Vergari (1996), he asserts that “they are constantly searching for possible problems for which they can offer a solution”; “They do this to increase the influence of their organisational unit”. Thus, it is clear that Perkmann’s argumentation confirms that in order to function well as “policy entrepreneurs” - to create and develop a durable and autonomous organisation - Euroregions have to maximize their advantages, orientating their organisation choices on the basis of their opportunities and contexts.

The author, grounding his assumption on a rational point of view within the school of liberalism framework and aware of the differences between Western and South-Eastern border areas, will implement Perkmann's theoretical framework. To find a valid "model" of a border area applicable to South-East Europe, and thus measure the result of a successful bottom-up mobilisation of local actors as in the case of Euroregion in Western European countries, this research will implement the three main variables used by Perkmann combined with two other criteria: Diversity Management and Ideological Compatibility. The first crucial criterion of *diversity management* takes into account the advantages and weaknesses of a border context where minority and majority concepts could be more or less marked or vague. In other words, a rational and controlled exploitation of a multi-ethnic environment with specific local skills could be deemed as a CBC asset or, conversely, could be perceived as an unsafe situation. To work with a neighbour who can speak the same language, for example, could be a supportive form of implementing more cross-border activities, but at the same time, it could be seen as a precarious circumstance in terms of national security. Using Putman's concept of social capital, Grix and Knowles (2002) state that Euroregions are "social capital maximizers" because they develop the level of trust relations between people. Both in that sense, and in the sense of "building capacity" and the "Standortfaktor" of Malloy (2007, 2010), the study of this variable verifies the role – with its opportunities and limitations - of ethnic minorities inside cross-border areas of South-East Europe. The second new criterion, that of *ideological compatibility*, is related to the political inclination of two or more administrations involved in the cross-border area. In that sense, it investigates the political propensity toward the CBC at local and national level. At the local level, depending on the political colour of both local governments, the cooperation and consequently the organizational efficiency of CBC could be easier or more difficult. At the national level, the historical and international relations between the two neighbour countries could positively or negatively alter the corresponding CBC activities in the border areas. Thus, for example, the EastWest Institute (2009) has declared that the unsolved name dispute between Greece and FYROM affects the low propensity of the border areas to develop CBC activities. This political factor is particularly relevant in a region where the different democracies are still in the process of consolidation and

where strong animosities and mutual accusations among parties limit the possibilities for cooperation (Idea 2007).

Casing and Case Selection

The casing of the research, hence the unit of analysis, is referred to a cross-border area, in particular to the comparison of 9 local bordering authorities, or municipalities, located in South-East Europe. This choice is dependent on the current situation of the borderlands in South-East Europe, on their general low level of CBC, and the few established transborder Euroregional structures. Even if Euroregions can be classified in different categories on the basis of their dimension (Perkmann 2003; Gasparini 2003a), their scope (Gasparini 2003a) and their organizational and legal status (working community, entities ad hoc, etc.), and that since 2006, a recognized European form of cross-border cooperation called EGTC (European Group of Territorial Cooperation)² has been formally recognised by the EU, in South-East Europe there are mainly intensive cross-border areas and few formal Euroregions. In Albania and FYROM, in fact, there are no formalized Euroregions, while in Bulgaria even if there are a dozen, more often than not, they are only on paper. Thus, the research uses the QCA to compare 9 municipalities located in border areas, characterized by intensive CBC activities according to the AEBR (2011). In South-East Europe, in particular in Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM, municipalities correspond to the only local political level with a direct election of the people (not to a mere statistical and institutional division such as regions or districts). Moreover, municipalities are also the administrative bodies capable of establishing possible future new Euroregional entities in South-East Europe, being Euroregions administrative-territorial structures intended to promote cross-border cooperation between neighbouring local or regional authorities of different countries located along shared state borders (Lepik 2009). Moreover, the institutionalization process of a Euroregion usually includes the following steps: 1) the border areas (two or more) through the local authorities generate new associations under the national law, public or private, depending on where they are located; 2) these new associations stipulate a common agreement of cross-border cooperation with their bordering

² For the first time, EGTC grants a European legal status to transborder entities. EGTC was set up by the EU in 2006 - Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006, based on Article 175 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

partners; the agreement is generally based on three elements: equal representation of the governing body (called Council or Committee), financial contributions of the associations to a common budget and a joint secretariat; 3) in case that the agreement is governed by public law, which allows the participant authorities to transfer skills and responsibilities to the Euroregional entity, the structure has the ability to coordinate European cross-border projects. Thus, when a prolonged CBC between two bordering municipalities gains intensive activism and mutual understanding, it could over time lead to the formation of a new institutional Euroregional entity.

The case selection, hence the selection criterion of the 9 municipalities, is based on three discrete steps: firstly the research selects all major intensive cross-border areas and Euroregions present in South-East Europe on the basis of the map-census realized by the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR 2011); secondly, these cases are analysed with reference to Gasparini and Perkmann's classifications of the Euroregions (2000; 2003); finally, the cases are selected on the basis of their geographical position, trying to cover the whole bordering territory examined by the research (AL, BG, FYROM).

The research will deal with Multiple cases – Most Similar System Design (MSSD) – because all of the cases selected are part of a homogeneous area, i.e. South-East Europe: Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia. As outlined above, these countries share similar characteristics such as: centralisation of the administrative system, similar level of socio-economic development, new trend towards a global market economy, ethnic issues, increased of the emigration exodus to the Western countries, urbanization trends, crisis of the political legitimacy and an ongoing democracy consolidation process, corruption of the political system. The research employs synchronic analysis, so the time is considered an absolute moment rooted in the present data and situation. Using QCA, the study evaluates, with a crisp set analysis (dichotomy – binary code), the mentioned independent variables and their normative and analytical indicators: Organization; Resource base; CBC appropriation; Diversity management; Ideological compatibility; plus EU membership and CBC History as external factors. The data were collected between 2012 and the first half of 2013. The conceptual framework of the research scheme is grounded on the liberalism school of thought of International

Relations, paying particular attention to the socio-economic development of the border area. The measured outcomes are the number of CBC projects activated by each municipality. These outcomes are used to measure the efficiency and effectiveness of the analysed CBC areas. Nevertheless, this measurement outlines a conceptual limit in providing an automatic link between the socio-economic development and the numbers of CBC projects activated. The research, which will not draw on specific economic and social statistics, in fact, can only offer a study of the propensity or a tendency towards socio-economic development of a border area with a local authority capable to work in a dynamic CBC environment. The main expectation of the research is rather to shape a well-functioning border area within a municipality-model, able to maximize its policy entrepreneurship and capable of exploiting its local features, specifically considered in the South-East European context.

Even if some features of Balkan history that have remained consistent will still hinder this long path, the participation and the exploitation of cross-border areas seem to be the winning card for the development of South East countries.

Main contribution of the research

The issue of CBC and its different forms have been studied using two main concepts: border and (multi level) governance. The two concepts are independent and interrelated at the same time. Due to the economic globalisation phenomena and the historical events that took place in the last century, the concept of border and governance have changed radically. Hence, within the framework of CBC, borders have evolved towards a sense of “permeability” or “fluidity” (Donnan and Wilson 1999; Douglass 1998; Ratti and Reichman 1993), while governance has moved towards a new multi or overlapping structure of different forms of regionalism and reterritorialization of power. Focusing more on the latter dimension, the research analysed the cross-border cooperation which occurs in a context of bargaining relationships, where the EU's system of governance itself extends beyond EU space. Thus, the whole gamut of global, European, national and local dimensions interact to produce a complex mosaic of relationships ruled by multi-level governance. This means that the different institutions that interact are relevant on different levels (Hansen & Serin 2010). Therefore, to analyse the large and intertwined dimensions of cross-border cooperation and cross-

border regions, the research establishes its theoretical framework on the international relations theories pointing out different interpretations and peculiarities of this concept.

Although different theoretical areas have been analysed under the IR theories, there are still some research gaps to be studied or better investigated (see chapter I for more details). The literature on CBC, in fact, has studied the relations between Euroregions / Cross-border structures and the national states or the EU, but it has not specifically focused on the position and role of the local authorities involved in CBC. Moreover, there is no literature focusing on either the local political factor or on the bilateral political relations of the different bordering local authorities. To address this specific gap, the research tries to examine the tasks and effectiveness of the 9 selected bordering municipalities in South-East Europe within their frameworks and territorial features.

To sum it up, the main objectives of the research are the following: 1) to examine the CBC in South-East Europe; 2) to investigate and compare the level of “policy entrepreneurship” of the 9 cases of cross-border areas selected; and 3) to fill in the existing research gap on the involvement of local authorities in CBC activities in South-East Europe.

The innovative contribution of the thesis is based on three further points: 1) it has a comparative perspective, that has been used only by few scholars (Perkmann 2007); 2) it posits theoretically two new variables: diversity management and ideological compatibility, paying attention to multicultural environment and minority-majority relations within border regions in South-East Europe and the political inclination of the local administrations involved in CBC activities, that are both still unexplored subjects of analysis (McCall 1998; Malloy 2010); 3) it tests the policy entrepreneurship of the CBC approach in South-East Europe trying to define an efficient and effective model of border area capable of increasing its socio-economic standard. Moreover, this work could stimulate a further investigation of the current management and local governance in CBC in South-East Europe, by being applied to other similar regions, both inside and outside Europe.

Thesis Structure

After a definition of the main concepts related to CBC and a theoretical overview grounded in International Relations in the first chapter, the author shows the new conceptualization of CBC structures and Euroregions in South-East Europe in the second chapter. Later, the research design is structured in two further steps: as a first step - chapter 3 - the populations of all 9 cases, with their corresponding countries (AL, BG, FYROM), are illustrated by their features and variables, mapping as well all the relevant data corresponding to their CBC activities. Secondly, in chapter 4, the comparison of the collected data is carried out through the QCA, measuring the level of cooperation and the equivalent degree of policy entrepreneurship of the different border areas present in South-East Europe. This last chapter brings the main points of the previous sections to a series of conclusions, combining the data and trying to define a good “model” of cross-border cooperation area applicable to South-East Europe. Finally, in the conclusion the research will outline the results explaining two levels of “policy entrepreneurship” and the lower CBC dynamism of bordering areas in South-East Europe.

CHAPTER I - Euroregions, CBC structures and Cross Border Cooperation: a literature review grounded on the IR theories

As mentioned in the introduction, by implementing Perkmann's theory on policy entrepreneurship, the purpose of this research is to analyse the functioning (in terms of policy entrepreneurship) of active cross-border areas in South-East Europe, taking into consideration the influence of the political ideology of the local authorities leaders and the role of the minorities living in the border area as fundamental factors for their future development. Specifically, using the distinction stated by Goldmann (1996) related to the different purposes of international relations, this research has a positive purpose, firstly motivated by intra-academic concerns (type II), as it aims to provide a new analytical framework for the study of CBC in South-East Europe, and secondly, more in the long run, it is motivated by extra-academic concerns (type I), as it aims to define a model of cross-border cooperation in South-East Europe.

Given the complexity of the concepts related to the research question, it is important to introduce the theoretical framework that will be used in the thesis to conceptualize and identify the main features of the research that was carried out. The intricacy of the research subject at hand requires in fact a clarification of the main concepts used and their interconnection. The theoretical background will therefore help in defining and better understanding the concepts opted for in a comprehensive way.

The cross-border cooperation will be analysed by referring to two main correlated concepts: border and (multi level) governance. The investigation of these two theoretical concepts will lend support to their application in the analysis of the case studies (see chapter III).

The analysis of the existing literature on cross-border cooperation shows large evidence that cross border dynamics cannot be fully understood solely on the basis of a border-focused approach limited to the interaction between local actors. It is important to expand the analysis and to address also the existing influences from other political arenas beyond the cross-border, assuming that the interrelations between these political arenas exert strong influence on the cross border institution building processes, being factors that both stimulate and restrict the political activities of the CBC. Cross-border cooperation and all its forms are in fact also based on intrastate relations, with direct

influence between vertical intergovernmental relations and horizontal cross border cooperation (Blatter 1997). CBC deals moreover with challenges that have strong transnational implications and that constitute global concerns, such as migration, environment, human rights, democracy, trade and economic development, and security. A recourse to the International Relations theories will therefore provide a more articulated and broader framework for such analysis, allowing to adopt a comprehensive approach on the interrelations among the different political levels involved in CBC (vertical and horizontal): European, national, local, and inter-regional levels. The complete structure of the theoretical framework – analysed in the first and second chapters - can be presented schematically as follows:

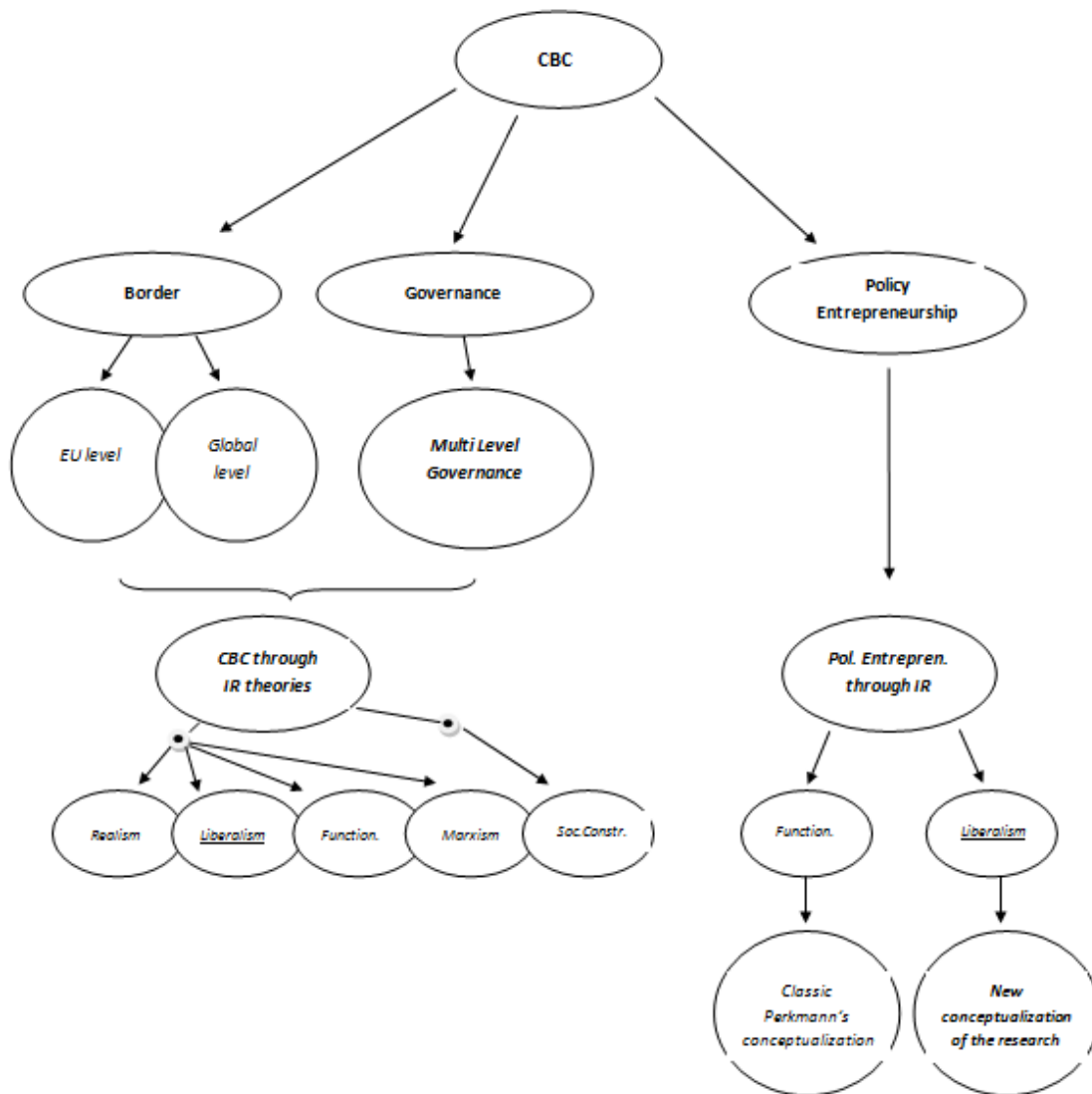


Figure 1.1 – Conceptual tree (Own elaboration)

This first chapter will be divided as follows: first, a major overview of Cross Border Cooperation, its formation and its dynamics will be provided; second, the main concepts of Border and Governance will be presented and analysed; third, the main theoretical framework of International Relations will be established and presented in the light of two key questions supporting the topic under research. The study of the concept policy entrepreneurship – focus of the research – is concentrated on in chapter II.

1.1 The Formation process

In order to introduce the theoretical framework and the relevance of the various paradigms of IR, it is essential to define in greater detail the concept of CBC and its formation process.

As stated in the introduction, the European Commission describes CBC as cooperation in contiguous border territories established between local authorities, which aims “to reduce the negative effects of borders as administrative, legal and physical barriers, tackle common problems and exploit untapped potential. Through joint management of programmes and projects, mutual trust and understanding are strengthened and the cooperation process is enhanced”. Similarly the Association of European Border Regions -AEBR- (a non-governmental organization founded in 1971 that today unites more than 180 border regions located on the internal and external frontiers of the EU) states that the goal of CBC is “to develop cooperative structures, procedures and instruments that facilitate the removal of obstacles and foster the elimination of divisive factors. The ultimate objective is to transcend borders and reduce their significance to that of mere administrative boundaries” (AEBR 2008).

The understanding gained by the definition and tasks of CBC and its institutionalized forms has been reached through an important historical formation process. This process has seen a top-down supranational evolution due to a strategy carried out by the European Union and the Council of Europe and a bottom-up subnational evolution due to the day-to-day work of cross-border areas.

1.1.1 The Strategy on CBC carried out by the European Union and the Council of Europe

Historically, the Council of Europe was the first international authority that offered a legislation to recognize the informal transnational agreement that came into existence in the 1950s among European local authorities. The European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, also referred to as the “Madrid Convention”, of 1980 and its Additional Protocols (1995, 1998 and 2009) represent the landmark of CBC in Europe. Furthermore, the final document of the European Conference of Vienna dedicated to the cross-border cooperation, promoted by the Council of Europe in 1993, declares for the first time that “the creation of a tolerant and prosperous Europe does not depend only on the cooperation between states, but it is based also on the cross-border cooperation between local and regional authorities, within the respect of the Constitution of each state involved”. In the EU framework the regional issue emerges with the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992. The document establishes the Committee of Regions (art.198 A-C) and explicitly refers to “Economic and Social Cohesion” (Ch.5). From this moment, there has been a growing “Europeanization” of local and regional governments as they are recruited as “partners” into various EU policy fields (Goldsmith 1993; Balme 1996). Through the Regional Policy, the main concepts used by the EU to spread the Euroregional sense among Europeans are subsidiarity and partnership (AEBR 2000). As far as CBC is concerned, the first principle translates into a formal acknowledgement of the role of the cross-border cooperation entities in comparison with the regional and local ones; while the second principle concerns the dynamics leading in the relations between CBC actor-members (horizontal partnership) and between the CBC and Euroregional structures with the regional, national and community levels (vertical partnership). In the management of these vertical relations (with the EU, the state, the region, etc.), the CBC and Euroregional structures ought to have a function of complementarity rather than competition with the other administrative levels. Although the principles of CBC have become consolidated since the 1950s, it was only recently that the EU approved a truly formal legislation that supports the cross-border cooperation between subnational authorities, the EGTC (2006). Concerning the operative aspect of CBC, the EU has had a fundamental role since the beginning of Interreg (1990). In fact, during the recent years, different policies were developed

involving the concept of CBC: the Regional Policy, the Enlargement policy, and the Neighbourhood Policy. Basically, the first policy aims to homogenize the economic development among the European regions ultimately aiming at a major economic growth and a safer social stability, the second is meant to facilitate and support the accession of new states to the EU and the third - to ensure and consolidate the security around the EU borders. All the three policies have a specific programme, which allows member states, candidates and external states to implement CBC activities by receiving financial support. Respectively, the programmes of the three policies are: Interreg (existing since 1990 and today known commonly as the European Territorial Cooperation objective, the largest programme in terms of budget); bilateral IPA (Instrument Pre-Accession) CBC Operational Programmes; ENPI (European neighbourhood policy instrument) CBC. In particular, Perkmann (2003b) notes that, due to the Interreg programme, there has been a boom of Euroregional bodies since 1990. The author demonstrates this quantitatively; in fact, he points out that from 26 initiatives in 1988, when the European Commission launched its first pilot projects on CBC, the number of Euroregions almost tripled to more than 70 in 1999. In addition, in the same analysis Perkmann observes that the EU financial support impacted also in qualitative terms since different Euroregional bodies followed the standard way of institutionalization. This is the case of Austria where the majority of Länder, involved in several Working Communities in the 1970s, changed and institutionalized their cooperation in formal Euroregions (ibidem). Thus, according to Perkmann's study, the strong rise of the number of Euroregions depends a lot on the impact of supranational policy-making, notably EU regional policy, on European CBC.

1.1.2 Euroregions as an institutionalized form of CBC

The evolution and the increasing of CBC activities in cross-border areas can consolidate a CBC structure and originate a formal Euroregion. Euroregions are in fact defined as one of the most institutionalized form of CBC, while CBC structures can correspond to the organized and dynamic internal offices of local bordering authorities that carry out CBC activities. Thus, normally, at a particular stage of CBC, two or more local bordering authorities with their CBC structures tend to formalize their cooperation status. This process of institutionalization usually requires three key steps: a) the local authorities of a single border area constitute an association under their own national

law; b) these associations of two or more states adopt a CBC agreement, regularly founded on a common Executive Council (or Executive Committee), a common budget and a common secretary general; c) if the CBC agreement is recognized by public law, the transfrontier entity has also the eligibility to coordinate European projects (Gasparini 2003a). A CBC agreement could be established under public law only if there are intra-state treaties that allow it. In order to overcome this situation, the EU has recently created a new legal framework, the so-called EGTC - European grouping of territorial cooperation (2006), to recognize the Euroregional organizations and the others forms of institutionalized CBC (e.g. "Working groups") in all the member states. According to the statistics of the Committee of the Regions published in 2012, the European territory counts 28 EGTC, none was registered on the Balkans and in the countries analysed in this research: Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM. For this reason the research does not analyse any EGTC.

Most of the literature focuses mostly on Euroregions and less on CBC structures. Euroregions are defined as administrative-territorial organizations - more or less institutionalized - which intend to promote cross-border cooperation between neighbouring local or regional authorities of different countries located along shared state borders (Perkmann 2003 and 2007; Lepik 2009). Euroregions have these four main characteristics: 1) geographical - Euroregion is a territory which has a particular geographical position; 2) political whereby a part of this territory is under different legislative authority of sovereign states, having common border; 3) administrative whereby bordering local authorities of states having a common border create a Euroregion; and 4) functional - being Euroregion a form of transborder cooperation (Otocan 2010).

The aim of Euroregions and of CBC structures can be linked to the socio-economic development of a certain border area and also to the consolidation of the democracy spreading values such as peace, human rights, tolerance, etc. Euroregion is therefore *"the cooperation between the public administrative structures beneath the national level and among the different groups of citizens across the border furthers peace, freedom, security, and the guarantee of human rights. Border regions are therefore the building blocks and bridges for the European integration process (Euroregion Neisse 1996)"*. For Gasparini (2003c) Euroregions are "a boost to the institutional autonomy of cross-

border areas, aiming to enhance cooperation and create development in areas that otherwise would be destined to be marginal and artificially kept out of the possibility of ensuring a good quality of living for those people who inhabit these territories”.

Each CBC structure or Euroregion decides and establishes its own objectives and activities, which for the most part are closely related to their local necessities and to those established by the European regional policy.

The geographical dimension of a cross-border area and, consequently, the CBC activity-scale of CBC structures and Euroregions are typically determined by the socio-economic integration level of the administrative bodies involved in the CBC. The dimension can generally cover a size equal to NUTS II (länder, regions, counties, etc.), NUTS III or smaller (municipalities, provinces, districts, etc.).

The all formalized and consolidated Euroregions have a permanent body, they have their own discrete identity which is kept separate from their members, they use their own financial, technical, administrative resources, and they have their own internal decision-making procedures. Even if some Euroregions exist only on paper (as it is the case for many CBC areas of South-East Europe), these specific characteristics distinguish them from CBC structures or normal cross-border areas, which are based on single and *ad hoc* CBC activities. Anyway, in the case of a formalized Euroregion, the new administrative organs do not constitute a new level of government; they are more of an exchange point for all the existing actors of the public and private sectors.

A more detailed definition of all the characteristics of a consolidated and formalized Euroregion is summarized below (Euroregion criteria - AEBR/LACE - 1999).

Organisation

- Amalgamation of regional and local authorities from both sides of the national border, sometimes with a parliamentary assembly;
- Cross-border organisations with a permanent secretariat and experts and administrative staff;
- Established according to private law based on national associations or foundations from both sides of the border according to the respective public law;
- Established according to public law based on international treaties that regulate also the membership of regional authorities.

Working Method

- Development and strategically oriented cooperation, no measures based on individual cases;
- Always cross-border-oriented, not as a national border region;
- No new administrative level;
- Hub for cross-border relations; citizens, politicians, institutions, economy, social partners, organisers of cultural events, etc;
- Balancing between different structures and powers on both sides of the border and with regard to psychological issues;
- Partnership cooperation, vertically (European, governmental, regional, local) as well as horizontally beyond the border;
- Implementation of cross-border decisions at national level and according to procedures applicable on both sides of the border (avoidance of competence and structural power conflicts);
- Cross-border participation of citizens, institutions and social partners in programmes, projects and decision-making processes;
- Direct initiatives and the use of own resources as preconditions for help and support of third parties.

Content of cross-border cooperation

- Definition of fields of action according to joint interests (e.g. infrastructure, economy, culture);
- Cooperation in all walks of life: living, work, leisure time, culture, etc;
- Equal emphasis on social-cultural cooperation and on economic-infrastructure cooperation;
- Implementation of treaties and agreements concluded at European level between countries to achieve cross-border practice;
- Advice, assistance and coordination of cross-border cooperation, particularly in the following fields:
 - Economic development;
 - Transport and traffic;
 - Regional development;
 - Environmental protection
 - tourism and leisure;
 - agricultural development;
 - innovation and technology transfer;
 - schools and education;

- and nature conservation;
- Culture and sports;
- Health affairs;
- Disaster prevention;
- Waste disposal.
- social cooperation;
- emergency services
- public security;
- Energy;

The more a cross-border area is cooperating, the more it will be integrated and cohesive and it will benefit in terms of development and stability. This higher integration could also lead to new territorialisation, making the state-centric system more flexible and offering a chance to these peripheral areas to acquire a new central socio-economic role (Del Bianco 2005; Gasparini 2003a, 2003b; Knippschild 2011). Primarily, by developing institutional capacity and establishing specific collaborations among the cooperating partners through rational spatial planning, CBC structures and Euroregions could guarantee the best exploitation of their own territorial assets. Strong border areas could also play an important role in supporting territorial cohesion in the context of the Lisbon Treaty and the Territorial Agenda of the EU (Knippschild 2011). On the Balkans, in particular, where borders are the scary remains of history, the expansion of CBC structures and Euroregions could guarantee political stability and economic growth, avoiding the excessive ethnicization of social relations.

1.2 The main related theoretical concepts

1.2.1 Border

In the formation of CBC primary interest is given to a debate focused on the concept of “border” and its changing perspectives. Borders have in fact always been central to social science analysis. They are analysed as geographical and social unities, as spaces socially built on distinguished zones. Inside these zones relations are shaped. Pioneers in the study of the role of borders are Cole, Wolf (1974) and Sahlins (1989) who explain the relevance of borders as being instrumental in the construction and expression of identity. Thus, the physical presence of a border is translated also in a mental and habitual border, which permeates among the citizens and the people inhabiting the borderland. Within the CBC, therefore, the borders become a new context of integration and a continuous re-configuration in terms of social, economic and

institutional relations. Borders assume an active role in the creation of meanings and practices (Paasi 2001). They are recognized as “meaning-making and meaning-carrying entities, parts of cultural landscapes which often transcend the physical limits of the state and defy the power of state institutions” (Donnan and Wilson 1994:4).

In the framework of CBC, state borders acquire the features of “porosity”, “permeability” or “fluidity” and “ambiguity” (Donnan and Wilson 1999; Douglass 1998; Ratti and Reichman 1993), contributing to creating a new gradual autochthonous sense.

“Borders die and rise again, they move, they cancel and reappear unexpectedly. They mark the experience, the language, the living space, the body with his health and his illness, the psyche with its divisions and its readjustments, the policy with its often absurd cartography, the “I” with the plurality of its fragments and their tiring shifts, the society with its divisions, the economy with its invasions and its withdrawals, the thought with its maps of order” (Magris 1991).

1.2.1.1 The European Issue

In Europe there are more than 10 thousands kilometres of borders and around 500 thousands square kilometres of border areas where more than 50 million people live. In particular, the “degree of bordering” can be calculated considering the extension of the overall boundary lines or the percentage of the area occupied by border areas with respect to the total territory of a state. Without considering the micro-states of Europe, Liechtenstein, San Marino, the Vatican City, Andorra, and Monaco, the highest percentage of the “degree of bordering”, about 75%, belongs to the smaller European countries: Luxembourg, Slovenia, Moldova, Switzerland, and Belgium. On the contrary, the lowest percentage, less than 10% of the state territory, belongs to the larger states such as Russia, Denmark, Spain and Greece or to islands such as Iceland, UK, Ireland, (Bufon 1998).

Historically, for hundreds of years, Europe has been divided by borders. Many wars have marked the political, economic and social geography of people. The literature of boundaries is, in fact, often associated with a change of these borders and the resolution of conflicts (see Diez, Stetter & Albert, 2003; Anderson, O'Dowd & Wilson 2003a, 2003b; Wilson & Donnan, 1998; Anderson 1996). The long history of state

formation through nationalism and imperialism has occasionally designed and redesigned the boundaries of both the states in Europe and worldwide. In particular, the wars of the first half of the twentieth century have often divided territories and ethnic groups that still belonged to the same group. Europe, having been the cradle of nationalist thinking, is today the continent with the most pronounced political division of territory, therefore, as stated above, with the highest “degree of bordering” (Bufon, 1998: 127). Europe has 50 independent sovereign states and hosts 143 diverse languages (Haarmann 2011). Pat and Pfeil (2003) in addition have counted 330 different European ethnic groups. Apart from few small states, most of the European countries are home to ethnic and national minorities. The minority population in the continent is approximated by 75 million people of the whole - 10.29 percent of Europe’s total population (Pat and Pfeil 2003).

Today, the increase of cross-border cooperation and the striking proliferation of Euroregions and cross-border structures along the external EU borders in Central and Eastern Europe in the 90s, has led to the definition of a multi-level governance, where borders serve as resources for local actors, as places of economic and political opportunity (Wilson and Donnan 1998). Borders acquire a meaning of “bridge”, in terms of mobility and fluidity. Ratti and Reichman (1993) state that, at present, cross-border areas and Euroregions are reversing the meaning of borders: from exclusion to inclusion, they are new forms of contacts, institutional and economic hinges. Del Bianco (2005) and O'Dowd - McCall (2006) in their case studies argue that cross-border cooperation acts as “glue” in history. Del Bianco asserts that the close cooperation in the northern Adriatic between Gorizia and Goriska helped mend the divisions of history imposed by the Iron Curtain, while O'Dowd and McCall (2006), in their article on the delicate situation of Northern Ireland, highlight the key role of cross-border cooperation in the promotion of peace and reconciliation. They define the CBC as essential in “caging” the ethnic and religious conflict in Northern Ireland. Thus, cross-border cooperation is a complex process that is activated when the population of a given borderland and its institutions perceive the border not only as a sign of division, but also of union, sharing problems between the two sides (Del Bianco 2006). In cross-border cooperation, therefore, the border becomes not only the context of integration of diversity, but also tangible and intangible resources, the utility of which is subject to a

continuous reconfiguration in terms of social, economic and institutional territorial level. The border then takes an active role in the creation of meaning in discourses and practices (Paasi 2001). When referred to Cross-border Cooperation, the significance of borders acquires major importance, due to their complex, and often contradictory nature. Perkmann and Sum (2002) by distinguishing “open-borders” from “persisting-borders” affirm that the first lead to the erosion of boundaries towards a political and economic homogenization, while, the latter, operate in a selective opening only in certain areas of interest, thus, the border area will tend to remain uneven.

1.2.1.2 The Global Issue

Cross-border cooperation and Euroregional structures ground their roots in the current global rescaling and in the regionalism progression which day by day are changing the geographic dimension of economy, as the social, cultural and political processes within all levels of global, national and local power. This phenomenon is re-shaping the governance and the institutionalization of the territory (Scott 2000a; 2001a; Perkmann and Sum 2002). Conceptually, globalization emerges, then, as a vehicle and analytical tool used to describe the organizational change of the new global and local political-economic system. Swyngedouw (2010) justifies this process as a result of the capillary movement of capital, mobilized by a myriad of actors, which produces a continuous geographical mapping of new combinations of layers, nodes and links, which are interconnected in networks, flows of money, information, goods and people. Castells (1996) points out that with globalization the "space of flows" has passed the "space of places". Within the processes of globalization and territorial rescaling, regionalism becomes more and more crucial, being the process that leads to the formation of new political entities/regional economies, both at the supranational level through macro-areas, e.g. EU, NAFTA, APEC, and at the sub-national level through micro regions, cross-border areas and Euroregions. The evolution of this new rescaling is seen from two diverse perspectives: top-down (Jessop 2002; Sparke 2002a, 2002b) and bottom-up (Johnson 2009; Kramsch 2003; O'Dowd 2002; Scott 2000b). Respectively, the first perceives regionalism through the prism of supranational regionalism, thus, taking into account the role of the European Union, whereas the second includes reterritorialization as innovative force generated by local actors

(subnational), in the form of regional political and economic mobilization (Keating 1998), to better compete within the new global economic context.

1.2.2 Governance

The increased cooperation across national borders raised additional questions about the role played by governance in territorial cooperation.

It is important to make a distinction between the traditional notion of '*government*' characteristic to the nation-state, and the broader concept of '*governance*', which initially was mostly used to describe the political system of the EU and then also became to be used in the context of European regions and cross-border regions.

O'Brien defines Governance as a "broad concept encompassing activities, institutions and influences that are not just part of legal or sovereign powers. When related to International affairs, Governance proves that the old distinction between what is foreign and what is domestic has been largely extinguished" (O'Brien 2007). Le Galès defines '*governance*' as the "coordination of public and private actors, institutions and social groups in an unstable and fragmented environment for the purpose of achieving collectively set goals" (Le Galès 1998).

Euroregions or cross-border entities are good examples of governance, being based on the multiple-actor networks consisting of governmental, economic and cultural agents with overlapping interests.

In this sense, governance is a key aspect of the cross-border region as it involves its social construction, being "not only a set of practices played out upon a particular regional setting", but also "constitutive of '*the regional*' as a field of action and knowledge" (Häkli 2004).

The cross-border area, being the space where governance takes place, is therefore itself a product of governance, where cross-border identities and purposes are being negotiated and contested by multiple actors and where the state power is being challenged both from below and from above.

1.2.2.1 Multi Level Governance

Within this framework cross-border cooperation requires a degree of subnational autonomy as well as the complex governance mechanisms that include subnational,

national and supranational actors, in other words, multi-level governance (MLG) mechanisms.

Released in 2009, the Committee of the Regions (CoR) White Paper on Multi Level Governance draws upon the idea of shared responsibility in the implementation of the European integration policy, in which several levels of authority are involved. The White Paper defines MLG as “an inherently dynamic concept that crosses several analytical boundaries or ‘gates’: namely, the gates between centre and periphery, between the domestic and the international, and between state and society.”

In the context of the European Integration Process and the European Regional Policy, implementing MLG can be conceived as a necessity. Following Marks and Hooghe's interpretation “governance must operate at multiple scales in order to capture variations in the territorial reach of policy externalities. Because externalities arising from the provision of public goods vary immensely – from planet-wide in the case of global warming to local in the case of many city services – so should the scale of governance. To internalise externalities, governance must be multilevel.” (Marks and Hooghe 2004). MLG represents therefore fundamental changes in contemporary rule. It in fact suggests that “structural transformations are taking place in contemporary European states under the impact of the process of European integration” (Piattoni 2010).

The vertical and horizontal nature of MLG underpins new forms of engagement in both directions and between levels: the vertical dimension, defined as "above" and "below" the nation state, is interconnected to the horizontal dynamics of complex governance, where state and non-state actors meet in new forms of public-private partnerships.

The MLG dynamics are particularly complex when it comes to local players' autonomy. They often suffer massive pressure from the national level and are obliged to operate within set national objectives. Cross border cooperation can provide however to local and regional actors a framework within which they can challenge the gate-keeping capacity of the central states, through the creation of horizontal networks established to implement common policies (Klatt and Herrmann 2011; Piattoni 2010).

In the European context, the MLG based systems allow the local and regional players not only to carry out coordinated actions with a stronger and shared leadership, but also to frame their own objectives within the larger strategies of the European

Union. As described in the White Paper, the CoR considers “multilevel governance to mean coordinated action by the European Union, the Member States and local and regional authorities, based on partnership and aimed at drawing up and implementing EU policies. [...] Multilevel governance is not simply a question of translating European or national objectives into the local or regional action, but must also be understood as a process for integrating the objectives of local and regional authorities within the strategies of the European Union”.

Cross border Cooperation therefore occurs in a context of bargaining relationships, where the EU's system of governance itself extends beyond EU space. The European internal and external borders do not constitute any more a closed frontier and CBC has a vital role in supporting their interaction with the global context. The global, the European, the national and the local dimensions interact to produce a complex mosaic of relationships ruled by MLG. This means that the different institutions are relevant on different levels (Hansen & Serin 2010) and that, in particular at the nation-state border, institutions from all the levels of governance interact. Actors, trying to engage in CBC actions, are entrenched in multi-level architectures, the latter influencing their level, and, therefore, also influencing the evolution of the other levels.

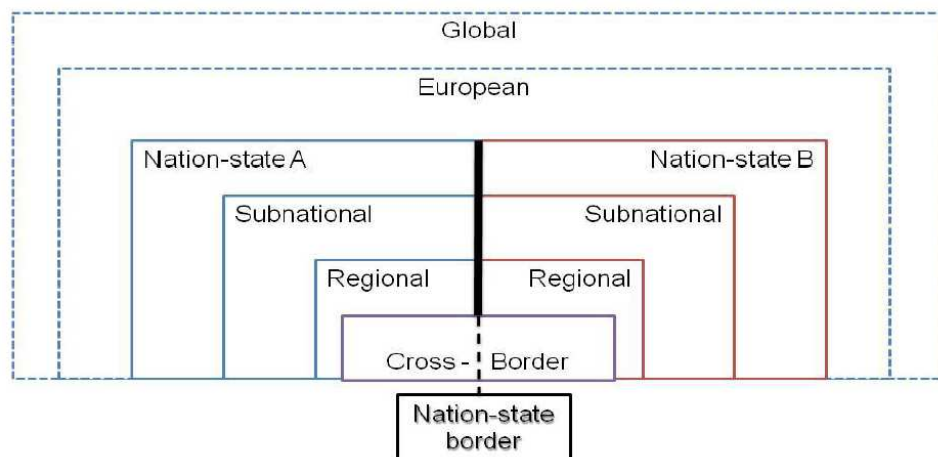


Figure 1.2 - Van Den Broek J. & Smulders H. (2013), Paper RSA European Conference, Tampere 2013

Cross border cooperation has to be therefore analysed within this larger framework, where international relations play a crucial role.

1.3 The literature on CBC and Euroregions interpreted with the IR theories

The subject of cross-border cooperation is vast and numerous in its main aspects. It involves the local, national, regional and global level; it deals with the political, socio-economic, legal and security prospective of both the single states and the European Union as a whole; it addresses the sensitive relations between states and their territory; and it is strictly linked to the concepts of globalization, regionalism, EU integration, border, and governance.

Therefore, given the multitude of international challenges related to CBC, it is useful to widen the scope adopted in order to define the CBC activities and investigate their implications beyond the borders.

In order to disentangle this complex scheme the international relations theories will be used as analytical framework. The international relations theories that traditionally have studied the states as unique single unit of analysis, today embrace a wider range of significant actors – Governments, Societies, Intergovernmental Organizations – which influence and interact on the international arena (Keohane and Nye 1972). As is known, the IR theories are principally subdivided in two groups, positivistic and postpositivistic. The paradigms belonging to first group are: realism and neorealism; liberalism and neoliberalism; marxism and neomarxism (neomarxism can be configured also as part of a postpositivist approach, but for continuity's sake it will be placed after marxism); functionalism and neofunctionalism. The main paradigm which belongs to the second group is social-constructivism. The two groups are distinguished because the positivists focus more on the interests (rational choice oriented) of the different international actors, while the postpositivists - on their normative reasons (value oriented). To synthesize the main concepts for each paradigm and to utilize a shorter form, in the text below, the various paradigms are indicated only by the matrix name of the schools they belong to (realism, liberalism, etc.), not singling out the single different theories of each (realism, neorealism, intergovernamentalism...). Thus, after a brief history of the evolution of the international relations theories explaining the relevance of this discipline on the study of CBC and Euroregions, this chapter tries to analyse the concept of CBC and specifically the most important forms of CBC structures and Euroregions by answering two main questions: **What are the driving forces of CBC and consequently of CBC structures and Euroregions? How**

are CBC structures and Euroregions working? The first question concerns the formation of CBC, trying to underline the motivations and the elements that have generated the rise of CBC networks in Europe and worldwide. Conversely, the second question focuses more on the inner dynamics of CBC structures and Euroregions, i.e. on the governance and the institutional capacity that guarantee to a higher degree a well-organized and structured CBC. The first element has been studied in a somewhat different perspective by few researchers while the second one remains more of a rare specificity, not really present in the literature that is reviewed here as a potentially influential variable for the analysis of South-East Europe countries.

1.3.1 The evolution of the International Relations

In the last decades the international relations have significantly changed with the progressive evolution/erosion of national sovereignty. The changes have influenced the functioning of the political and socio-cultural structures at the global, national and local level. Within the local level new interests and new major autonomies came into existence through the recognition of specific sovereignties. New significant actors have developed their interests, carrying out activities with transnational impacts. Particularly, in Europe, the regions and the local entities represent new groups of interests on the international arena. The cross-border cooperation and all the inter-regional activities symbolize a new form of international relations. In particular Stocchiero (2007) distinguishes such new forms of relations through 3 different transnational networks:

- networks of organizations and movements of the civil society: in addition to the traditional local activities, social and cultural, they create new relations with other transfrontier organizations;
- networks of local authorities: in addition to the inter-regional and cross-border cooperation, they establish new forms of political and managerial entities such as Euroregions, CBC structures, EGTC;
- networks of the economic systems: they include the economic-institutional world such as Chamber of Commerce; Industrial Group of Interest, etc., the enterprise-network such as multinational company, distribution companies, and banks.

Before answering the two main questions set in the literature review, the evolution of international relations needs to be analysed to underline the main steps which have brought the CBRs to become active actors in European and international politics.

As is known, the academic study of international relations as a subject area of its own was first formulated in UK with the creation of the first academic chair of Alfred Zimmern in 1919 at the College University of Wales. As has already been mentioned, the discipline, which has been strongly developed in US after the IIWW, concentrated on the inter-statal relations (Kalevi 1977; Scartezzini, Rosa 1994) assuming as international model international anarchy (Lijphart 1974). This prospective was due to a close meaning of nation and society which were considered as inseparable elements of the state that, over the time tried to homogenize the political unit with its socio and cultural unit. The three elements - state, nation, and society - could not always unify and in some cases the latter aimed at different and opposite objectives (Scartezzini 2004). These statual dynamics/tensions had a constant evolution that sometimes from an internal perspective reflected on the international arena; this was the case of Eastern Europe (the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo)

In the 70s the study of international relations broadened its view affirming the relevance of new significant actors, so all the individuals or autonomous organizations which control resources and participate in international politics with other actors through the border of a state; these actors are not necessarily simply States (Keohane and Nye 1989). The inter-statal as well as the transnational relations acquired interlinked relevance (Keohane and Nye 1972):

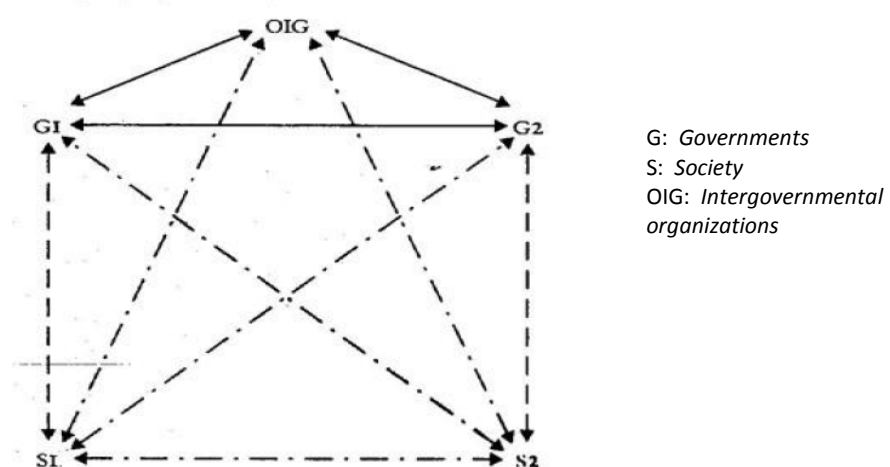


Figure 1.3 – International and transnational relations - Keohane and Nye (1972)

The continuing line symbolizes the inter-state relations, the dotted line symbolizes the internal politics and the point line symbolizes the transnational relations.

Thus, by looking at the figure above, it is possible to notice that international relations involve inter-statal and transnational activities whereby several forms of powers and actors interact with each other. For this reason the study of international relations can be seen closer to other human sciences such as anthropology, psychology, political science, sociology, etc. (Scartezzini 2000). Social, economic and political factors are therefore more and more intertwined shaping together new complex phenomena. In a certain sense the states have been mixing their elements - state, nation, society - on the international arena. For instance, this is particularly true when taking into consideration the European Union and the different regionalism forms where sovereignties, economies and citizens are shared and exchanged. The states still have a predominant role, but other actors are moving in and interacting within the international scheme. On one hand, this evolution of international relation is due to the globalisation process and, on the other, to the devolution process of the statual power toward the local level (Scartezzini 2004) which - as mentioned in the paragraph above - have supported the creation of a multi-level governance. The fragmentation of the IR has therefore underlined in some cases the weakness of the States and at the same time has stressed the new role of the regions (Keating 1998), also defined as new regionalism. Specifically, in the EU, the regions and the local entities have acquired new political and economic space which allows them to interact with the states and to face the current global challenges. Within the EU the State loses its unique role of a controller and mediator in its regions (*ibidem*).

Hence, the global era and the complexity of international relations – keeping in mind the schemes of Van Den Broek and Smulders (Figure 1.2) and of Keohane and Nye (Figure 1.3) – suggest the use of the framework of IR theories to analyse the literature on CBC and the Euroregions, which represent new actors on the international arena. The latter is increasingly composed by a multi-level set of powers and not any more by the single national sovereignties of States. Moreover, for the study of South-East Europe, where the collective identity and the ethnic tensions still play an important role in the national-building process of the countries, the choice of IR theories will also allow the author to have a more complete scheme studying the phenomena of CBC and

the Euroregions while keeping an accurate evaluation of the state interests and the global dynamics, the latter being a driving force of these new forms of international relations. Finally, as already explained above, to respect the existing studies on CBC and the Euroregions which reflect the new vision of multi-level governance - matryoshka where the same CBC and the Euroregions act, the two questions set in the literature review of the thesis will touch on two different levels of analysis: macro and micro one. Thus, the first analysis (Question: What are the driving forces of CBC and consequently of CBC structures and the Euroregions?) will have a wider approach, a macro-level analysis of political and economic cooperation, taking into account also the global and national level, whereas the second one (Question: How are CBC structures and the Euroregions working?) will use a sharper lens studying the local environment, the practices of cross-border cooperation, the functioning of its specific actions and the role of CBC on the International Relations arena. Answering the second question, which forms the core of the thesis, special attention will be paid to the mainstream literature, which touches upon the relevance of the new elements established in this research: diversity management, with specific attention to ethnic minorities, and the ideological compatibility in the context of transfrontier areas. The literature review therefore embraces the analysis suggested by Blatter (1997), addressing the vertical and horizontal inter-relations between the local, national and international levels of CBC.

1.3.2 First Question: What are the driving forces of CBC and consequently of CBC structures and the Euroregions?

1.3.2.1 Realism and Neorealism: CBC as a state strategic choice

Realism explains that CBC policies are just a strategic choice of single states to achieve their own goal. Some scholars describe that states develop CBC and Euroregional structures to go along with the EU wishes and facilitate their entrance. Gabriel Popescu (2006; 2008) states, indeed, that the will of Eastern countries to enter the EU could freeze past rancour. In a dedicated article - "The conflicting logics of cross-border reterritorialization: Geopolitics of Euroregions in Eastern Europe" - Popescu (2008) studies the key role of states in the formation of a Euroregion between

Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine. Pointing out the relevance of the historical heritage of this borderland, where frontiers have often changed and numerous minorities have moved, the author underlines the government's will on CBC quoting Ilies (2004): "The view of national governments is less about Euroregions becoming integrated territorial units of social life and more about using them as a framework to address the limitations of Westphalian territoriality." The reason that the Ukrainian and Romanian national leaders included additional administrative units in the territorial make-up of the Euroregions was to prevent the ethnic make-up of these Euroregions from becoming "too Romanian" or "too Hungarian". Yet he asserts "the establishment of Euroregions across the borderlands of Romania, Ukraine, and Moldova resembled more a national strategy for political and economic development than a grassroots demand, in a localized context, for overcoming constrictive nation-state borders in order to create novel spaces of living capable of better fulfilling the aspirations of borderland citizens". Mikenberg, too, while reviewing the case of the Baltic countries' bordering on Russia, agrees with this analysis declaring that Latvia and, in particular, Estonia, the latter because of its large Russian minority will stimulate "more the CBC when they will be inside the NATO and the EU, so safeguard and protect" (Mikenberg 2005). In this sense, the realism concept of security is a priority, where minorities represent a key issue for the national choices.

Liikanen and Virtanen (2006), while analysing the border area between Finland and Russia, notice that both national actors have their own precise goals in CBC: Russia wants to increase the economic growth in the area, Finland strives to establish new cooperation to assure a more stable frontier. According to their interpretation of the transfrontier relations of the area, a larger role of the EU and its neighbourhood policy in CBC would be seen negatively by Finland and Russia. Both nations prefer to control the border area through their national and local interests.

In a similar fashion, in 2006, writing on the reconciliation between Ireland and Northern Ireland promoted by a transnational cooperation via the voluntary sector, O'Dowd and McCall emphasize their intergovernmentalist vision evaluating as fundamental the role of the Irish and the British administrations in building a new inter-state peaceful window: "None of the merits of transnational cooperation detracts from the necessity of interstate cooperation. The latter has contributed to an overall rhetoric of cross-border

cooperation that has largely replaced the “cold war” which used to characterise relationships between both jurisdictions in Ireland. Transnational cooperation, however, provides a necessary counter-dynamic by transcending and helping to reconfigure borders and by providing an arena for flexible project based activities organised by the voluntary sector intermediary funding bodies and grassroots groups”.

Thus, within such a paradigm, the realist authors share the idea that CBC and its more or less institutionalized forms are a flexible framework in which the states, through their primacy of power, can develop their own international strategy. CBC structures and the Euroregions are therefore developed by the will of the single states.

1.3.2.2 Liberalism and Neoliberalism: CBC and reterritorialization as an answer to Globalisation

Contrary to the realism view, the liberalism focuses the analysis more on the economic forces and globalization. In this line of reasoning, different scholars consider the evolution of CBC and its organized forms as a consequence of the rescaling process in the social, economic and political sense caused by globalization (Dimitrov, Petrakos, Totev, Tsiapa 2003; Fry 2005; Roper 2007; Scalapino 1992; Sodupe 1999). CBC structures and the Euroregions, in a certain sense, unify the global and the local dimensions embodying Robertson’s concept of the “glocal”. The increasing circulation of people, goods, capitals, information around the globe generated a process of “reterritorialization” or “rescaling” whereby the social relations are increasingly distinguished by their geographical space. In this respect, it is not by chance that Toal (2000) defines provocatively our era as “the end of geography”. The debate around this rescaling process of spaces, norms and institutions assumes a focus on the reorganization of power and the need of a new form of vertical and horizontal governance of society. Thus, for liberalism the national-state is not anymore capable of controlling power either in its local level or in its international relations affairs. The evolution of this new course of territorialisation, with respect to CBC, is seen from two diverse perspectives: one top-down (Jessop 2002; Sparke 2002a, 2002b) and one bottom-up (Johnson 2009; Kramsch 2003; O’Dowd 2002; Scott 2000b). Respectively, the former perceives the CBC through the prism of supranational regionalism, hence including the role of the European Union), while the second considers

reterritorialization as an innovative force generated by local actors, subnational usually, in the form of regional political and economic mobilization (Keating 1998), to better compete within the new global economic context.

Most frequently, however, within this bottom-up approach, the agenda of local actors is expressed in terms of economic restructuring for achieving competitive advantage in a world of flows. This agenda tends to accentuate the significance of the so-called “soft assets”, such as local social networks, local environment, regional cultural assets, and regional knowledge. Thus, the local administrations are progressively more regarded as a basis for economic, political, and social life after the past economic mass production.

Both kinds of reterritorialization (supra and subnational) yield to a higher level cooperation that could be justified by the “interdependency theory”, one that stimulates a *regional flavour* (Beeson 2005; Pomfret 2007) at the transnational-continental level, the other increases CBC at the transnational-local level. However, these two perspectives should not be seen as excluding each other, as most authors acknowledge that CBC and Euroregional structures are shaped somewhere in between the two (Delli Zotti and Strassoldo 1982; Delli Zotti 1983; Ricq 1992).

This new economic settlement has given rise to an alteration of governance and a new institutionalization of territory (Perkmann and Sum 2002). The development of CBC and the increasing role of sub-state administrations reflect on the current concept of multi-governance, seen as evolution of reterritorialization (Delli Zotti and Strassoldo 1982; Delli Zotti 1983; Ricq 1992). Some scholars, as Dijkink and Winnips (2000), considering the global reconfiguration of territoriality at both level, supra and subnational beyond the traditional state-centrism, proclaim the consolidated Euroregional bodies as even “alternative states”.

As stated in the introduction, the CBC is a phenomenon that is not developing only in Europe, but also in other continents. The case of “Cascadia” and “the Georgia Basin-Puget Sound” between USA and Canada; “San Diego-Tijuana” and “the United States-Mexico Border Region” between USA and Mexico; “Comisión Mixta Administradora del Río Paraná” (COMIP) between Argentina and Paraguay; “Southern China and Hong Kong”; “the Sijori Growth Triangle” between Singapore, Johor (Malaysia) and the Riau Islands (Indonesia) are only some examples *inter alia*.

Apart from globalization, CBC in South-East Europe is historically linked to the collapse of the Soviet Union, which generated a new idea of borders. Specifically, in Europe, it facilitated the integration of the Eastern countries into a free market economy, increasing the exchange of goods, services and people (Perkmann and Sum 2002). Jessop (2003) offers another perspective declaring that the high development of CBC is related to the intensification and progress of technologies and informatics which help a local geographical rescale the economic, political and social assets within the global rescaling process.

To sum up, for the neoliberal view the development of CBC and the flourishing of CBC and the Euroregional structures can be justified by few main points: a) globalization has increased the permeability of borders creating therefore new “natural economic territories” (Scalapino 1992) through transfrontier exchange in various fields such as institution, social and economic affairs, etc.; b) the public primacy of states has been changed, or as Toal (2000) affirms has been “emptied”, offering more power to a supra- and subnational levels of governance; c) the improvement of technologies created the opportunity of taking advantage of new resources and new areas. This situation has robustly increased the interdependency of national-states and local communities, encouraging new forms of cooperation able to rescale the link between power and territory. Finally, for liberalism the cooperation in general is seen as a rational economic need to compete in a world of continuous economic evolution. More specifically, the CBC represents the will of “coopertition” – competitive cooperation – that local administrations are developing within the globalization process (Lombard and Morris 2010). For this reason the CBC and its various forms are more and more influential in international relations.

1.3.2.3 Marxism and Neomarxism: CBC within new spatial scales

Interpreting the Marxist paradigm, CBC structures and Euroregions are formed by the evolution of the economic system. Specifically, according to Swyngedouw (2010) the political economy of capitalism represents a constant process of temporal and spatial transformation. Capitalist states, because of their nature, are involved in a continuous restructuring process, both inside and outside their borders, in order to realize surplus and to accumulate capital. Cross-border and Euroregional forms are the

product of this crucial need of the capitalist states (Kramsch 2002). Furthermore, from an economic point of view, CBC has also been interpreted as one of the outcomes of the historical transition from Fordism to post-Fordism (Jessop 1992), that is, from mass production and mass consumption, state monopoly of the formation of skills, and negotiations between employer associations and trade unions on the national level, to small and medium-size businesses, self-employment, flexible labour force and individuals with flexible skills, and new chances for peripheral locations and communities. Therefore, the capillary action of the capital, moved by a large number of actors, produces a regular geographic mapping of new combinations among states, cash flow, images, goods and people. This “post-fordism” course is linked to the drop of centrality of the industrial state-centric system, which allowed, through a spatial relation between urbanization and public regulation, to stockpile capital (Storper & Scott 1992). The erosion of mutual relations among cities and their state (enhanced in particular after the 1970s) created a new global geography of urbanization towards a new configuration of scale (Taylor 1995). If the past economic system permitted control of social tension by the states, the new global economic scheme requires a diverse spatial-geographic configuration that manifests the new geometry of social power (Swyngedouw 1996; 2004; 2010). Thus, in this sense, the EU with particular application to the European cohesion policy, and the CBC structures in their implementing specific economic and social projects trace a new route for the improvement of the wealth distribution at regional and local transnational level, trying to make the poorest areas more competitive, creating also a new connection between centre-periphery and core-periphery. Looking at the development of CBC and the Euroregional structures from the point of view of Wallerstein, they have been considered a new way to exploit further territories and resources. At the heart of this view, therefore, the rescaling process of power and the CBC simply offer alternative space-as-containers for an essentially unchanging instrumentalist strategy of capital accumulation (Kramsch 2002).

1.3.2.4 Functionalism and Neofunctionalism: CBC and its spillover effect

The functionalist school believes that the first promoters of CBC and transfrontier organizations are the European Union and the Council of Europe. This

school, in fact, considers non-state actors relevant in international relations affairs. First of all, the collapse of the frontiers and European economic integration have favoured enormously the establishment of new collaboration among the states and the transfrontier areas. In general functionalist researchers agree that, during the last decades, the Council of Europe provided a legal framework for the rise of CBC and Euroregional structures, while the European institutions and the European Commission in particular, provided the financial instruments needed to implement them.

In this context, functionalism defines the concept of spillover dynamic: the EU, by stimulating CBC activities, is trying to strengthen the integration process in other fields and foster a larger organizational autonomy of the local border authorities. According to Greta and Lewandowski (2009) the increasing budget for CBC activities, comparing the period 2000-2006 to 2007-2013, shows the higher investment of the EU in regional policy and its will to reach the objectives of the Lisbon strategy also through the CBC. Furthermore, the scholars of this paradigm believe that the CBC structures and the Euroregional entities are the “main and earliest link of the integration process”, so the EU employs them to carry out a special integration mission in terms of cooperation and common identity. Henryk Borku, while analysing the borderland between Poland, Ukraine and Belarus, explains that EU should promote a consolidated CBC policy in the area in order to foster in a spillover pressure good cohesion policy and good foreign economic policy. Dimitrov, Petrakos, Totev and Tsiapa, in addition, state that the spillover for a higher level of integration would start by stimulating the free market and the healthy growth of companies. This opinion is valid for the EU integration as well as for the CBC institutionalization.

To conclude, from this point of view, functionalists argue that the key driver of the upturn in cross-border cooperation has been increased by the spillover effect generated by EU policies and the European economic integration process rather than by the political cooperation between the single states as it is claimed by the realists).

1.3.2.5 Social-Constructivism: CBC and cultural and social interactions

The social-constructivist approach deals with *ex post* assessment. The paradigm is grounded in the relevance of ideas/norms and in historical and social contingents,

taking cognizance of the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the increasing of globalization and the increasing EU integration process that has shut down the frontiers, and the rise in the global economies. So far, the social-constructivists have worked more on experiences and social interactions than on the real norms, which have shaped the CBC activities. Thus, the EU actions and its policies of CBC among the member and non-member states increase common values and interests, which develop the way for further cooperation.

This approach gives new insights into the interplay of different driving forces of integration. In fact, it becomes relevant to social constructivists to investigate to what extent CBC produces regionauts, actively integrated through the implementation of different border-crossing activities (Löfgren 2008). The cultural dimension is strictly connected to the transborder dynamics that are able to transform the cultural, political and economic asymmetries into an “energizing factor” (ibidem). In this respect, a major focus should be given to the everyday cultural practices that create regions and CBC areas.

CBC regions with relatively permeable borders act as bridging zones, encouraging and improving citizens’ interaction and exchange (Mirwaldt 2010). On this view, the Euroregions are considered in essence “cross-border frameworks for promoting microlevel European integration” (Grix and Knowles 2002) and CBC in general a means of building trust between the two neighbouring countries, multiplying the socio-economic interaction.

For social-constructivists the formation of CBC and Euroregional organizations is understood more as a daily and long sharing process in the state of continual evolution: “The state frontier is just one of the many boundaries present in a community” and “these boundaries are permeable and changing both in their nature and in the way they are perceived by the inhabitants of the area” (Bray 2002).

1.3.3 Second Question: How are CBC structures and the Euroregions working?

This second question will be investigated following again the analysis of the existing literature analysed with reference to the different theories of IR: realism and neorealism; liberalism and neoliberalism; marxism and neomarxism; functionalism and neofunctionalism; and social-constructivism.

1.3.3.1 Realism and Neorealism: CBC structures and the Euroregions as national state driving forces

As has been previously underlined, neorealism considers CBC and its forms tools of larger geopolitical interests, and as a result the Euroregions and CBC structures cannot be seen as independent bodies. They act on what they can get as a result of external political constraints. Behind the creation of a Euroregion there are various EU institutions at the supranational scale, in particular the central governments at the national scale (Popescu 2008). At the sub-national scale, the activities of citizens and of local bordering institutions generally play a modest role (ibidem).

Analysing a specific case in Northern Europe, the Euroregion of Karelia between Finland and Russia, Liikanen and Virtanen argue that after the collapse of the Iron Curtain this Euroregion represents a crucial point for both national and European security interests (Liikanen and Virtanen 2006). In that borderland the regional CBC actions cover and overlap internal and external border interests of both EU and member states. Considering the different aims of the so-called “Northern Dimension” - launched by the Helsinki European Council of 10-11 December 1999 - the two authors study the CBC perspective of the Northern Dimension emphasizing three important elements: a) a new security prospective complementing a traditional military-oriented security policy with some specific soft-security issues such as environmental issues, contagious diseases and smuggling; b) a larger regional vision of the common problems shared in the area; c) it does not include the formation of formal actors in CBC (Liikanen and Virtanen 2006). This position is confirmed in the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement - PCA (1997 extended for 10 years in 2004) signed by the EU with Russia. By intensifying the cooperation with Russia, the EU sets two main aims within the PCA: to promote a stable, democratic and prosperous market economy in Russia; to maintain the EU stability, to promote global security, and to respond to the common challenges of the contingencies. In a realist perspective, therefore, CBC actions depend mainly on the will and the security strategy of both the national states and the EU. The CBC is therefore a national instrument to control the national territory. In addition, as pointed out by Dimitrova (2010), Euroregional bodies and CBC in the external frontiers could be seen as tools of the European Neighbourhood Policy, which stresses on the conceptual distinction core-periphery.

The essential national-state driving force of the Euroregions is explicated not only in terms of CBC development, but also in terms of their sustainability. O'Dowd, McCall and Damkat (2006), when studying the Euroregional contribution to the reconciliation between Ireland and North Ireland, conclude that once the European funds will be over, it will be hard to keep CBC in the long term without the political good will of the single states. The two states still play a central role in political, legal and mental terms (O'Dowd, McCall and Damkat 2006). Tannam's article (2005) confirms this line of reasoning affirming that the key driver of the upturn in CBC has increased political cooperation between the British and the Irish governments rather than a spillover from European economic integration.

Some researchers justify the state-centrist role in border areas by considering the fact that people have not been willing to surrender their traditional loyalties, at least as long as the state remains the primary provider of their citizenship rights (Dijkink 1996; Hirst 1997).

The ethnic minority element in the school of realism is considered geopolitical interest or security issue (Beck 2008; Ilies 2004; Mikenberg 2005; Popescu 2006, 2008). A kin-state can see the CBC and its structured forms as a way to be closer and more influential to its own minority, while a host state which includes a minority in its space, can see the same CBC activity as a threat to its sovereign immunity or potentially overturning the perspective as a way to control this specific area.

The workability of CBC and Euroregional bodies then depends on the political will and involvement of the national state, which bases its interests on the more or less strategic position of the border area. This interpretation is well described by Popescu who, in his study of the Romanian - Moldavian - Ukrainian border, underlines: "such geo-strategic understanding of the role of the Euroregions leaves little room for local input into the creation of the Euroregions and into their territorial make-up. For the most part, the contribution of the local authorities to the establishment of the Euroregions has been limited to reacting to the national and supranational cross-border cooperation policies" (Popescu 2006).

1.3.3.2 Liberalism and Neoliberalism: CBC as an interplay of interests

As different from the realists, liberals believe that CBC structures and the Euroregions have their own real local role, and are therefore more interested in studying the dynamics and internal factors of these specific border entities. Liberals believe in pluralism, hence, CBC structures represent one of the factors that influence the local and international relations panorama through the defence of their private interests. In the same way, CBC structures are composed of a plurality of interests. And within this framework, the cooperation embodies the maximization of the various actors' interests. More concretely, considering that border areas typically suffer from handicaps in the economic development and have marginal political role, liberals believe that the well-functioning of a CBC structure or the Euroregion depends on its organisational level and on its finalized actions aiming at the increase of the socio-economic and political conditions of the area. In this sense, for a CBC structure and a Euroregion to be solid, they should cooperate and work well to maximize its gains and minimize its costs. However, cross-border governance is a process that typically unfolds over a very long period of time. Engaging in cross-border cooperation involves entering into a realm of long time-frames and slow progress, encountering (and countering) complex situations formed by the blending of heterogeneous territorial systems (Nelles and Durand 2012). In fact, even though the new EGTC legal instrument has been defined, there is not a unique recognized model of CBC entity; each CBC entity, in fact, establishes its own internal organization on the basis of its characteristics, experiences and will.

Most of the liberals are convinced that a good CBC has to be based on a strong market, which could produce stable social cohesion. The economic interdependence and harmonization are seen as important requisites for social cohesion. Stephen Roper (2006), for instance, studies how cross-border and local cooperation can contribute positively to business performance and social reconciliation in the Irish-Northern Irish border. Roper considers the firms' economic motivation fundamental for the development of CBC activities in this sensitive border area. The author notices in his article that the business performance could be improved in two ways: a) by increasing firms' understanding of cross-border market opportunities and business culture; b) by implementing policy initiatives for increasing business R&D and strengthening the firms' skill base (Roper 2006). According to other scholars, to achieve a higher

economic cooperation, CBC structures and the Euroregions should invest more in “soft-infrastructure” as business incentives and information on the financial conditions, and less in transports and infrastructures (Dimitrov, Petrakos, Totev, Tsiapa 2003).

As has been previously explained, another relevant consideration for liberalism is the solid link between local and global levels. For some scholars like Sodupe (1999) and Johnson (2009), in effect, the dynamism of CBC and Euroregional structures is linked to their ability to cope with globalization in terms of competitiveness and economic interdependency. Daianu and Costa, more than in economic terms, refer to the issues of climate changes and population ageing as fundamental challenges for the future of the European continental territory as a whole. Thus, in border areas where the large unemployment rate, large emigration and environmental protection are common issues, it is essential to cooperate trying to maximize the benefits and minimize the negative impact of such big changes. Yet, for Otgaar (2008), within globalization, CBC and Euroregional structures have to attract international investors and to promote their border area on a global scale. CBC and regionalism are two faces of the same coin, so CBC organizations should boost a major power and improve their decision-making processes to face globalization issues. In particular, the analysis of Otgaar on the “Centrope”, in Vienna - Bratislava - Győr region (AU, HU, SK, CZ), underlines two main weaknesses in the power of this Euroregional body: it is unable to lobby, being politically dependent on other entities; it is unable to implement a long-term strategy, basing most of its activities on the Interreg projects based contribution. Furthermore, the budget of Centrope is too small to justify so many different actors and interests (Otgaar 2008). The researcher concludes proposing a new model based on a flexible “four-leave clover”, structured between its four border areas of Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Flexibility is also a relevant element for Pikner (2008) in his concept of “governance capacity”, a theoretical tool used by the author to understand and interpret the reorganization process of cross-border governance. CBC structures and the Euroregions are institutional forms where the roles and relations of territorial politics can be renegotiated and practised depending on the benefits and costs in new ways in certain contexts. The Helsinki-Tallinn Euregio is an example of the possibility that governance may be accomplished through multiple and dynamic cross-border organizational forms fusing the boundaries between states, markets and civil societies

(Pikner 2008). Central for this analysis is therefore the existence of different actors and different interests involved in CBC. Similarly to Otgaar and Pikner, Perkmann (2007) has studied the dynamics of Euroregional entities and their internal governance. Specifically, Perkmann works on the concept of “policy entrepreneurship”, i.e. how a Euroregion has an autonomous body capacity and how it can attract policy tasks and resources through a sufficiently independent budget and its own political legitimacy. Perkmann’s comparative analysis examines three internal factors: “Cross-border region organization”, “Resource base”, “Cross-border cooperation appropriation”, and one external, related to the national administrative structure. Depending on the level of these variables, Euroregions engage more or less in policy entrepreneurship, or they are more or less efficient and effective in bolstering higher integration and reaching their goals, at local and global scale. Hence, Otgaar, Pikner and Perkmann, even if when using different expressions - multilateral governance, capacity governance and policy entrepreneurship - stress on the importance of a CBC and Euroregional efficiency and capacity. For them, Euroregional efficiency is essential in capitalizing the benefits of the CBC. Logically, the more a Euroregion is well-organized, the more it can cooperate, the more its citizens can enjoy its benefits in economic and in social terms.

According to other scholars the dynamism of cross-border cooperation within a border area depends not only on the CBC structure and the Euroregion viewed as institutional bodies, but also on the people and their individual interests. These individual interests are linked, for example, to the labour mobility offered by the area, the cross-border shopping possibilities, the regime on the housing ownership structure on the borders. In some cases, such as the Polish–German border (Dascher and Haupt 2011) and the Danish-German border (Buch, Schmidt, Niebuhr 2009), these key factors are fundamental in shaping the distribution of cross-border integration benefits and costs between individuals and a CBC or a Euroregional structure. Thus, better-paid job opportunities for the poor side, as well as better shopping opportunities for the richer side, could foster higher needs of CBC within a cross-border area.

In this context of gain and loss the ethnic minority element in the school of liberalism could be seen as a single interest, or single component of local pluralist CBC activities. This ethnic element, on the basis of the will of the community, could contribute to stronger cooperation, leading to a socio-economic growth of the border area, or, on the

contrary, it could act as an obstacle. Bilingualism, for example, may be an asset in different terms, it is an extra skill (Drinkwater and O'Leary 1997) and it is associated with greater capabilities and creativity (Hakuta and Diaz 1985; Hamers and Blanc 1989). As Evans, Thompson and Kwong (2011) demonstrate, the minority of Welsh speakers have a good projection towards business. Welsh speakers are more inclined than non-Welsh speakers to perceive opportunities for business in non-Welsh-speaking areas, the latter can be explicated by differences in environmental and personal characteristics (Evans, Thompson and Kwong 2011). The importance of language cannot be therefore underestimated. Language is "what makes a person human; how he or she thinks, expresses his/her deepest feelings and emotions, what helps identify a person with a particular ethnic or linguistic group" (Waston 2007: 256). Using the two models of ethnic entrepreneurship, the enclave theory of Wilson and Portes that ethnic businesses achieve better financial returns by serving their own ethnic groups, and the middleman theory of Bonachich that minority firms can only prosper if they achieve "breakout" from local market restrictions, the authors have defined the business involvement of the Welsh minority, which has a tendency to an ethnic enclave behaviour.

García (2000) in a further piece of interesting research of the CBC in the Catalonia area, between the French and Spanish borders, concludes that the real working force of CBC is economic. Catalonia, through its formed Euroregion and the CBC activities, aims to develop its own transfrontier economy and to acquire a stronger political role in the EU. This channeling of interests towards a larger European framework led to a better dialogue between the national and regional governments.

1.3.3.3 Marxism and Neomarxism: CBC and the need of new social rights

The marxist paradigm has not paid extensive of attention to the internal dynamics of CBC structures and the Euroregions. One discussion on the inner development of Euroregional bodies that emerged in this school is set forth by Kramsch and Dimitrova (2008) on the social rights of citizens living in border areas and the possibility to create a transboundary demos. The authors claim that the socio-political dimension has been neglected in standard accounts of the regional economic development theory. Reviewing the transboundary governance experience of Maas-

Rhine Euregio (between Belgium, Netherlands and Germany), they prove the relevance of new conceptualization of the theory of citizenship elaborated by T. H. Marshall, the latter including civic, political, and social rights. Post-fordism and the subsequent transnationalisation regionalism have altered the economic and social relations in the 1980s and 1990s, and Marshall's original questions on whether the working classes conditions can be ameliorated or not as a result (Marshall 1964) merits a new treatment. According to Kramsch and Dimitrova, despite the increase in the organisational and institutional framework of its public-law foundation, the still unsolved issue of Maas-Rhine Euroregion remains an achievement of cross-border socioeconomic integration. This is justified by the fact that its mandate is restricted to a purely consultative role *vis à vis* member-states and the EU. The Maas-Rhine Euroregion is incapable of influencing national labour markets and the fiscal and social security issues, which remain a matter for policy-making at the member-state level. In this context, the authors explain that the evolutionary drama of rights theorized by Marshall, could be stretched today from new groups of potential citizens in the realm of social rights such as migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. In fact they are increasingly situated within borderlands and peripheries, internal and external to the EU. Such new groups may generate struggles along the frontier between visibility and invisibility, citizens and not citizens, knocking on the doors of euregional administrators and forging a pathway for a modern transboundary demos. Finally, for Kramsch and Dimitrova, today Marshall's theory has to go on to a new logic outside the concept of "territoriality" through a struggle which involves new invisible political figures living in the EU border areas. Opposing to this view, Österle (2007) and Hammer (2010) argue that CBC and the Euroregional bodies are stimulating a natural reaction (bottom up - top down) towards a larger legal framework capable of protecting the social right in border areas. Respectively, as far as the wealth care system and the Inter-regional Trade Union Councils (IRTUCs) are concerned, Österle and Hammer believe that the rise of CBC could find its struggle inside its territory and within the visible political actors who inhabit the border area.

Answering to the second question from a Marxists perspective, it emerges that this school lays emphasis more on the lack and the missing factors of cross-border integration than on its abilities. Thus, for instance, the focus for Kramsch and Dimitrova

is not on the institutional and governance capacity, but on the socio-economic collective interests of people who anyway, being part of the evolution of CBC may foster, through future struggles, new transfrontier demos and new forms of institutional transfrontier democratic decision-making process.

1.3.3.4 Functionalism and Neofunctionalism: CBC and the crucial functional cooperation through institutions

The Functionalist school, considering the analysis of the internal dynamics of CBC structures and the Euroregions, does not concentrate on the functional cross-border cooperation actions, the potential spillover for further cooperation in other fields. Similarly to liberalism, this paradigm confers relevance to the institutions as catalysts of interests, paying particular attention to the institutionalisation process of the CBC, Euroregional structures, and the EU. Both liberalism and functionalism believe that cooperation through institutions represents the absolute gains for the actors involved.

For functionalists, the economic cooperation of EU is explicated as gradual spillover strategy to strengthen political integration, while at the subnational level, for CBC structures and Euroregions, the implementation of single cross-border action such as, for instance, agricultural development, environmental protection, tourism and cultural policies, are explicated as concrete transnational cooperation capable of fostering further common actions towards a sturdy CBC entity. For Gasparini (2003a) and Leibenath (2007) such a pragmatic perspective is the most convincing CBC for a cross-border area that should start its actions including economic and operative projects with visible advantages. The good results obtained, in the long run, could cultivate a higher will for further cooperation. In this sense, practical actions offer the chance to focus on mutual benefits and recognize the need of a stronger common strategy and higher institutional integration.

Such approach to the cross-border “spillover strategy” is discussed by different scholars such as Milenkovic (2012), Ilbery and Saxena (2011), Church and Reid (1996). Milenkovic proposes to establish eco-regions in Serbia and its neighbourhood, aiming to protect the environment and at the same time to encourage transfrontier-tourism. Such new spaces, incorporating areas inside and outside Serbia with similar abiotic and biotic factors could provide good basis for cooperation in natural resource management

and environmental management between various agencies at the national and transnational level. Moreover, such ecoregional opportunity will bring together people of different cultures and from different countries with common interests: to improve their economic and social status, and maintain their living space and environment. For Milenkovic, cross-border cooperation is a unique opportunity for the Western Balkans to reach EU standards in the use of natural resources, tourism and environmental protection. Ilbery and Saxena stick to the same logic studying the cross-border tourism development in the English–Welsh Euroregion. The growing interest for integrated rural tourism (IRT) shapes new centrality to the subnational territorial level. In fact, the scholars explain this by affirming that “rural development policies and practices are being formed by a ‘multifunctional’ agricultural regime that involves a move away from state-sponsored production subsidies to an entrepreneurial culture that helps regions to benefit from territorial assets in building competitive advantage” (Ilbery and Saxena 2011). Thus, the increase of IRT can contribute to develop new forms of rural governance above and beyond traditional and nationally oriented administrative frameworks in the English–Welsh border area. More specifically, cross-border tourism perspectives offer new spaces for governance, cultural interaction, and economic development. The last example that is to be considered is taken from the research of Church and Reid on the Transmanche region between the French-English border. The concrete project that involved the two border communities in this analysis is the Channel Tunnel, opened in 1994, that joins France to the United Kingdom. As for the other example mentioned, the project has strengthened the cross-border cooperation, linked the local government more closely to the EU due to the management of European funds, and enhanced the political autonomy of subnational administrations, especially in their local economic policy.

The same idea of the cross-border “spillover strategy” has also been applied to the ethnic issue. Some functionalist scholars have studied this topic confirming that only a gradual and indirect method should stimulate CBC institutionalization, enhancing also the intercultural dialogue between minority and majority communities. According to Anagnostou and Triandafyllidou’s research (2007) this is the tactic pursued by the EU through the European cohesion policy and the CBC projects. It is, however, important to point out that the relevance of this theory strongly depends on the context in which it

is applied. Cieslar, dealing with the Sudetan German minority living in the border area with the Czech Republic, claims that when carrying out CBC projects, transnational interests represent the vital base to mitigate ethnic resentments, as it is in the Bohemia-Saxony German borderland. The author underlines as the most urgent task facing the redevelopment of Euroregional cooperation on the Czech-German border area, the renewal of its ecological stability. Hence, dynamic and solid transboundary cooperation in the local common ecological issues, if conducted on an equal-rights basis, could help overcome the prejudice and resentment resulting from mutual mistreatments in the past. Historical ethnic issues are observed by Engl and Zwilling, when studying the Italian-Austrian border area where a large German minority lives. For them the CBC among Tyrol, South Tyrol and Trentino has the best chance to be well-functioning if it is focused on economic projects, which could only indirectly involve the ethnic minorities. Interreg for instance represents a good instrument to implement common and concrete actions. In addition, in this context, Engl and Zwilling argue that it is better to develop a cross-border organization under private law because it touches less on political and ethnic sensibility of a state. Only through this functional starting point, it could be possible to build further steps towards a more institutionalized CBC.

1.3.3.5 Social-Constructivism: CBC as a co-evolutionary process

The social-constructivist approach gives an answer to this question by trying to study the inner social and political co-evolution among all parts involved in the cross-border activities. So, good governance and a solid CBC structure or Euroregion do not depend on the institutional capacity of the organization or on the will and interests of single actors, e.g. states; individuals; EU; multinational companies, etc., rather it is an ongoing complex process shaped by all these actors in their daily cooperation. In this vein Gualini (2003) affirms that “Cross-border governance is an institutional construct resulting from complex processes of co-evolution”. During the phase of institutionalization, cross-border governance settings “face a struggle that highlights the dialectics between path-dependency and path-shaping, between institution building and institutional design” (Gualini 2003). For the author, this co-evolution of the cross-border governance includes three different dimensions: political-economic, institutional and symbolic-cognitive. The first dimension is due to the re-framing of the meaning of

borders. In a prospectively borderless Europe conceived as “networks of regions,” CBC structures and Euroregions are put at the centre of the current political-economic challenge. The second dimension derives from a combination of institutional design and institution building, while the third is seen as a process of territorial identity-formation, inventing communities and projecting spaces (ibidem). Similarly, Jennifer Yoder, when examining the Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina between Poland and Germany, assess Euroregional entities under three aspects, or as she calls them, three types of bridges: “Reconciliation: Building Cultural Bridges”, “Regional Development: Building Economic Bridges”, “European Integration: Building Institutional and Normative Bridges” (Yoder 2003). More specifically, the Euroregion has cultural, economical and institutional impacts on the border area. By promoting numerous small-scale projects, the Euroregion brings people together, enhances the environment in terms of economic development and promotes mutual understanding at the elite level through contacts between the administrative bodies on both sides of the border.

Grix and Knowles (2002) have also studied the Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina pointing out the relevance of CBC and Euroregions in terms of “social capital”. They assert that Euroregions can be perceived as a “bridging organization that could maximize the levels of social capital available to the inhabitants of the German–Polish border region, thereby facilitating the creation of relations of trust between both countries” (Grix 2001; Grix and Knowles 2002). Even if the constant CBC tends to develop higher trust among the people, the authors identify two main problems affecting the specific border area: a) no attitudes of citizens to cooperate with each other and to believe in the public sphere; b) no leaders capable of taking the initiative in a dynamic way (ibidem). Starting from a different perspective, Malecki (2012) also debates on the concept of “social capital” as a fundamental element for a border area, capable of fostering innovation and positive economic growth. For the author social capital, which is based on trust and good social relations described also as the “glue” or “lubricant” because it helps facilitate exchanges within a group of people, refers to a culture of interaction among people, with productive economic outcomes. In this respect, tying this idea to the above assumption of Grix and Knowles on CBC as a stimulus of proximity and trust among people, CBC could also be considered the promoter of the

“regional social capital” in terms of innovation, knowledge-transfer and positive economic outcomes.

Hence, cooperation between the border areas in the daily life assumes a central role in the analysis of social-constructivists. The contact and the proximity between populations favour a positive attitude and trust among the involved parts (Grix & Knowles 2002; Bray 2002; Mirwaldt 2010). This could be confirmed in all of the borderlands except for the areas where the historical heritage is negative, declares Mirwaldt (2010). Mirwaldt, while studying the case of the Czech-Bavarian borderland case where a German minority resides, proves that Bavarian borderlanders’ attitudes towards Czechs would look even less favourable than the average Germans’ attitudes. Contrary to Mirwaldt’s view is the research of Malloy who demonstrates the relevance of minorities as a “building capacity” of cross-border areas even after a past of bloodsheds (Malloy 2007; 2010a; 2010b). Both the Danish and German minorities, symbol of historical wars and disputes between Denmark and Germany, represent today important props of CBC. Specifically, the minorities of the Danish-German borderland are contributing to the CBC in several fields: Political cooperation; Cultural cooperation; Cooperation in the area of Education; Economic cooperation; European cooperation (Malloy 2007).

Other scholars have shown that there are further actors or sectors which can play a key role in terms of “building capacity” on the cross-border development course. Thus, for Ateljevic (2008a; 2008b) active cooperation, which can promote a CBC institutionalization, starts from NGOs and civic society, for Brie (2009) from the media, for Scott (2000b) and Häkli (2001) from institutions and common projects, for Pollak (2006) from the educational institutions. All these actors working on CBC, in time, through a co-evolutionary process, are changing the physical, mental and identity perspective of borderlands, shaping a new institutional territorialisation of spaces and power, because “what form of boundary the frontier assumes in individual inhabitants’ consciousness depends on their personal notions of identity” (Bray 2002).

1.4 The Research gap

The literature review on CBC, CBC structures and the Euroregions has already highlighted different areas of analysis, but keeping the view on the International Relations discipline there are still some gaps to be addressed.

The Euroregions and the Cross border area in South-East Europe have not been the subject of much theoretical or empirical study. Moreover, much of the information about the activities of the Euroregions comes from the Euroregions themselves (Yoder 2008).

The research gap is evaluated on the basis of actors, subjects and research designs. Thus, with a focus on the actors involved in CBC, the literature has studied the relations between the Euroregions and states, the Euroregions and EU, and partly the Euroregions and local actors, while it has not covered adequately the role of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and International Government and non-Government Organization (IGOs/INGOs) if one excludes the EU and the Council of Europe.

Thus, CBC structures and the Euroregions have been studied mostly in relation to these IR-players: in relation to single states, CBC structures and Euroregions were considered new potential transnational governance in terms of reterritorialization and/or socio economic challenges linked to the globalisation phenomenon – liberalism and marxism, or new instruments for states to control and manage their foreign policy (mainly concerning cooperation and security issues - realism view); in relation to the EU, CBC structures and the Euroregions were considered in terms of an integration process with reference to the implementation of specific European policies and programmes (functionalism, liberalism), external border security (realism), cooperation and economic development (liberalism); in relation to local actors, CBC structures and the Euroregions were analysed outlining the cross-border bottom-up forces, but not sufficiently explaining the role of CBC structures and the Euroregions towards the local actors.

As shown in Figure 1.4, this research tends to fill in this specific gap trying to examine the tasks and the dynamics of the CBC structures on the basis of their policy entrepreneurship: in terms of efficiency and effectiveness within their local organizations and, thus, focusing on the political factors: ideological compatibility (see

the red line in the figure below), and within their territorial features exploiting the multicultural context and the existing local minorities living in the border area: diversity management (see the green line in the figure below). Moreover, the analysis of the set external elements (EU membership status and CBC History) will allow to investigate the exogenous top-down forces, too (EU and states influences).

What remains as a large room for improvement are the Multinational Corporations and their role which have been studied only in few cases where new transfrontier infrastructures such as the Channel Tunnel (Church and Reid 1996) or the Öresund bridge that connects Denmark and Sweden (Jensen and Richardson 2004; Ek 2006) were analysed. Still, MNCs are not considered political and economic players capable of influencing positively or negatively the development of cross-border areas and their institutionalization. In addition, as has just been mentioned, another important research gap is related to the role and the perception of IGOs/INGOs within the CBC scheme (e.g. NATO, UN, Greenpeace, Amnesty International, etc.). Hence, for example the role of Greenpeace in a border area where there is a specific environment issue or the potential role of NATO in the external borders of Europe with Russia, could represent a further interesting sphere of analysis linking international players with local players, both characterized by a transnational propensity.

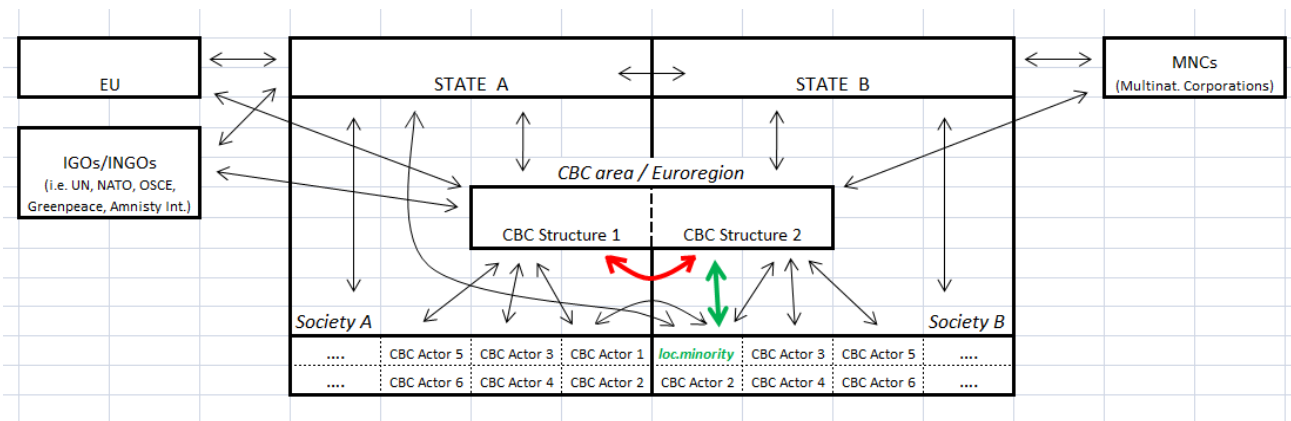


Figure 1.4 – Literature review and Research gap (Own elaboration)

Evaluating the literature review with reference to the research topics, the chapter highlights almost all the key words in the international relations vocabulary such as security, foreign policy, power, war/peace, international organizations, cooperation, economics, international society, borders, etc. Although the scope is large, there are

some further subjects that could be further explored as, for instance, energy policy (in terms of energy security, geopolitics, green energy and economic development, etc.) and the migration policy that constitutes one of the most important new trends in IR. Concerning the specific themes of diversity management and ideological compatibility, there are few analyses that deal with this first ethnic element (some studies on minority groups have a focus on their cross-border activities and the national security agenda, but none concentrates on their institutional-local and Euroregional role) and almost next to none concerning the second political element. Even if in the research these two elements are studied internally and at the local level, their analysis can have implications at both national and international levels, as for instance if related to the national security (in particular in the case of an ethnic kin-state), the historical background, the national and the European economic development. Moreover, the research offers its additional value exploring an area, which has not been studied yet. In fact, there are few studies on South East countries (Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM) and on their specific cross-border features.

Finally, evaluating the literature in the perspective of the research design the chapter proves that there are few studies that compare different CBC structures or Euroregions. The few articles, which have been designed from a comparative view, as Perkmann (2007) and Popescu (2008) ones, involve only a small-N approach. This piece of research will offer an add value comparing 9 cases using a Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA).

CHAPTER II - The new conceptualization of Cross-border cooperation model for South-East Europe

The overview of the main literature on cross and border areas and Euroregions, the research focus and its conceptualization will be described more in detail in this chapter. As previously shown, the study intends to cover a specific part of the described research gap, analysing how policy entrepreneurship of local actors can influence the cross-border cooperation activities in South-East Europe. Thus, in concrete terms, the study adds two independent variables to Perkmann's theory, the ideological compatibility and the diversity management (understood as the all actions implemented by the Euroregions and cross-border structures to involve and influence the local actors who can be identified as "diverse").

In particular, evolving Perkmann's theory of "policy entrepreneurship" (2007), the research contributes to study the efficiency and effectiveness of the Euroregions and cross-border areas present in South-East Europe, and, more specifically, in Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM. After interpreting the concept of "policy entrepreneurship" through the International Relations theories, to maintain a logical consistency of the study grounded on the liberalism paradigm, the chapter analyses Perkmann's theory with its new conceptualization, the research structure and methodology, and at last the innovative elements added to the research.

The general term "entrepreneurship", indeed, defines the capacity and the process of pursuing innovative solutions and starting a new venture. The term is specifically linked to the economic development. According to Drucker (1985) entrepreneurship is defined as "a systematic innovation, which consists in the purposeful and organized search for changes, and it is the systematic analysis of the opportunities such changes might offer for economic and social innovation". The entrepreneur with his ability analyses and identifies opportunities in the environment transforming them into business propositions. This specific characteristic is a key element for the economic growth. The term is used in different disciplines. Business entrepreneurship describes the ability to develop, organize and manage a business venture along with any of its risks in order to make a profit. Social entrepreneurship

corresponds instead to the process of defining innovative solutions to social problems and to create social value. Perkmann defines the policy entrepreneurship of a Euroregion having an autonomous body capacity as its ability to attract policy tasks and resources through a sufficient, independent budget and its own political legitimacy. Hence, the ability to identify, manage and to make good decisions for maximizing the benefits of the CBC is the essential element for a bordering local authority to be defined with a positive policy entrepreneurship.

In other words, a good policy entrepreneurship can be also explicated as an effective and efficient governance of a bordering local authority to achieve its CBC goals. The concept of policy entrepreneurship encloses in fact both of these meanings. Efficiency deals with the allocation of resources measuring their use and their more or less stressed exploitation (Achabal, Heineke, McIntyre 1984; Sheth and Sisodia 2002). It compares the given inputs of a planned strategy with the corresponding obtained outputs. The effectiveness, instead, measures the degree to which a strategy achieves its goals (Skogan 1976). Thus, the efficiency is more process-oriented, i.e. it is about doing the things in the right manner, while effectiveness is more result-oriented, i.e. it is about doing the right things. In the economic and organizational fields, the best strategy has to involve both concepts to maximize its productivity, in terms of both quality and quantity (Grönroos and Ojasalo 2004; Powell et al. 2012; Skogan 1976). Transferring these two concepts to the policy entrepreneurship, the research assumes that a CBC structure in order to “maximize its advantages, orientates its organisation choices on the basis of their opportunities and contexts” (Perkmann 2007), and to maximize its gains and minimize its costs, it has to be efficient and effective. Consequently, the higher the policy entrepreneurship of a municipality is, higher could be the socio-economic dynamism of the border area. Hence, concentrating on this specific capacity “to maximize their local chances on the cross-border theme” (ibidem), the neoliberalism school can stress more the development of a Euroregion in terms of its socio-economic progress. The Euroregion is seen as one possible tool to express local cross-border needs, capable to work towards common goals - or absolute gains - cooperating and mediating the different interests.

2.1 Policy entrepreneurship and the IR theories

The interesting theoretical outline of Perkmann, being linked to the concepts of interests, spillover effects, gains maximization, cooperation, can be interpreted through the rational choice theories from the positivist approach of IR. Specifically, bearing in mind the different IR paradigms described in the first chapter, Perkmann's theory can be only interpreted through the functionalism/neofunctionalism school and liberalism/neoliberalism school. The other paradigms of the IR are not evaluated because they are not relevant to Perkmann's analysis.

2.1.1 Functionalism

Referring to Smyrl (1997), Perkmann underlines that “a certain degree of ‘entrepreneurial’ behaviour can indicate an effective empowerment of the regions against their central-state authorities within the context of EU integration” (Smyrl 1997; Perkmann 2007). Perkmann focuses on the *organisation building* as a main indicator and outcome of successful cooperation. Thus, Euroregions are evaluated as to whether they have succeeded “in establishing themselves as functioning organisations with some degree of autonomy vis-a-vis the participating member authorities on both sides of the border” (Perkmann 2007). This vision is the very link to the idea of spillover – a concept of the functionalists – which explains the intentions of a new entity, in this case the Euroregions, to maintain and enforce its status.

Klatt and Herrmann (2011) also explain Perkmann's theory referring to the neofunctionalism and the intergovernmentalism school. In particular, they interpret the neofunctionalism view evolving this expression: the higher the policy entrepreneurship of a Euroregion is, the higher is its autonomy level of governance and higher is its competence to maintain itself as an independent organization. Within the framework of a multi level governance – contrary to a centralized governance – the power is diffused across multiple centres of authority (Hooghe and Marks 2003), so the main question concerning the policy entrepreneurship of a Euroregion is whether it can be considered a centre of authority, capable of exercising effective cross-border governance (Klatt and Herrmann 2011). This presupposes the CBC entity to “acquire a relative degree of strategic and operational autonomy vis-à-vis “ordinary” border authorities” (Perkmann 2007). Thus, the main point for functionalists is represented by the self-maintenance and self-sustenance of these new bureaucratic Euroregional organizations.

Visualizing the idea of policy entrepreneurship using the functionalist approach, it will appear diagrammatically like that:

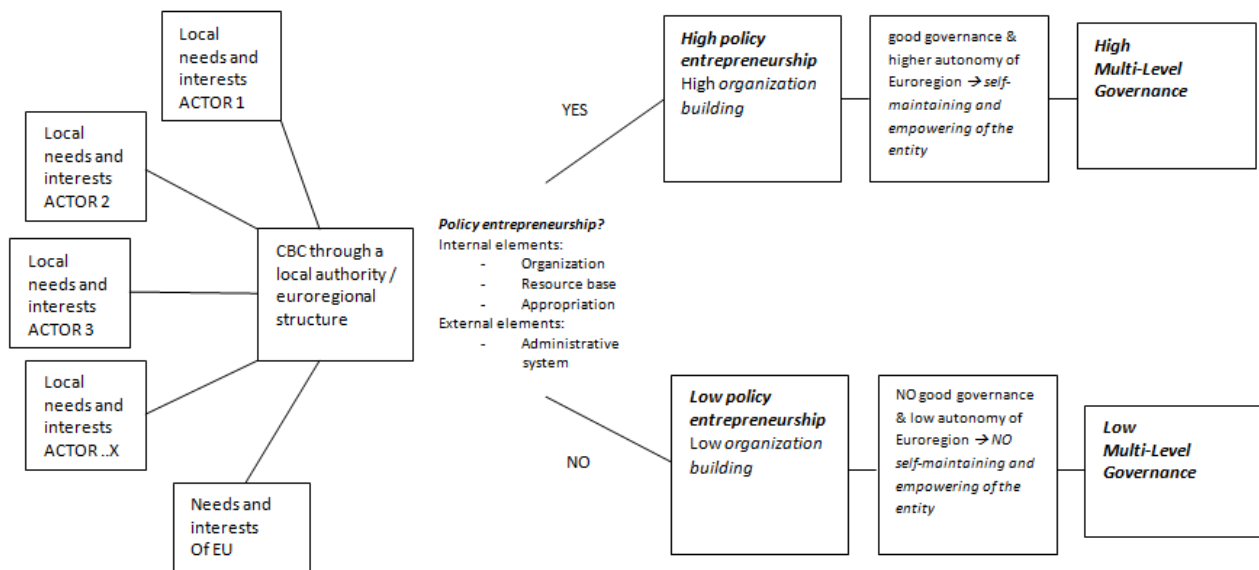


Figure 2.1 – Policy entrepreneurship and functionalism (Own elaboration)

2.1.2 Liberalism

As stated in the first chapter, the liberalism/neoliberalism school links the Euroregions to the globalization process unifying the global to the local. Sodupe (1999) and Johnson (2009), assume that the CBC activity of the Euroregions is linked to their power to face globalization, in terms of competitiveness and economic interdependency. Furthermore, the cross-border cooperation and the different Euroregional forms represent the will and at the same time the necessity of “coopertition” (competitive cooperation) of local administrations to face the new challenges deriving from the globalization process (Lombard and Morris 2010). For Daianu and Costa the real challenges that push borderlands to cooperate are the global climate change and the population ageing.

From a rational point of view, the will to overcome the current local and global challenges, can facilitate the cooperation in border areas. The local interests to get a higher socio-economic development can, therefore, push the local authorities to engage in higher policy entrepreneurship of CBC towards a better exploitation of local opportunities and a better creation of organizational competences. Moreover, the

increase of socio-economic settings in the borderlands, that typically suffer from handicaps in economic development and have marginal political role, could contribute to a stronger decentralization of local governments in South-East European countries. Finally, the increase of socio-economic standards and the economic interdependence among the border areas can also be seen as a unique process of social cohesion. This is confirmed by Roper (2006) who studied how cross-border economic cooperation has positively contributed to business performance and social reconciliation in Irish-North Irish border areas. García (2000) also declared that the real driving force of the CBC in the Catalonia region, between the French and Spanish border, is basically economic. The Euroregion in Catalonia tends to be a canalisation of local interests toward a larger European framework (García 2000). García's view confirms the liberalism paradigm perspective on pluralism considering Euroregions mediators of different private needs and interests, capable of operating towards better results and trying to reach the absolute gains. Thus, to better mediate these interests, the research tries to define the best policy entrepreneur border area and Euroregional body applicable to South-East Europe. Starting from the specific political, economic and historical context of the Balkans the research builds up a new outlook, stressing the importance of a local authority policy entrepreneurship in making good decisions and capitalizing the benefits of the CBC.

Finally, considering the primordial phase of CBC in South-East Europe and the few Euroregional bodies present in the area, the school of liberalism appears more appropriate than the school of functionalism. Liberalism, indeed, focuses on the development of the local area through a transfrontier cooperation to face the new global challenges, while functionalism focuses on the self-maintaining of Euroregional entities which are still growing. Moreover, the school of liberalism permits the research to evaluate both the supra- and subnational reterritorialization which lead to a more and more dynamic CBC at both transnational-continental level and transnational-local level. At the same time, the five selected independent variables and the two external factors will allow the study to analyse the bottom-up and the top-down perspectives which should not be considered exclusive but integral.

Below is presented the diagram of the research theoretical structure, grounded on the liberalism perspective:

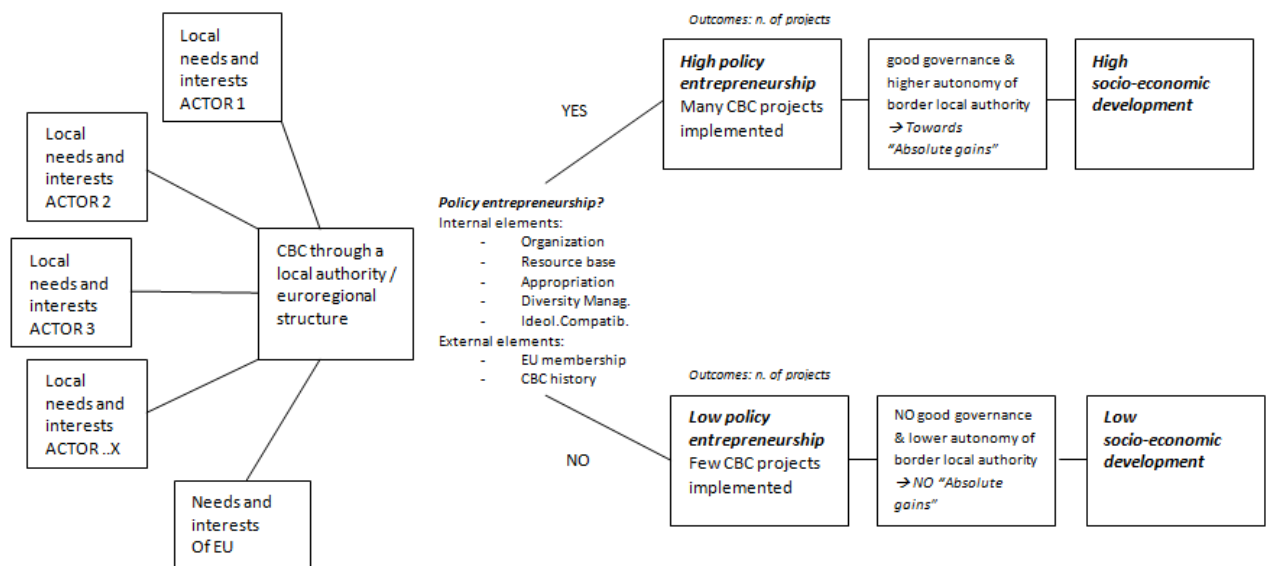


Figure 2.2 – Policy entrepreneurship and liberalism (Own elaboration)

2.2 Policy entrepreneurship: the two models

2.2.1 The “classical” model of Perkmann

Perkmann (2007), comparing three case-studies (Euregio DE-NL, Viadrina PL-DE, Tyrol Euroregion AU-IT), defines as “policy entrepreneurship” a Euroregion with an autonomous organisation capable of attracting policy tasks and resources. The concept of policy entrepreneurship gives him a tool to measure the degree to which the Euroregions can shape their environment, so their efficiency and effectiveness to implement a proper policy and independent activities establishing themselves as autonomous organisations is enhanced. In particular, Perkmann operationalises the research using three main independent variables internal to the context of the Euroregions: Cross-border region organization; Resource base; Cross-border cooperation appropriation, and one external factor which takes into account the administrative structure of the states, showing how administrative settings influence the capability of a Euroregional structure to engage in policy entrepreneurship. Perkmann’s aim is to verify the new multi-level governance in the EU and the role of Euroregions as new territorial entities. Perkmann concludes his research by asserting that among the three case-studies there are considerably different variations and, that in any case, independently of their successful degree of policy entrepreneurship, the Euroregions and their relative dimensions in terms of organisational size and resources are still small

to be considered new territorial entities. In his research Perkmann defines “Euregio” (DE-NL) as a European Euroregional “model” with its ability to exploit existing opportunities related to the cross-border theme and build organisational competence in cross-border policies. He explains this by affirming that Euregio “emerged as a result of the successful bottom-up mobilisation of municipalities on the Dutch-German border, led by an entrepreneurial secretariat, and affirmed itself as a legitimate cross-border development agency in its local context across the Dutch-German border” (Perkmann 2007).

Referring to the conceptual framework of Goertz (2006), Perkmann’s theory can be explained by distinguishing three different levels of concepts. The first level identifies the main phenomenon of the study, the second represents the definition or the specification of the first level, while the third one is the operationalization of each attribute specified on the second level. The concepts are delineated with a scale down, from the more abstract to the more concrete. Under these conditions, Perkmann’s theory can be presented as follows:

Perkmann’s conceptual framework

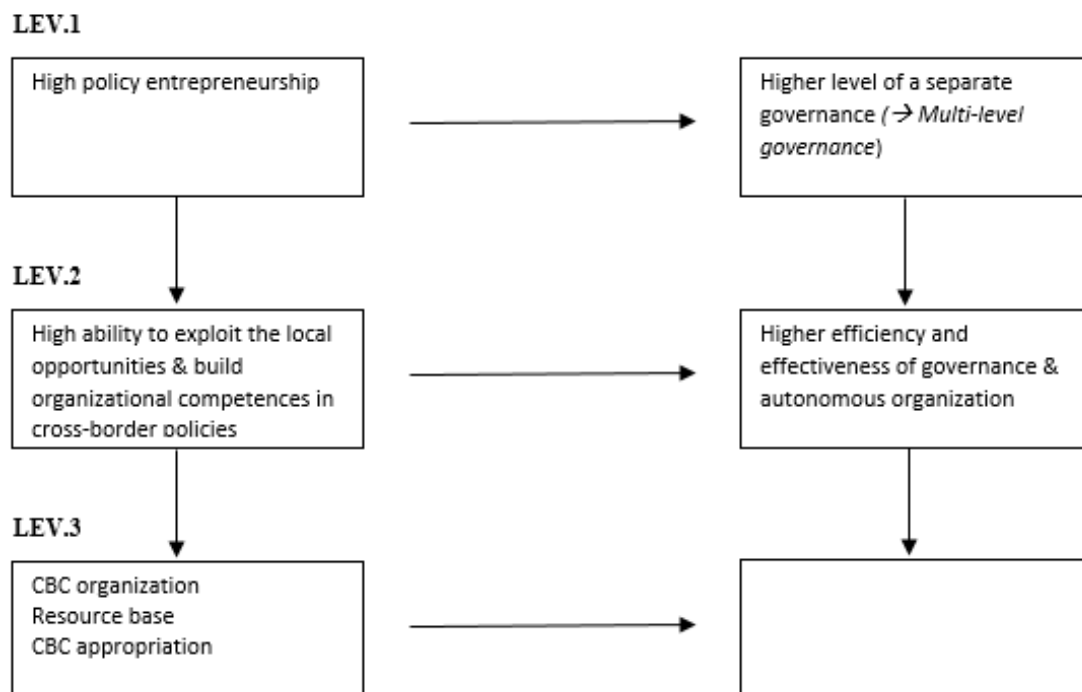


Figure 2.3 – Perkmann’s conceptual framework (Own elaboration)

This graphic shows how Perkmann's theory focuses the first conceptual level on the "policy entrepreneurship" of the Euroregions which can contribute to increase a multi-level governance in the EU by shaping new types of regional territorial entities. In other words, Perkmann's research tries to measure the degree of territorial autonomy, the power of the Euroregions and their capacity to create new independent transborder entities. The second level, defining the previous concept, highlights the meaning of policy entrepreneurship, corresponding to the good ability of a Euroregion to exploit the local opportunities related to the cross-border theme attracting policy tasks and resources. Perkmann in his article makes it explicit that the policy entrepreneurs are characterised as "actors who position themselves as protagonists within specific policy areas by taking advantage of windows of opportunity opened up by conjunctures within their policy environment". Moreover, mentioning Majone & Tame (1996) and Mintrom & Vergari (1996), he states that Euroregions: "... are constantly searching for possible problems for which they can offer a solution" - "They do this to increase the influence of their organisation or organisational unit". Thus, it is comprehensible that Perkmann's argumentation confirms that the Euroregions, in order to be good "policy entrepreneurs", have to maximize their advantages, orientating their choices on the basis of their occasions and their local contexts. The outcomes of this level could be considered by referring to two paradigms of International Relations: on a functionalist perspective his assumptions could lead to an outcome of higher level of organizational autonomy, while grounding the concept on a liberalist perspective, the main outcome would be a higher effective and efficient CBC strategy of the Euroregional cooperative governance towards an absolute gain of the local actors. To measure the Euroregional ability to exploit its local opportunities and build organizational competences, in the third conceptual level, Perkmann operationalises the Euroregional policy entrepreneurship in three specific elements: Cross-border region organization; Resource base; Cross-border cooperation appropriation. However, this last level does not involve an explicit operationalization of the outcomes which remain a theoretical qualitative deduction of the scholar.

2.2.2 The “new” model

This research, grounding its assumption on the liberalism school, and more specifically on the positivist approach of IR (see details in the paragraph below), aware of the differences between Western and South-East border areas and the level of CBC in the region, will implement Perkmann’s work, by trying to outline a valid model of cross-border area applicable to South-East Europe. In particular, the research, focusing on the concept of policy entrepreneurship, highlights the propensity of a border area to develop its socio-economic conditions. In other words, as already discussed above, the policy entrepreneurship aims at evaluating both the efficiency and the effectiveness of a CBC structure or Euroregion. It evaluates the Euroregional ability to adopt good local governance by exploiting the potentiality of its territory. The research is concentrated on the efficiency analysing the inner mechanism of the CBC structure through the 5 independent variables and on the effectiveness by analysing its results, i.e. the number of implemented CBC projects.

Specifically, to measure the impact of a successful Euroregional policy entrepreneurship, the research reframes Perkmann’s independent variables adding two other criteria: Diversity management and Ideological compatibility, allowing the research to pay specific attention to the ethnic and the ideological/political factor in CBC. Following this outlook, a new conceptual framework can be drawn:

New conceptual framework

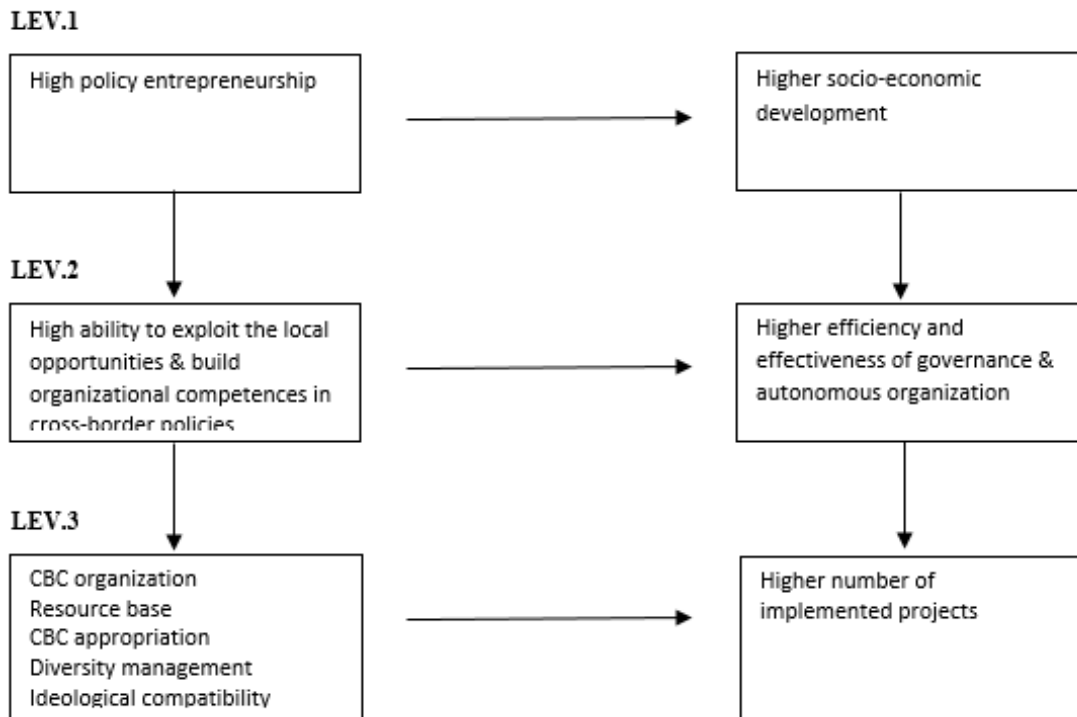


Figure 2.4 – New conceptual framework (Own elaboration)

This new framework is explained in light of the current political and economic situation of borderlands in South-East Europe (Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM) and the more recent historical background of CBC in this area compared to the Western European member states. The particular history of the Balkan countries, fraught with ethnic issues, the ongoing process of democratization, the free market economy still under construction, and the strong centralization of state power, characterise the area constraining the South East cross-border areas to different challenges in comparison to other European zones³. For these reasons, what is relevant to this study is finding the optimal way for a border area to efficiently implement new cross-border projects and to ensure upper life standards to its citizens. Naturally, following the first level of conceptualization, the research could also lead to other assumptions on the political stability, the democratization of the Euroregional areas and the decentralization of the states. A high policy entrepreneurship, for instance, could bring to a major involvement of border

³ For further details see chapter III

areas towards stronger Euroregional organs and higher territorial power of local administrations. Such new elements in the hypothesis would require further detailed research and will thus be considered secondary in the current study.

Therefore, within this general conceptual framework, the research question of the study is: *How can a good model of a cross-border cooperation structure be defined in terms of its policy entrepreneurship in South-East Europe?*

This is the complete Table representing the scheme of the research with the independent variables and the nine cases.

	Organiz. (O)	Resource base (R)	Appropri. (A)	Div. man. (D)	Id. comp. (I)	Policy entrepreneurship (P)
Korca AL						
Gjirokastra AL						
Vlore AL						
Bitola FYROM						
Kriva Palanka FYROM						
Struga FYROM						
Kjustendil BG						
Haskovo BG						
Ruse BG						

Table 2.1 – Scheme of the research (Own elaboration)

2.3 Research methodology

The research is carried out with the exploitation of QCA methodology (Qualitative Comparative Analysis). The QCA enables the research to carry out a systematic comparative analysis of nine border areas involving Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia, in view of setting up an appropriate model of cross-border cooperation in South-East Europe. The QCA is a unique synthetic strategy capable of linking the case oriented, or qualitative, and the variable oriented, or quantitative, approaches (Ragin 1987, 1991; Ragin and Rihoux 2008; Rihoux and Lobe 2009). QCA exemplifies some key strengths of the qualitative and quantitative approach (Ragin 1987; De Meur and Rihoux 2002). First of all, it views each case as a complex entity keeping the conception of causality, typical of the qualitative approach, and, at the same time it permits

to produce generalizations, comparing a high number of cases through the Boolean algebra which represents the cases using specific variables. In this way the study will be able to identify causal regularities within the whole set of conditions analysed (Rihoux 2003).

2.3.1 A municipality: the unit of analysis of the research

The casing or unit of analysis of the study is a local authority, or municipality, belonging to a cross-border area with an intensive CBC. On the basis of the two dimensions of the “case” (Ragin and Becker 1992; Rihoux and Lobe 2009), the study considers each case, firstly, through a realist perspective, because they all are different and unique, and, secondly, through a general perspective; in fact the cases exist prior to the research and they are set by the author using the map of the Association of European Border Regions - AEBR 2011- (see Table 2.2). The research expands Perkmann’s assumption of policy entrepreneurship to local public authorities, also referred to as cross-border structures, the most appropriate unit of analysis for South-East Europe, and therefore not only to the established Euroregions. This choice takes into consideration the current situation of the borderlands in the area, their general low level of CBC and the few established trans-border Euroregional organisms. By definition, a Euroregion is an advanced form of CBC which represents “a more or less institutionalized collaboration between contiguous subnational authorities across national borders” (Perkmann 2003, 2007) – “an association of local and regional authorities on either side of the national border, sometimes with a parliamentary assembly” (AEBR 2001). Thus, even through CBC can be implemented by all entities working in the cross-border area, local public authorities are the only actors entitled to found a Euroregion. The research tries then to define an effective and efficient local authority in terms of CBC in South-East Europe. The choice of the research-casing can be better understood by considering the following facts: 1) In South-East Europe some countries are still outside the EU while others are young members, so the CBC is still weak and in evolution with few Euroregional institutions, often existing only on paper; 2) In Albania and FYROM these are not formalized Euroregions but only active cross-border areas (see figure 2.6 - map-census of AEBR); 3) there is not a common standard to measure and define Euroregions, each border area in fact has a specific CBC with a variety level of more or

less formalized activities, depending on its history and its peculiarities; 4) in order to measure and compare the numbers of projects implemented by each unit of analysis (outcome of the research - see Table 3.1) eligible applicants for European IPA CBC Funds or Bilateral CBC Operational Programmes should be targeted. Not all the Euroregions in the area have real legal status which allows them to apply for these European funds⁴; 5) Each Euroregion has its own internal and member statutory regulation, some include public institutions and private subjects (i.e. NGOs, companies, etc.), others include only public institutions, thus the number of members could vary a lot – even in this case the comparison of the outcome would not be feasible.

2.3.2 The choice of the nine cases

For a successful comparison, the case selection of the research makes reference to a sampling of nine cases, nine different municipalities located in different cross-border areas of Albania, Bulgaria and FRYOM - NUTS III⁵ or smaller area (see also ANNEX1) - with an intensive CBC activity:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| - Municipality of Korca AL | (border area AL-GR; AL-FYROM) |
| - Municipality of Gjirokaster AL | (border area AL-GR) |
| - Municipality of Vlore AL | (border area AL-GR) |
| - Municipality of Kyustendil BG | (border area BG-FYROM; BG-SRB) |
| - Municipality of Haskovo BG | (border area BG-TR; BG-GR) |
| - Municipality of Ruse BG | (border area BG-RO) |
| - Municipality Struga FYROM | (border area FYROM-GR) |
| - Municipality of Bitola FYROM | (border area FYROM-AL; FYROM-GR) |
| - Municipality of Kriva Palanka FYROM | (border area FYROM-BG; FYROM-SRB) |

⁴ In 2006, the EU through the EGTC (European Groups of Territorial Cooperation) changed this framework recognizing unique European status to cross-border entities. There are no EGTC in South-East Europe yet;

⁵ The NUTS classification (Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics) is a hierarchical system for dividing up the economic territory of the EU for the purposes of: 1) The collection, development and harmonization of EU regional statistics; 2) Socio-economic analyses of the regions – NUTS 1: major socio-economic regions – NUTS 2: basic regions for the application of the regional policies – NUTS 3: small regions for specific diagnoses; 3) Framing of the EU regional policies. For further details: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/nuts_nomenclature/introduction;



Figure 2.5 – Case selection: in red the selected municipalities (Arid Ocean map)

The municipalities - 3 Albanian, 3 Bulgarian, 3 Macedonian - are preferred to other types of local institutions (districts/ prefectures/ regions/ etc.) because in South-East Europe they correspond to the only local political level with direct election of the people, and not to a mere statistical and institutional division. This allows the author to investigate the political and ideological factor of the selected cases. Furthermore, regionalisation in the Balkans is still incomplete (Bafoil 2010). The case selection is established on three distinguished steps: the overview of the major intensive cross-border areas and all the Euroregions present in South-East Europe on the basis of the map-census realized by the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR 2011); the screening of the cases of South-East Europe with reference to Gasparini and Perkmann's classification of the Euroregions (2000; 2003); the selection of the final nine cases based on their geographical position covering the whole territory analyzed by the research.

Thus, firstly on the basis of AEBR's map (2011), "cross-border cooperation areas/structures" (Figure 2.6), which lists the Euroregions and the cross-border areas with a particular intensive CBC in Europe, the author selects all the twenty-one CBC areas identified in Albania, Bulgaria, and FYROM (the numbers refer to the AEBR's map numbers):

<i>Reference number AEBR Map 2011</i>	<i>Name of the Euroregion or CBC Area</i>	<i>States involved</i>
11.	Adriatic Euroregion	AL/ BA/ HR/ IT/ MTN/ SI
12.	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer	AT/ BG/ DE/ HR/ HU/ MD/ RO/ SK/ SRB/ UA
14.	Euroregion Black Sea	AM/ AZ/ BG/ GE/ GR/ MD/ RO/ RU/ TR/ UA
128.	Euroregion Middle Danube - Iron Gates + Euroregion Danube 21	BG/RO/SRB
129.	Euroregion Nishava	BG/SRB
130.	Euroregion Danube – South	BG/RO
131.	Euroregion Ruse-Giurgiu	BG/RO
132.	Euroregion Danubius	BG/RO
133.	Inferior Danube Euroregion	BG/RO
137.	Euroregion Stara Planina	BG/SRB
171.	Puglia - Ionian Islands - Epyros - Albania	IT/GR/AL
172.	Epyros - South-Albania	GR/AL
173.	West Macedonia - Albania - FYROM	GR/AL/MK
174.	Central Macedonia - FYROM	GR/MK
175.	Euroregion Belasica	BG/GR/MK
176.	Euroregion Morava-Pcinija-Struma	BG/MK/SRB
177.	Euroregion Strymon - Strouma	GR/BG
178.	Euroregion Nestos-Mesta	GR/BG
179.	Euroregion Rhodopi	BG/GR
181.	Euroregion Polis - TrakiaKent - RAM Trakia	GR/TR/BG
182.	Euroregion Evros - Maritsa – Meric	GR/TR/BG

Table 2.2 – List of Euroregions and Cross-Border Cooperation Areas with a particular intensive CBC (AEBR Map 2011)

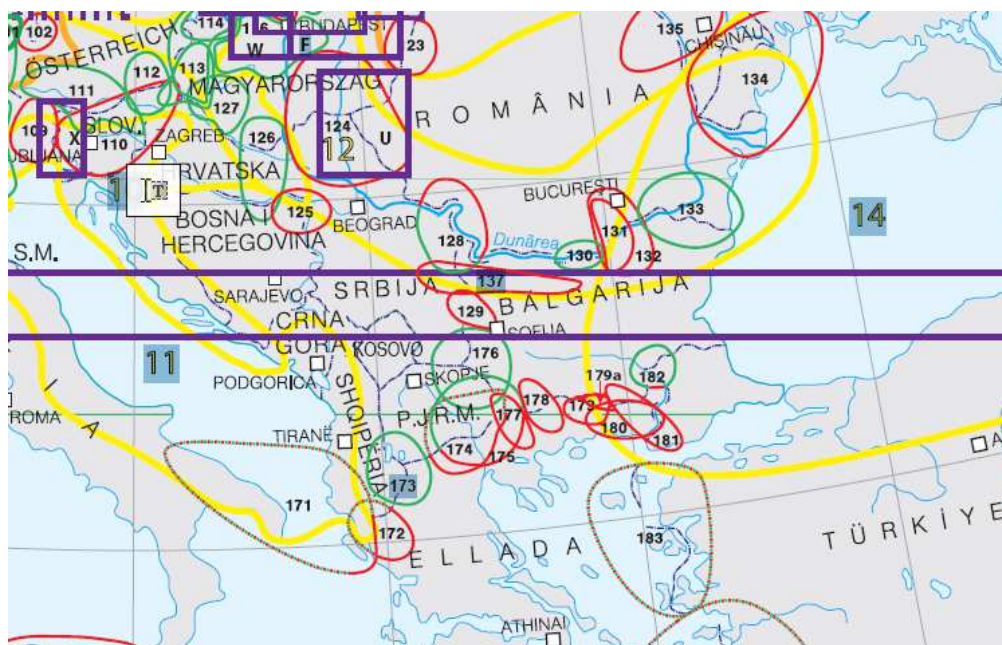


Figure 2.6 – Euroregions and Cross-Border Cooperation Areas with a particular intensive CBC (AEBR Map 2011)

Following the first step, the case selection is secondly determined on the basis of Gasparini's theory which categorizes the Euroregions in three typologies: macro structures, functional networks and contiguity cooperation. The Euroregions are classified on the basis of their geographical dimensions and their cross-border objectives, trade, transport, specific policies, culture, etc. (Gasparini 2003a):

1. The *first type of Euroregion* aims to provide *macro structures* or political agreements for cross-border cooperation and to connect the area with its international hinterland, through common transport infrastructures (roads, ports, railways) that could support further economic cooperation. These objectives can be pursued by Euroregional bodies (conferences of presidents, for example) able to take legislative initiatives through agreements and common operational decisions.
2. The *second type of Euroregion* has as goal the realization of cooperation in *functional networks*. It is embodied in institutions which help to establish and stabilize economic ties between companies, administrative and cultural institutions, associations, media, etc. A result of such connections, solicited by the institutions of this Euroregion, is the creation of networks of relations based on the object of the exchange: money, information, culture, media, etc.
3. The *third type of Euroregion* is defined as *contiguity cooperation*. This is more related to the community, to the establishment of strong cross-border cooperation

in few specialized economic sectors (ex. winter tourism, university area, etc.) and to the intensive involvement of the population.

The research is focused only on the third Euroregional typology - *contiguity-cooperation* - which has a larger political and cultural reference, more appropriate to the purpose of this study. This last typology of the Euroregions, in fact, actively involves the administrative local power. Perkmann, too, in 2003 classified the Euroregions on the basis of their *geographical scope* – small and large; *cooperation intensity* – high and low; *type of actors* – local and regional. Similarly to what has just been underlined with reference to Gasparini's classification, the research will omit the large Euroregions, those that Perkmann define as Working Communities, and it focuses on South-East Europe small border areas, where cooperation activities are relatively developed and carried out by local authorities.

Thus, applying Gasparini and Perkmann's classifications of the Euroregions to the structured cross-border areas listed by the AEBC's map-census, the new population of the research, after a second screening, counts eighteen cases (the Adriatic Euroregion, Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer, the Euroregion Black Sea are discarded).

Finally, among these eighteen cases, the author selects 9 relevant cases, that cover the entire territory and the corresponding cross-border areas, with the most developed cooperation, of the three countries selected, Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM. The cross-border areas involved are the following: AL-GR; AL-FYROM; FYROM-GR; FYROM-SRB; FYROM-BG; BG-SRB; BG-RO; BG-GR; BG-TR.

The QCA is applied through Multiple cases – Most Similar System Design (MSSD) – because the majority of the border areas selected share the same characteristics and are based on a relatively homogeneous area. The region hosts small states having a low level of interaction (Petrakos 2001) and until recently a mosaic of policies and restrictions to interaction towards each other (European research project EXLINEA 2004). In addition, the 3 selected countries have a centralized form of administrative system, a low level of socio-economic development and ethnic minorities living in border regions that have created frictions in the past and continue in some cases to be a source of tension. The region and its main characteristics will be described in details in chapter III.

The systematic study of the cases, focusing on the disparities, points out the variables which support or prevent a local authority to engage in policy entrepreneurship in terms of CBC and, consequently, to contribute to develop higher socio-economic standards. The initial concept, the policy entrepreneurship, could be extended by adding cases which share some attributes able to further investigate it. How far this type of extension can go depends, first of all, on whether it helps to answer the research question asked, and, secondly, on whether or not the remaining contextual features can be kept reasonably constant, in an MSSD (Pennings, Keman, Kleinnijenhuis 2006).

Following Figure 2.4 we observe that the comparison is structured on five different variables which measure the ability of a specific organizational body to take advantage of cross-border opportunities and thus of their level of policy entrepreneurship. As stated above, for the study of South-East Europe, two more variables (Diversity management and Ideological compatibility) are added to Perkmann's theory, determining the level of policy entrepreneurship through a precise outcome: the number of cross-border projects implemented by each border local authority, supported by the European Union and by proper initiatives, for the period 2007-2013, the latter corresponding to the last EU programming period. As shown in Figure 2.3, this analytic measurement differs from Perkmann's operationalization. It appears, in fact, that at the third conceptual level, Perkmann omits a specific operationalization, privileging a qualitative interpretation. However, even the new outcome which has been chosen in this research, takes into account only the numbers of initiated projects, not detailed and real economic/social data, but neither the implementation nor the results of the effect of these cross-border projects. This limitation of the research could foster further studies on the topic. Thus, in order to estimate the CBC policy entrepreneurship of the 9 studied bordering municipalities, the research evaluates the number of CBC projects implemented by the selected municipal authorities. This measurement permits to consider the ability of a municipality in seizing the opportunities offered by the cross-border cooperation. Even if by studying this outcome, the research cannot measure the real improvement of the socio-economic level of a CBC area or the effective results of one of its CBC policies, it can estimate the predisposition of a municipality to work in an ever more dynamic CBC environment. In addition, the CBC projects financed by the

European Union represent the only instrument used by the different local authorities to work on cross-border cooperation in South-East Europe. This is confirmed by their CBC budgets which, in fact, support CBC activities only thanks to the EU funds. As differently from other Western European borderlands, which can count on other donors or invest their own funds, the 9 municipalities of the research declared the EU as unique donor for CBC activities (see variable 2 in chapter IV).

The two new criteria, diversity management and ideological compatibility, added as 4th and 5th independent variables, are the extension to Perkmann's study for South-East Europe. When Perkmann uses the terms "successful bottom-up mobilisation", he underlines the will of local actors and the role of the Euroregional bodies to advance the CBC in the area.

Hence, the author links the "successful bottom-up mobilisation of municipalities" to the ideological compatibility of the local leaders and to the international relation frame between the neighbour countries, while the "entrepreneurial secretariat" to an effective diversity management capacity of the border local authority to maximize its chances of development. In this sense, a good model of border local authority in South-East Europe should work for a better CBC to increase the socio-economic environment of its borderland as its priority. This is, in fact, the main difference between the three case-studies analysed by Perkmann – with an already defined and stable socio-economic development – and the cases under current analysis.

These new internal variables, diversity management, ideological compatibility, and the new external factors, the EU membership status and the CBC history, will be further analysed in details, as fundamental points to examine the policy entrepreneurship of these South East cross-border areas with its own historical, socio-economic and cultural context.

2.4 The innovative criteria

2.4.1 Diversity management

The first criteria, *diversity management*, takes into account the advantages and weaknesses of a borderland where minority-majority cleavages could be more or less marked. Particular skills or different backgrounds in borderlands could be deemed as an

asset or an issue. Hence, for instance, an ethnic minority group, familiar with the neighbouring institutional mechanisms or the neighbouring language, or having established cooperation with neighbouring NGOs or other stakeholders, could support the implementation of more cross-border activities. At the same time, specifically for these peripheral areas, a multicultural ethnic environment could be perceived as a precarious circumstance in terms of national security, sometimes from the local point of view, sometime from the central government's point of view, in particular if there is a national minority with an adjoining kin-state.

The idea to link the CBC with ethnic minorities and the concept of "diversity" is then explained on the basis of five further aspects: a) a large part of minorities (among a total of 75 million people, 10.29 percent of Europe's population - Pat and Pfeil 2003) in Europe are living in transborder areas, so their participation, mobilization and integration depends much on local governance and not only on national decisions; b) States in Central East Europe are home to sizeable ethnic minorities concentrated near or along border regions c) both minorities and CBC could be seen as Achilles' heel of the states, peripheral centrifugal strength of their instability: minorities on one side exercise their impact through their claims for recognition, CBC on the other contributes to the merge of international and internal policies through the growing "Europeanization" of local and regional governments (Hettne 1994; Joenniemi 1997); d) Through the CBC, minorities and their will seeking to defend their own culture from the dominant national one could be seen as an ally by the EU to strengthen the European integration process; and e) the diversity and a multicultural ethnic environment could represent an opportunity to improve the economic development of the area.

An ethnic group could have a representation in a local government or in a Euroregion participating in the Council Committee or in a specific working group (as it is happening in different Western countries, e.g. Tyrol - IT and Schleswig - D) or still simply participating in cooperation activities to facilitate the cross-border ties and the involvement of the local communities.

Diversity presents unique challenges for management as it is linked to both positive and negative organizational performance outcomes (Mannix and Neale 2005). In 2001 Cox stated: "The challenge of diversity is not simply to have it but to create conditions in which its potential to be a performance barrier is minimized and its

potential to enhance performance is maximized". Using Putman's concept of social capital, Grix and Knowles (2002) declare that the Euroregions are a "social capital maximizer" because they develop the level of trust relations between people. The exploitation of a good diversity management by local authorities located in multi-ethnic borderlands, where diversity is one of the most relevant peculiarity, would therefore offer to the border area better chance to act as real "social capital maximizer". This is above all true if we consider the study of Malloy (2007, 2010) where she defines national minorities as "capacity builders" of cross-border regions.

A first positive hypothesis, therefore, assumes that diversity contributes to higher-quality decisions by taking advantage of a broader range of alternatives and new ideas (Cox 1993; Foldy 2004; Mor Barak 2011; Ospina 2001; Richard 2000; Thomas and Ely 1996). On the other hand, a contrary hypothesis assumes that a greater diversity is associated with less social integration, more conflict, and less cohesion in groups, consequently decreasing organizational performance (Milliken and Martins 1996; Williams and O'Reilly 1998). It is nevertheless fundamental to evaluate the capacity to actually manage the diversity and the effective leadership, and the organizational competences which connect diversity to work effectiveness (Thomas and Ely 1996).

The concept of diversity management is based on affirmative action programmes, which mean that companies or administrations (or in this case local authorities in cross-border areas) need to take positive steps to ensure equal opportunities and to exploit the various skills derived from their diversity. Diversity management has a proactive view and aims at promoting a diverse and heterogeneous workforce. In private terms, the emphasis of diversity management is in the business' advantage that it can provide to organizations.

Thus, in border areas where large minority communities reside, it is assumed that the diversity management could represent a relevant advantage to build a high-performing, diverse workforce based on mutual acceptance, tolerance and trust.

Stretching this concept of diversity management to a broader perspective, which is not covering only human resources or organizational activities but also any positive action or project implemented by a border local authority to involve and exploit its "diversity", the research measures the policy entrepreneurship of borderlands in cross-border cooperation through their number of implemented relevant projects or initiatives.

On a qualitative approach, to evaluate the level of diversity management, the research analyses for each case the “diversity management agenda” and thus the potential actions implemented by a border administrative body to exploit “diversity”. Some examples of positive actions considered and undertaken by the administrative body could be: diversity of the categories covered by the employee of the organisations (e.g. ethnicity, religion, nationality, gender, socio-economic background, etc.); recruitment strategy; specific actions/activities promoting an environment that values differences (internal and external to the Euroregional body); contacts and involvement of minority groups in new CBC projects; particular agencies that are promoting the multicultural environment of the borderland; specific training of the staff; creation of a specific working group or internal organ; attitudes and opinions of leaders; dialogue and communication (internal and external); measures that organisations use (or would use) to monitor diversity; the extent to which diversity is central to the activities of different functions/sectors in the organizational body (e.g. fundraising, administration, cross-border economic development, cross-border environment protection, cross-border education, cross-border cultural dialogue, cross-border health, etc.). In other words, this independent variable tries to measure through a qualitative approach the participation of “diversity” in borderlands to a better exploitation of all the CBC activities in terms of these specific competences: networking, language skills, institutional and law system knowledge, openness and dynamism, cultural trust and also new project ideas.

It is finally significant to underline that there is a different focus on the concept of “diversity” considering diversity management and equal rights legislation. The latter is about trying to achieve equality of opportunities by focusing on specific groups and righting past wrongs. Diversity management focuses on managing and conducting the diverse workforce to give the organizational body a competitive advantage.

Thus, the validation of this independent variable aims to determine if the diversity management theory used most for the organization of private companies and also of public administrations when applied to local authorities of border areas could be used to measure the social-economic development and the political stability in borderlands where large ethnic minorities reside. In particular in South-East Europe, where ethnic minorities are a significant mark of the history of the place, “diversity” could become an

asset of cross-border areas and the Euroregions can appraise differences, exploiting them and increasing the socio-economic conditions of the borderlands.

2.4.2 Ideological compatibility

The second criteria, *ideological compatibility*, represents more or less the compatibility of the political inclination of the two (or more) administrations involved in the cross-border activities, at the local and national level. At the local level, depending on the political colour of both local governments, the cooperation and consequently the CBC policy entrepreneurship could prove easier or more difficult. At the national level, the historical framework and the international relations between two neighbour countries could alter positively or negatively the corresponding CBC activities in their border areas.

The politicians, in fact, could share or not ideas and attitudes on CBC, European integration, economic and social development, interethnic cultural cooperation. Political cleavages and ideological conflicts are important because of their role in providing bases of support for parties (Dalton 1988) and thus in shaping the content of party and political competition. The presence of cleavages can contribute to democratic stability by reinforcing party-public links and increasing the preventability of political outcomes (Lijphart, Rogowski, Weaver 1993). On the other hand, because they can mirror deep social and ideological partitions, political cleavages may also generate potential institutional crisis, and the democratic politics could become less stable (Gunther and Mughan 1993). And this is particularly crucial in cross-border areas.

Moreover, in South-East Europe, the ideological perspective is still rife with nationalism and historically unsolved problems between the countries. In 2009, EastWest Institute concluded a research on CBC in the Ohrid region noticing that the name dispute between Greece and Macedonia affects the low propensity of the border areas to develop CBC activities and it affirms that: “The main problem is the strength of historical narratives that apply exclusive (and by default mutually exclusive) approaches towards *Macedonia*. Macedonia as a historical, geographical and cultural concept is home to variety of cultures and peoples whose identities, collective memories and historical narratives have shaped it. Therefore, any exclusive approach can only give rise to conflict.” (EastWest Institute 2009).

Ateljevic (2008a), for instance, highlights that the complicated historical heritage between the Bosnian-Serbian border area actually hinders the trans-border cooperation activities. Ateljevic observes: “The war in Eastern BiH saw many atrocities committed and the inadequacy of the international community was clearly exposed [...] this has left deep wounds and suspicions. Add to this the fact that Srebrenica Municipality is essentially run by the SDA (Muslim party) and the rest by a variety of Serbian nationalist parties”. Thus, the power relations among the local governments is considered by Ateljevic in terms of will and compatibility. These difficulties of political dialogue, in general, occur typically in a South East region, in cross-border areas, between countries and within a country – both at local and national level.

The ideological obstacle could appear even within a country (between the national and the local level) where the cleavages between right and left wings are particularly pronounced. In general, this ideological element is especially relevant in a region where the different democracies are still in the process of consolidation and where high animosities and mutual accusations among parties limit the possibilities for cooperation (Idea 2007). The Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council (2012) - Albania Progress Report – additionally points out: “The existence of two separate local government associations, split in membership between the two main political parties, has hindered cooperation at municipal level and weakened the position of local authorities vis-à-vis the central government”. It is evident that such complicated situations of political incompatibility impasse the increase of local authorities and consequently their capacity to develop cross-border activities. This specific internal aspect will not be considered in detail as it is not relevant to the aim of the research, but it could be an interesting topic for further future studies.

The independent variable of ideological compatibility intends to examine the attitude and the political will of the leaders to establish and work within the framework of a CBC with their transfrontier colleagues, depending on their political belonging and on the international relations background. The variable, hence, is evaluated by the number of projects implemented by local leaders, more or less vulnerable respectively to their political inclination, and, in qualitative terms, to the international relations tendency in the two countries where the CBC is operating.

As Nelles and Durand (2012) assert: “the cross-border cooperation, since its explosion in the 80s, has been facilitated by the presence of strong political leaders who have managed to unite relevant actors, diffuse tensions, and structure compromise. However, faced with the inertia and plodding progress of establishing cooperation over the long term, even energetic leaders can fall victim to frustration and lassitude. The relentless movement back and forth of projects and the multitude and persistence of constraints can dampen the enthusiasm of political actors for the cross-border agenda”. Thus, the evaluation of the ideological compatibility through the eyes of politicians and administrators dealing with CBC seems fundamental for the analysis of the research.

2.4.3 The new external factors

Finally, the research changes the external factors evaluated by Perkmann, from the institutional environment to the *EU membership status* and *CBC history*. The centralized administrative structure of the South-East European countries does not allow any deep changes in the territorial management. For this reason the institutional environment is considered a constant variable or a common feature. The presence of minorities, that started claiming for the respect of their own communities just in the follow up to the communist breakdown, prevented the recreation of local powers in South-East Europe (Bafail 2010). Their role in fostering the regionalisation process in South-East Europe will be further investigated, with respect to their involvement in Cross-border Cooperation activities. In this respect the research will investigate whether the Cross-border Cooperation in South-East Europe could support the decentralisation in the area and the enforcement of local authorities as crucial actors for the socio-economic development and integration of these cross-border areas.

More applicable to this study on South-East Europe, as indirect and external factors, are the EU membership status and the CBC history, so the membership status of the two (or more) countries where the cross-border areas or the Euroregions are set up and the historical background of the borderland.

In the limited territory of this study, indeed, there are cross-border areas located between countries outside the EU (AL-FYROM; FYROM-SRB which anyway does not have a IPA CBC programme), others between EU and non-EU members states (AL-GR; BG-FYROM; BG-TR) and others between both EU members states (BG-GR; BG-RO).

It is clear that this can vary and influence the CBC activities and the ability of local authorities to engage in policy entrepreneurship, politically and economically, in terms of formal but also pragmatic requirements. The EU countries, for instance, benefit of a larger budget financed by the CBC Bilateral Programmes (European Regional Funds – ERF) than the non-EU countries which can apply to the IPA CBC Programmes (Pre-Accession Funds). The EU countries, as well, having started beforehand to work on CBC, have larger competence and experience in managing EU funds. Finally, it could be indirectly assumed that EU member states have also a more stable democratic political system and a larger market economy (respecting already the “Copenhagen criteria” – TEU) which allow them to be more active in implementing socio-economic cross-border projects.

The element CBC history highlights instead is the background of a cross-border areas. A specific historical heritage could favour or be an obstacle to the transfrontier cooperation between local institutions. Mirwaldt (2010) studying the case of the Czech-Bavarian borderland case (where a German minority resides), declares that due to a negative historical past the Bavarian borderlanders’ attitudes towards the Czechs would look even less favourable than the average of Germans’ attitudes. For Malloy this negative historical memory can be overcome; in fact, she demonstrates the relevance of minorities as “building capacity” of cross-border areas even after a bloody past between Denmark and Germany (Malloy 2007; 2010).

The historical background of a country and its EU membership status are closely linked also in terms of the variety of economic settings and market dynamics, essential for the same conception of “policy entrepreneurship”. The economic settings, indeed, could weigh on the capacity of a local authority to apply to a European call for proposals because of the co-financing rule imposed by the European Commission. Ateljevic (2008b), in addition, stresses and explains the differences of economic setting in the Balkans through the history of a country. Former Yugoslavia, for example, stands out from the mainstream model of communism exercised in the former Soviet bloc: “Essentially, Yugoslavia was a non-aligned, socialist state with less strict government state intervention. The command economy was more loose, allowing different forms of private ownership, although on a smaller scale and mainly in the service sector (tourism, hospitality and craft industries). Thus the process of transition from a socialist economy

to a market economy could not be viewed as entirely novel for the Balkan successor states which emerged after the Yugoslav civil war and arguably they should have had a much easier transition than the remainder of the former Soviet bloc”.

To sum up the EU membership and the CBC history represent pertinent external elements that the research takes into consideration when analysing the data and the final results.

CHAPTER III - CBC in South-East Europe

This chapter provides an overview of the main features of the countries of the research, Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM, and the cross-border cooperation between them and their neighbouring countries. In order to outline the framework for the QCA and the comparison of the data of the 9 selected cases that will be described in the next chapter, in this chapter the author aims at highlighting the main features of the three countries and the relative conditions of the selected cross-border areas.

The first part focuses on the demographic and economic backgrounds of the three selected countries, making allowances for the detection of the aspects that have an impact on the different tendencies towards CBC actions.

Secondly, the administrative systems are analysed in order to recognize the current territorial divisions, the local power and the difficulties of the three countries to achieve a real process of decentralization which affects the situation of each cross-border cooperation.

Furthermore, at a later stage, the chapter deals with the ethnic factor, analysing the current situation of minority rights in Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM. The aim is, therefore, to investigate the presence of minorities in the three countries and the existing legislation on minorities and on protection from discrimination, to evaluate the level of pluralism and the potential tendency of border areas and municipalities to be “policy entrepreneurship” and, consequently, to work with their local diversities.

Finally, the analysis addresses the CBC in the different border areas of the region where all the 9 selected cases and, by extension the 9 municipalities, are operative. For each CBC area, the historical background of the border will be firstly analysed, to evaluate part of the second innovative variable, the “ideological compatibility”, and, then, the economic structure and the main objectives of the CBC programme in force in the border area. The cases have been selected considering the border areas existing with all the neighbouring countries of Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM: Albania-Greece; Albania-FYROM; FYROM-Greece; Bulgaria-FYROM; FYROM-Serbia; Bulgaria-Serbia; Bulgaria-Romania; Bulgaria-Greece; Bulgaria-Turkey. There is no any IPA CBC programme for the border area FYROM-Serbia (within the EU budget 2007-

2013), therefore the case Kriva Palanka will be only considered for the CBC FYROM – Bulgaria.

	AL-FYROM	AL-GR	FYROM-GR	FYROM-BG	FYROM-SRB	BG-SRB	BG-RO	BG-GR	BG-TR
Korca (AL)	V	V							
Gjirokaster (AL)		V							
Vlore (AL)		V							
Struga (FYROM)	V		V						
Bitola (FYROM)	V		V						
Kriva Palanka (FYROM)				V	V				
Kjustendil (BG)				V		V			
Ruse (BG)							V		
Haskovo (BG)								V	V

Table 3.1 – Existing Cross-Border Areas taken into account in the research (Own elaboration)



Figure 3.1 – Case selection: in red the selected municipalities (Own elaboration on Arid Ocean map)

3.1 Demographic and Economic features in South-East Europe

3.1.1 Albania

The Albanian Population and Housing Census of 2011 (INSTAT – Republika e Shqiperise, Institutii Statistikes), the 11th census conducted in the history of Albania, counted 2.821.977 resident people, 749.365 living in Tirana. The population is reduced by 8% compared to the 2001 census, when the enumerated population was 3.069.275 (INSTAT 2011). During the inter-censal period the births per year have decreased significantly, from about 53 thousand in 2001 to about 34 thousand, in 2011, while the

emigration increased. In ten years (2001-2011) it is estimated that around 500 thousand people emigrated (particularly to Greece and Italy).

Economically Albania is considered one of the *Emerging Market and Developing Economies* - EMDE (International Monetary Fund - IMF). The composition of the GDP by sector is estimated as 20.2% to agriculture, 19.5% to industry and 60.3% to services. In the first quarter of 2013 the unemployment rate was 12.8% (Albanian Institute of Statistics – INSTAT, July 2013). The “World Economic and Financial Surveys - World Economic Outlook” of the International Monetary Fund has calculated the following real GDP (April 2013):

<i>Real GDP</i>	<i>1995-2004</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>Projections 2013</i>	<i>Projections 2014</i>
<i>Albania</i>	6.0	5.8	5.4	5.9	7.5	3.3	3.5	3.0	1.3	1.8	2.5

Table 3.2 – Real GDP Albania (IMF 2013)

The economic crisis had a strong impact on the Albanian economic development in particular because it affected two of its most relevant neighbouring countries, Greece and Italy. In a recent study, the USAID (US Agency of International Development) and the ACIT (Albanian Centre for Competitiveness and International Trade) stated that in the past 5 years, between 18 to 22% of the Albanian migrants to Greece have returned to Albania (around 180,000 persons). Albanians are withdrawing their savings from Greek banks. Greek Foreign Direct Investment to Albania has decreased drastically in the last years, reducing from 53% of total Foreign Direct Investment in 2006 to 27% in 2011. As for trade, Albanian imports from Greece have decreased from 15% in 2007 to 11% in 2011. Albanian exports to Greece went from 8.2% of total exports in 2007 to 4.9% in 2011, falling to fourth trading-partner from second (USAID, ACIT 2012).

3.1.2 Bulgaria

The population of Bulgaria is 7.364.570 people. 3.777.999 -51.3%- are women and 3.586.571 -48.7%- are men (National Statistic Institute 2011). The tendency for urbanization is kept: 72.5% of people live in urban areas and 27.5% in rural areas. The

capital city of Sofia counts 1.291.591 inhabitants, in ten years it has increased 10.3% and today represents 17.5% of the entire population of Bulgaria. Varna, the second biggest city of the country, has also increased by 13.061 people or 2.8%. Within the period between the two censuses 2001 and 2011 the country's population decreased with 564.331 people. This is due to the negative natural increase of 68.9% and to the international migration of 31.1%, which is estimated at 175.244 people (National Statistic Institute 2011).

The economy of Bulgaria is also viewed as emerging market, the real GDP of the country after a deep fall in 2009 seems to have reacquired a positive trend (IMF, April 2013):

<i>Real GDP</i>	<i>1995-2004</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>Projections 2013</i>	<i>Projections 2014</i>
Bulgaria	1.6	6.4	6.5	6.4	6.2	-5.5	0.4	1.8	0.8	1.2	2.3

Table 3.3 – Real GDP Bulgaria (IMF 2013)

The unemployment rate instead tends to grow; it passed from 5.6% in 2008 to 12.3% in 2012 (Eurostat). Bulgaria reduced public debt from over 70% of GDP in 2000 to 16.3% in 2010. The country has built fiscal buffers by accumulating fiscal surpluses between 2004 and 2008 and now it remains among the most fiscally disciplined EU member states (World Bank). The main economic sectors of Bulgaria are: Food processing, Metals, Mechanical Engineering, Mineral products, Rubber and plastic, Textiles, Electrical Engineering, Wood products and paper, Chemicals; the GDP is distributed as follows: 6% Agriculture; 31% Industry; 63% Services (Invest Bulgaria Agency 2011).

3.1.3 FYROM

FYROM counts a total population of 2.022.547 inhabitants, 1.015.377 male and 1.007.170 female (State Statistical Office of FYROM, Census 2002). Skopje, the capital of the Country, represents the major biggest city with 506.926 inhabitants, while Vraneshtitsa is the smallest with 1.322 people (ibidem). A more recent study published

in June 2012 showed a slight increase of the population specifying the number of 2.061.044 inhabitants (State Statistical Office of FYROM).

In spite of the name dispute, Greece represents one of the main economic trade partners of FYROM with their import/export exchange (in 2011 export: 218.013 US \$ – import: 569.749 US \$) and the high level of Greek Foreign Direct Investment on Macedonian territory from 1991 to 2007 (see State Statistical Office - Republic of Macedonia 2009, 2011).

The real GDP of FYROM has followed the trend of the crisis in 2009 and had also a negative tendency in 2012, but now it seems stabilized (IMF, April 2013):

<i>Real GDP</i>	<i>1995-2004</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>Projections 2013</i>	<i>Projections 2014</i>
FYROM	1.7	4.4	5.0	6.1	5.0	-0.9	2.9	2.9	-0.3	2.0	3.1

Table 3.4 – Real GDP FYROM (IMF 2013)

The unemployment rate of FYROM is gradually decreasing year by year, but it remains on a high level; according to the World Bank data in 2012 it was 31.4% of the total labour force.

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has mainly a low technology economy and its industry includes oil refining and mining. The country depends on imports for all of its oil and gas needs, and imports most of its modern machinery and parts. Major export commodities are steel and iron, tobacco, clothing and wine. The Country has a fluctuating movement of foreign direct investments - respectively from 2008 to 2012: 399.9; 160.0; 336.8; 104.8 million of euro (National Bank of FYROM) - which reflect the unstable trend of the economic indicators.

3.2 Administrative systems and local governance in South-East Europe

The local territorial administrative-system and its corresponding local governance are linked to the European principle of subsidiarity and, more generally, to the concept of democracy, seen as instrument of representation and participation of the communities. The research bases its comparison on this local administrative level assuming that the increasing of CBC and its policy entrepreneurship could support

higher efficiency and effectiveness of local governance in South East border areas. Thus, measuring and comparing the policy entrepreneurship of different local municipalities, through the five independent variables, the functioning and the ability of each border area to deal with local governance will be outlined.

Local governance is, according to the EC Communications (2003) and European Council conclusions (2006), inextricably linked to democratic governance. Governance has become a fundamental theme in the EU development policy debate and is presently seen as a key aspect of both EU member states, and EU partner countries' policies and programmes (see also the European Parliament Resolution 200319 and the Committee of the Regions opinion 200720). In its Communication on Governance and Development in 2003, the European Commission refers to governance in the following terms: "Governance concerns the state's ability to serve the citizens. It refers to the rules, processes, and behaviours by which interests are articulated, resources are managed, and power is exercised in society. The way public functions are carried out, public resources are managed and public regulatory powers are exercised is the major issue to be addressed in this context. In spite of its open and broad character, governance is a meaningful and practical concept relating to the very basic aspects of the functioning of any society and political and social systems. It can be described as a basic measure of stability and performance of a society. As the concepts of human rights, democratization and democracy, the rule of law, civil society, decentralized power sharing, and sound public administration, gain importance and relevance as a society develops into a more sophisticated political system, governance evolves into good governance" (European Commission 2003).

Local governance can be as well defined as: "A process of decision making (by local council and relevant stakeholder groups) on matters of local development and the implementation and management of development plans and the provision of basic services through allocation of available resources in order to achieve agreed development goals and targets" (HTSPE International Programme Management). In other words, local governance is about: 1) who is participating in decision making and how decisions reflect the community's priority needs; 2) how are the decisions translated into action; c) what resources (natural, human, economic) are available and how are they allocated to meet people's needs. According to these points, the concept of

local governance remains neutral; hence local administrations could deal with it in a positive or negative sense.

As pointed out in the second chapter, different other issues come up from this definition of local governance, having direct bearing on decentralization, territorial development and local democratic development. Firstly, local governance requires processes of decentralization where local structures are capable, accountable and responsive to the needs and rights of citizens. Secondly, local governance represents the capacity of local authorities to manage their local affairs. It aims to improve the quality of life of their communities in terms of human rights, economic development, security, infrastructure, public services (Gasparini 2003b; 2003c).

In South-East Europe and in the newly democratic countries there is an opportunity to design local administrative systems anew, and many have taken such initiatives, through decentralization and improved local governance. In the long run, cross-border cooperation in South East countries could cultivate and contribute to the progress of this local democratic prospective and be a means for reconciliation and regional development.

Currently, the three countries of South-East Europe that the research takes into account have a variety of administrative-systems:

<i>Albania</i>		<i>Bulgaria</i>		<i>FYROM</i>	
State		State		State	National LEVEL
Qarku (NUTS III)		Rajoni za planirane (NUTS II) ----- Oblast (NUTS III)		Statistički region (NUTS III)	Regional LEVEL
Baskia	Comune	Obhitina	Territorialna Administracija	Opštine	Municipal LEVEL

Figure 3.2 – Administrative systems AL, BG, FYROM (Own elaboration)

As shown in Figure 3.2, under the national level in all of the three States, Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM there are two more administrative levels. The municipal levels of the three countries have an administrative-political aim, while the regional levels have a higher degree of a functional-territorial aim, the latter being formal authorities without any real political power. Thus, all the three countries do not have a directly elected regional level of self-government. In Albania there are 12 “Qarku” and 373 municipal

entities (including “Baskia” and “Comune”); in Bulgaria 6 “Rajoni za planirane”, 28 “Oblasti” and 264 municipal entities (“Obshtini” or “Territorialna Administratsiya”); FYROM counts 8 “Statisticki regioni” and 84 “Opshtini” or municipalities.

3.2.1 Albania

Albania distinguished the first administrative level in “Baskia” (municipality) and “Comune”, essentially in urban and rural areas. The Act on “Organization and Functioning of Local Governments” n. 8652 (2000), approved by the Assembly of the Republic of Albania, defines the sub-divisions of a “Baskia” as quarters (with a minimum of 15,000 residents) and villages (with a minimum of 200 hundred inhabitants), while sub-divisions of “Comune” are only villages (with no specific minimum number of inhabitants). Both entities have a representative elective political body. The Albanian regional administrative level is represented by “Qarku”; each Qarku is divided in more districts (or Rreth). Contrary to the first administrative level, regions in Albania do not have direct elective representation, in fact, “the Regional Council is composed of representatives of communal and municipal Councils” (Republic of Albania Assembly, Law n. 8652, 2000 - Art. 49). All the mayors of communes and municipalities from the constituent members are automatically members of the Regional Council; the number of representatives of communal and municipal council in the Regional Council are determined in proportion to the population of the same commune, or baskia, from 1 to 5 representatives – from 5.000 inhabitants to 100.000 inhabitants, plus 1 representative for each 50.000 inhabitants above 100.000 (ibidem). The local governance in Albania has direct responsibilities in the following fields: Infrastructure and public services; Social cultural and recreational functions; Local Economic development; Civil Security (art.72, ibidem)



Figure 3.3 – NUTS III, Albania (Ezilon 2009)

3.2.2 Bulgaria

Similarly to the Albanian system, Bulgaria has two territorial levels (Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria - Article 135). The “Oblasti” represent the national government at the regional level. There are 28 “Oblasti”, including the Oblast Sofia-city which has special status, being a large urban area. The governors of the Oblasti are nominated by the National Executive Power, and they have administrative designation creating bodies and services according to the will of the central state government (Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria - Article 143). They are also financed by the central government. In other words, “Oblasti” (also called Districts) are arms of the state administration. The six “Rajoni za planirane”, instead, have been created for the purpose of regional planning and statistics, and for the coordination of the accession instruments of the EU (Assembly of European Regions 2010). They do not have any administrative structures and they have no financial resources of their own (Assembly of European Regions 2010). The municipalities, “Obstini”, are elective administrative bodies with autonomous functions in different fields: municipal property, enterprises and finance, taxes and fees, municipal administration; the structure and the development of the territory of the municipality and of its settlements; education; health

care; culture; public works and communal activities; social support; protection of environment and rational use of the natural resources; maintenance and the preservation of cultural, historic and architectural monuments; sports, recreation and tourism (Art. 17. - amend. and suppl. SG 65/95; amend. SG 69/2003). Ananieva (2001) underlines that the Bulgarian Constitution places emphasis on the essence and the organization of the unitarian, unified state of the Republic of Bulgaria. She highlights that the term “local authority” is not used in the new Bulgarian Constitution: according to the Article n.2 - paragraph 1 - “Republic of Bulgaria is a unified state with local self-government. The formation of autonomous territorial entities is not warrantable on its territory”. Thus, according to Ananieva the Constitution does not foresee the formation of any type of autonomous local authority; it rather specifies the competencies of the different local institutions (ibidem).



Figure 3.4 – NUTS III, Bulgaria (Ezilon 2009)

3.2.3 FYROM

The FYROM recognizes as Units of local self-government the “Statisticheski regioni”, the municipalities and the City of Skopje. Similarly to the Bulgarian planning regions, the “Statisticheski regioni” have more the function of regional planning whereas the municipalities represent the core of the administrative-system of FYROM. The City of Skopje is considered a special unit of local self-government because it has a unique spatial, urban, economic, political and ecological entity (Constitution, Article 117; Act on the Territorial Organization of the Local Self-Government in the Republic of Macedonia 2004 - Article 1). According to the Act on the Territorial Organization of the

Local Self-Government in the Republic of Macedonia (2004), municipalities are responsible for the following competences: Urban development (urban and rural) planning; construction permits; Spatial arrangement and construction land arrangement; Environment and nature protection; Local economic development; Utilities; Culture; Sports and recreation; Social protection and children protection; Education; Health Care; Civil protection and preparatory activities for protection against destructions and natural disasters; Fire protection carried out by local territory fire units. Today, FYROM counts 84 municipalities, but in the past it had several different administrative territorial divisions. Before independence FYROM was divided in 34 municipalities, from 1995 to 2004 it had 123 municipalities and since the elections of 2005, under the new Act on the Territorial Organization, the 123 municipalities were consolidated in 84 local governments. The main difference between the two administrative reforms is that the first one was based on natural traditions, while the second one – on functional effectiveness (Karkatsoulis 2010). The Macedonian administrative-territorial division is been influenced by the inter-ethnic crisis that broke out in 2001 among Macedonians and Albanians. The crisis had important consequences on the economy, the democratic institutions and the capacity of the administration to continue with the reform process. The “Framework Agreement on peace and stability”, signed in Ohrid in August 2001 by the representatives of NATO, EU and the main political parties, remarks the development of a decentralized government as a means for the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a continuous peace between Albanians and Macedonians. Thus, local self-government is seen not only as the main feature of the country’s administrative organisation but also as a power-sharing contract between the two ethnic groups. Local self government is understood as central to ensure social and cultural pluralism as well as the peaceful cohabitation of the different communities. The Framework Agreement advises the revision of the Act on local self-government (FYROM 2001, Annex B, Article 1) in order to reinforce the powers of elected officials, in conformity with the Constitution and the European Charter on local self-government and in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity. In the last years, significant advances have been done in this field. As pointed out by the “Report for the process of fiscal decentralisation in Macedonia” of Urban Rural Consulting (URC) and by the Recommendation 329 (2012) of the Council of Europe, FYROM has made remarkable

progress towards better local democracy and decentralisation. Since 2007, within the framework of the new Act on Balanced Regional Development, 8 “Statisticheski regioni” (corresponding to NUTS 3 level units) have been established with the objectives of: (a) ensuring the balanced and sustainable development of the entire territory of the country, based on a polycentric model of development, and (b) reducing disparities between and within the regions and improvement of the quality of life of all citizens. These regions are not administrative-political, but functional-territorial units for the purposes of planning and implementing regional development. The Act on Balanced Regional Development also establishes Regional Development Centres and the Councils for Development of each Planning Region. The latter are composed of mayors from the municipalities belonging to the region and determine the regional development plans for a five-year period. Similarly to the Albanian Qarku, members of the Council for the Development of the planning region are the mayors of the units of local self-government which are part of the planning region (Act on Balanced Regional Development, Article 19).

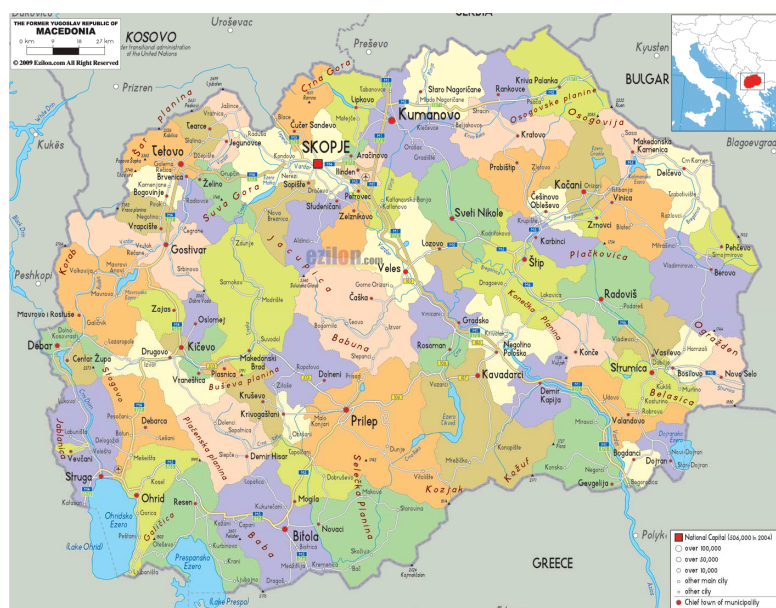


Figure 3.5 – NUTS III, FYROM (Ezilon 2009)

3.3 Minority groups: policies and legislation

The issue of ethnicity and minority groups, intertwined with the issue of territory in South-East Europe, has had crucial significance for the history and the development

of the all area. In South-East Europe, as well as in Europe which counts a minority population of 75 million of people - 10.29% of the whole population (Pat ad Pfeil 2003), the challenge of including minorities would be crucial to develop the future society from a nation-state system to a multicultural-state system and to avoid strong ethnic cleavages that combined with other socio-economic factors could lead once again to the outbreak of new territorial conflicts as it happened in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo in the 1990s.

The term “ethnos” in ancient Greek was used in diverse ways and its usage “conveys two important messages which have been preserved in the term to the present days: the first one refers to a group of people (or animals) with common cultural and biological features”; - “the second one refers to people who are different from us, who are others” (Krasteva 1998).

The modern term of “ethnicity” is still rather vague for the everyday consciousness, but also for scientific knowledge. The notion of “ethnicity” is tied to the concept of “ethnie”. On one hand, the notion of “ethnicity” is associated to the positive feelings of belonging to a cultural group (Guibernau and Rex 1997), so the tendency of an individual to consider himself as part of a group; on the other hand, the notion of “ethnie” is associated to the communitarian sense of belonging among the members of a group, so the tendency of the members to believe in a shared common set of values, such as their historical heritage, homeland, culture. Thus, the same phenomenon is seen from a different perspective: individual or communitarian. Ethnie expresses the ontological existence of the community, and Ethnicity the sense of belonging to the same community (Krasteva 1998).

The term “minority” is linked to the dominant and subordinate groups of a society. Within the political studies, it often places the main accent on the lack of power of a group. Thus, the relation of minority to power is not as definitive as its size (Krasteva 1998). Even if there is no agreed definition for minority (in terms of ethnic or national minority), it refers to several defined characteristics: a proper collective name, shared myths of origin and cultural characteristics such as language, religion, traditions and customs that distinguish a given group from others (Wolff 2008), but with no political assumptions. While states could never achieve consensus over a common definition, the monitoring or the executive international bodies generally tended to

understand minorities in the broadest sense. One of the most well-known definitions was stated by Francesco Capotorti (U. N. Special Rapporteur 1977): “A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a state, in a non-dominant position, whose members being nationals of the state, possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language”.

The issue of minorities emerged from the beginning of the process of state formation and nation building. Concerning this delicate topic, each nation-state takes into account: who counts as (a member of) a minority, where such minorities live, how many of them there are, and how many members they have. From the viewpoint of nation-states, minorities often represent a latent menace, a critical Achilles’ heel of their wholeness and national security. So a larger autonomy of a minority group living in a particular border territory could be perceived as potential threat for the survival and integrity of the same State.

During the 19th and 20th centuries the Empires-based the European system were replaced by the formation of nation-states and national societies. This process consequently, brought the minority groups, who did not recognize themselves in the titular national culture, to claim for their recognition and their rights. In particular, the consolidation of state borders and the emerging international system institutionalised the demarcation and mutual respect of sovereignty of states and their exclusive jurisdiction over a particular territory. The borders became more and more secure and fixed bringing to the states the need to strengthen their internal power, thus creating a unified and homogeneous national society out of dispersed and culturally diverse local communities. The increase of markets and the improvement of communications and transports contributed to the establishment of a political-administrative apparatus and the concentration of political power in a unique centre (Calhoun 1997). Thus, the state functions and the increasingly organized power have diffused common cultural norms and a sense of national membership among diverse groups (Deutsch 1966). Besides the administrative centralization, cultural and linguistic standardisation took place with the extension of national educational systems (Gellner 1983). Despite this centralisation and

homogenisation trend, regional-territorial divisions and ethnic-cultural minorities remained blurry, particularly in border areas.

The extension of political rights and the emergence of political parties enhanced opportunities for regional minorities and local interests to participate in national systems of representation. On one hand, in the 1920s, this democratization process contributed to the diffusion of regional autonomy movements and politics (Rokkan and Urwin 1982; Flora 1999), and on the other hand, the incorporation of larger sectors of the population, through political participation and social citizenship rights in the state organization institutionalized the peripheral or separatist tensions and merged the state's external boundary. In other words, the democratization process reinforced the state formation weakening the possibility of separation (Bartolini 1998; 2000).

Today, despite the consolidated international minority rights protection regime and the integration process in the European Union which, apart from a strong economic growth impulse, created new legal frameworks to protect the minority rights, the crucial problems connected to the integration of minorities is not yet completely resolved. These are some examples of the International Conventions on the topic: European Convention of Human Rights - ECHR; the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities- FCNM; European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages - ECRML; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - ICCPR; the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - ICESCR; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination – ICERD; the Convention on the Rights of the Child – CRC; the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education (UN - Treaty Collection; Council of Europe – Treaty Office, UNESCO). All these Conventions have been ratified by the selected countries:

	ICCPR	ICESCR	ICERD	CRC	UNESCO Conv. Edu	FCNM	ECHR	ECRML
Albania	04/10/1991 Accession	04/10/1991 Accession	11/05/1994 Accession	27/02/1992 Ratification	21/11/1963 Ratification	28/09/1999 Ratification	02/10/1996 ratification	--
Bulgaria	21/09/1970 Ratification	21/09/1970 Ratification	08/08/1966 Ratification	03/06/1991 Ratification	04/12/1962 Acceptance	07/05/1999 Ratification	07/9/1992 Ratification	--

	ICCPR	ICESCR	ICERD	CRC	UNESCO Conv. Edu	FCNM	ECHR	ECRML
FYROM	18/01/1994 Succession	18/01/1994 Succession	18/01/1994 Succession	02/12/1993 Succession	30/04/1997 Succession	10/04/1997 Ratification	10/4/1997 Ratification	25/07/19 96 Signature

Table 3.5 – List of ratified Conventions – Type of instrument: Signature, Accession, Succession, Ratification (Own elaboration)

The minority issue remains uncertain and not solved, in the whole of Europe, and especially in South-East Europe, where the historical heritage left deep scars in the societies. Some events which took place in Europe in recent years have kept the attention high on minority issues. Thus, in April 2012, for instance, in Flensburg – Germany, the Danish minority has led a mass demonstration to protest against the cut funding for the Danish minority schools. In Belgium, it is worth mentioning the internal political crisis that lasted for 541 days (from June 2011 to December 2012) of a political deadlock due to the intractable divisions between the Dutch and French-speaking communities in Belgium. In the last years in Kosovo, repeatedly, protests were organized by the Self-Determination Party trying to stop traffic flow from Serbia entering the territory to oppose any form of dialogue of Prizren with the Serbian government in Belgrade. Furthermore, in 2011, Bulgaria was also involved in some ethnic tensions. In May the nationalistic party Ataka organised a demonstration in front of the mosque in Sofia and in the autumn of the same year, Bulgarian nationals rallied in protest against the Roma community. In Macedonia, thousands of ethnic Albanians demonstrated against the arrest of three men charged over the killing of five Macedonians, who were indicted as "followers of radical Islam". In September 2013 in Greece the police arrested the leader of the neo-fascist Golden Dawn party and issued warrants for more than 30 party members on charges of murder, money laundering and other crimes. Recently the racial escalation in Greece has produced several extremist attacks against Muslims. Finally, some tensions cropped up in Albania on 28th October 2012, during the commemoration (Ochi Day) of Greece's entry into WW2. Protesters of the Albanian nationalistic Red and Black Alliance Party faced police forces after they tried to hurl rocks and stop Greek diplomatic vehicles and buses carrying relatives of WW2 victims to a war memorial in Albania.

Cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity is therefore a fact of life in South-East Europe not only in terms of state, but also in terms of local regions and local communities. Citizens cherish highly their local regional identity, cultural heritage, traditions, values and languages, even though globalisation seems to even out local features unifying lifestyles and cultural consumption models. On the contrary, the rise of a global market and of a borderless European economy caused an emerging need to cultivate a regional identity. National and ethnic minorities are involved in this process, as they invariably seek to defend their own culture from the dominant national one. These circumstances could facilitate the will of minorities to create a stronger local Euroregional identity becoming a crucial motor for the European Union integration process. According to Knippenberg (2004), the institutionalisation of the Euroregions and the formation of a European or Euroregional identity do not necessarily imply the loss of national identities. For Knippenberg a new identity-building process could foster new vital developments for the society as it was in the past concerning the nation-identity-building process. In fact, the author underlines that the nation-building process conferred central importance to education, the language, the mass media, enforcing at the same time the democratization process.

Within this framework, it is evident that the three countries studied in the research, Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia, have different minority population and different courses of action followed by the new elites in view of solving the problem. Thus, herein the research offers an overview of the demographic features of the three countries, the current situation of the existing ethnic communities and the main legal provisions of each legislative system.

3.3.1 Albania

According to the last census (2011), Albania counts 2.800.138 people, 24.243 out of which are Greek-Albanians and 5.512 are Macedonian-Albanians, they correspond respectively to 0.87% and 0.20% of the entire population. The other existing minor ethnic groups are Montenegrin (366 – 0.01%), Aromanian (8.266 – 0.30%), Roma (8.301- 0.30%), and Egyptian (3.368 – 0.12%). With respect to the language use, the minority population declares as own mother tongue Greek for 0.54%, Macedonian for 0.16% and Roma for 0.14%. The religion seems more diversified; in fact, there are

1.587.608 (56.70%) Muslims, 58.628 (2.09%) Bektashi- a Muslim confraternity, 280.921 (10.03%) Catholics, 188.992 (6.75%) Orthodox. Despite these official data, other studies showed a different ethnic panorama. The study carried out by Fetahu (2009), carried out by interviewing several associations of ethnic communities in Albania, showed a mismatch in the demographic population of ethnic communities. All communities, even if they were not convinced by the figures being provided in the questionnaires, declared a larger number of members compared to the official census data. Hence, the Associations of Egyptian community assessed themselves as an ethno-cultural community with a population of around 250.000 inhabitants, the Associations of the Roma Community assessed themselves as a minority with a population ranging from 120.000 to 150.000, the Association of the Vlach community stated that their population amounts to about 250.000 inhabitants, the Associations of the Macedonian Community presented themselves as a minority with a population varying from 120.000 to 150.000 inhabitants, and the Association “Moraca-Rozafa” of the ethnic Serbian and Montenegro Minority gave the assessment of a population of about 40.000 inhabitants. Another study, “The demographic atlas of Albania” carried out by Asche, Berxholi, Siemer, Doka (2005) states that 2.3% of the whole Albanian population belongs to ethnic minority groups which, if added to the existing ethno-cultural minorities, would form a non-Albanian population equal to 10% of the overall national population (Rukay 2011).

The Greek minority is recognised as the largest and the most popular one in terms of its number, territorial expansion and the level of national consciousness. It is located in the Southern part of Albania (or Northern Epirus), bordering on Greece, exactly where the three towns analysed in the research, Korca, Gjirokastrer and Vlore, are located. After the collapse of the Communist regime, the Greek minority moved from the rural areas to the big cities, as the rest of the population did. Anyway, after 1990 the majority of the Greeks in Albania emigrated to Greece where they enjoy the status of a homogeneous population. The Greek minority in Albania benefits from Greek national funds supporting schools, kindergartens and pensions for the elderly people of the community. Because of the unstable economical situation, last February 2013, the Greek government decided to cut the pensions of elderly members of the ethnic Greek minority in southern Albania which caused concern in the ethnic Greek

villages. The Albanian “Party for Justice, Integration and Unity” and the nationalistic “Red and Black Alliance” have always denounced this type of economic support as a way of maintaining the region’s historically Greek identity. Both movements are still claiming the Chamaria territories (Northern part of Greece which was part of Albania) and the legitimacy of the deportation of the Arvanites during and after WW2, the former being a language minority group living in Greece who traditionally speaks Arvanitika, an Albanian dialect. A standing member of Albanian Parliament is also the Greek political party, “Unity for Human Rights Party”. This party has its headquarters in Vlore and concentrates its action on human and minority rights for its community. The Greeks of Albania have also a large organization “Omonia”, established in 1991. It is a political-social forum aiming to protect the rights of the Greek national minority; it is very active and plays an important role in representing the Greek minority rights.

The second largest minority living in Albania are the Macedonians who enjoyed their minority status and a formal recognition after the WW2 with the declaration of the Republic of Macedonia as a member of the Yugoslavian Federation (Albania Helsinki Committee 2003). The Macedonian national minority is concentrated along the line of the Prespa Lake, around 30 km North-East from the Korca district. This area extends to the border of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Greece. The main cities where they live are Korca (case in the research), Porgradec, and Tirana (AL Census 2011). The people of this minority work mostly in agriculture and fishing. Like the Greek minority, a lot of Macedonians had high mobility across the border with FYROM, some worked right on the other side of the border but many moved to FYROM. This minority group founded an association, “Union of Macedonians”, that brings together other NGOs - “Mir”, “Med”, “Gora”- and a sociopolitical organization called “Druzho Prespa”.

The table below shows the specific demographic situation of the three case-studies selected for the research design (AL Census 2011):

Districts	Total	Ethnic group									
		Albanian	Greek	Macedonian	Montenegrin	Aromanian	Roma	Egyptian	Other	Prefer not to answer	Not stated
Gjirokastrë	72176	56193	5363	1	1	688	91	21	56	8729	1033
Korçë	220357	176719	2923	3922	2	2677	1005	847	84	29495	2683
Vlorë	175640	120637	12079	7	1	876	282	15	55	38253	3435

Table 3.6 – Demographic data AL - 3 Albanian cases (AL Census 2011)

When analysing the presence of the Albanian ethnicity in other countries, it is of essential importance to mention that Albanians live in all neighbouring countries: Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Greece (Arvanites). This particular demographic situation becomes more relevant if one takes into account the fact that most Albanians consider the historical Greater Albania (or Ethnic Albania, a concept of lands that includes the existing Republic of Albania, Kosovo and parts of Serbia, Montenegro, FYROM and Greece) their national homeland: according to the Gallup Balkan Monitor 2010 report, the majority of Albanians in Albania (63%), Kosovo (81%) and the Republic of Macedonia (53%) support the idea of Greater Albania.

Despite this irredentist claim of Greater Albania and the ethnic cleansing verified in its neighbouring countries in the 90s, Albania's religious climate has remained remarkably tolerant (cf. Young 1999). The tolerant climate seems to reflect and epitomize the story of the Albanian national hero Skanderbeg, who was born an Orthodox, lived as a Muslim, and died as Catholic (Young 1999). Nowadays, Albania is one of the few European countries with a majority of Muslim population (with Bosnia Herzegovina).

To offer an overview of the legislative background of Albania regarding minority rights and internal standards, it is relevant to mention Article 3 of the Albanian Constitution which guarantees the fundamental rights of the individuals, including minority rights, as the basis of the Albanian State (Art.3 – Constitution of Albania).

The independence of the state and the integrity of its territory, the dignity of the person, his rights and freedoms, social justice, the constitutional order, pluralism, national identity and inheritance, religious coexistence, and coexistence with, and understanding of Albanians for, minorities are the basis of this state, which has the duty of respecting and protecting them.

The Constitution defines human rights in a comprehensive way in Part II (Art.15-63). These specific provisions of the Constitution lay down the political, economic, social and cultural rights, which in a non-discriminatory way are also applied to the people belonging to minority groups. Article 18 of the Constitution guarantees the general principle of equality before the law and prohibits unfair discrimination, while Article 20 defines a special provision regarding the above principles with respect to the national minority rights. It establishes: “a) People who belong to national minorities exercise the human rights and freedom in full equality before the law; b) They have the right to

express freely, without prohibition or compulsion, their ethnic cultural, religious and linguistic belonging. They have the right to preserve and develop them, to study and be taught in their mother tongue, and to be united in organizations and associations for the protection of their interests and identity.” This provision grants a person belonging to a minority group the right to exist as a member of that group and develop their minority identity. In addition, the specific Act No. 10221, dated 04/02/2010, on the Protection from Discrimination, regulates the implementation of and respect for the principle of equality in connection with gender, race, colour, ethnicity, language, gender identity, sexual orientation, political, religious or philosophical beliefs, economics, education or social situation, pregnancy, parentage, parental responsibility, age, family or marital status, civil status, residence, health status, genetic predispositions, restricted ability, affiliation with a particular group, or for any other reason (Art.1 Act No..10221).

Furthermore, Articles 46 and 47 of the Albanian Constitution guarantee the rights to the freedom of assembly and association. Act No. 8580 (17/02/2000) on political parties leaves room for minority groups to found their political parties on ethnic basis. This right has great relevance, bearing in mind that it is the tool to ensure the right for minorities to participate in political and public life. Article 7 of the same Act bans activities promoting racial, religious, ethnic hatred. Article 38(2) of the Constitution states that:“no one may be hindered from leaving the state freely”, hence it provides the right for the members of the minority group to freely establish and maintain contacts across the frontier, with people who are legally staying in other states, going freely abroad for any personal reason. Considering the regime of strong isolation imposed by Enver Hoxha, this freedom has contributed to an important transformation in the country, leading to mass emigration from the 90s to early 2000s.

3.3.2 Bulgaria

As of 01/02/2011 the population of Bulgaria counts 7.364.570 people: 5.664.624 (84.8%) are Bulgarians; 588.318 (8.8%) belong to the Turkish minority; 325.343 (4.9%) belong to the Roma ethnicity, 1.654 (0.02%) declared to belong to the ethnic Macedonians (National Statistical Institute, Republic of Bulgaria – BG Census 2011). Moreover, according to the 2011 census, there are 67.350 Pomaks or Muslim Bulgarians, a community with Slavic origin who believe in Islam. The increased

emigration during the last 20 years influenced the number of all ethnic groups in the country; however, it did not bring to any significant change in the ethnic structure of the population in the last two censuses. The population with Bulgarian ethnic identity is significantly more urbanized in comparison to the other two main ethnic groups. 77.5% of the Bulgarians live in urban areas, compared to 37.7% of the Turkish and 55.4% of the Roma (BG Census 2011). The Turks of Bulgaria are mostly concentrated in specific districts: Kurdjali, Razgrad, Turgovishte, Shumen, Silistra, Dobrich, Ruse, Burgas, where 63.7% of the population of this ethnic group lives. The Roma community is instead equally distributed on Bulgarian territory; 4.9%, the largest concentration of this community is registered in the following districts: Montana - 12.7%, Sliven - 11.8%, Dobrich - 8.8%, Yambol - 8.5%. The majority of Macedonians live in the Blagoevgrad Province, located in the Western part of Bulgaria. Pomaks live in the Rhodopi Mountains: in the Smolyan, Kurdjali, Pazardjik, Blagoevgrad, and Lovech Provinces. The people who do not identify themselves with an specific ethnic group are 53.391 (0.8%).

Bulgarian is the mother tongue for 5.659.024 (85.2%) people of the whole population. Turkish is the mother tongue for 605.802 (9.1%), while the Roma language is spoken as a mother tongue by 281.217 (4.2%) people. Among the citizens who identified themselves with the Turkish ethnic group, 96.6% claimed Turkish as their mother tongue whereas 3.2% declared Bulgarian as their native language. Among the Roma ethnicity 85% claimed the Roma language as their mother tongue, 7.5% Bulgarian, 6.7% Turkish and 0.6% Romanian (BG Census 2011).

With reference to the religious factor, the citizens who identified themselves as Orthodox are 4.374.135 (76.0%), as Catholic 48.945 (0.8%) and as Protestant 64.476 (1.1%). Muslims are 577.139 people corresponding to 10% of the Bulgarian population. 272.264 (4.7%) responders have no religion and 409.898 (7.1%) do not identify themselves with any religion. This question had the highest share of non-responded people - 21.8%.

Considering the three case-studies analyzed in the research, the table below shows the quota of the main existing ethnic communities:

<i>Districts</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Ethnic group</i>				
		<i>Bulgarian</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>Roma</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Not</i>
Haskovo	227382	180541	28444	15889	891	1617
Kyustendil	130615	121351	105	8305	354	500
Ruse	216612	176413	28658	8615	1869	1057

Table 3.7 – Demographic data BG – 3 Bulgarian cases (BG Census 2011)

Because of their status as former occupiers (from 1396 until 1878), the Turks have had tumultuous relationship with Bulgaria since the beginning of its independence in 1878. Since this date Turks have begun immigrating to Turkey. The most numerous wave of Turkish emigration occurred in the 1980s when around 310.000 Turks left Bulgaria as a result of the Zhivkov regime's assimilation campaign. In 1984 the Communist Regime forced all Turks and other Muslims in Bulgaria to adopt Bulgarian (Christian or traditionally Slavic) names and renounce all Muslim customs. Bulgaria no longer recognized the Turks as a national minority, explaining that all the Muslims in Bulgaria descended from Bulgarians who had been forced into the Islamic faith by the Ottoman Turks. This historical period has resulted in the establishment of a new political party named "Movement of Freedoms and Rights" (MRF). Founded in 1990 to represent the interests of the Turkish ethnic minority, the MRF has broadened its goals and platform to embrace all issues of civil rights in Bulgaria, aiming "to contribute to the unity of the Bulgarian people and to the full and unequivocal compliance with the rights and freedoms of mankind and of all religious and cultural communities in Bulgaria" (MRF website). In the last two decades the MRF party held the balance of power in Bulgarian parliament allying either with the left or the right coalition. Nowadays, MRF is the third biggest party with 11.31% and 36 seats (see website of the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria); it is allied with the Bulgarian Socialist Party and is part of a new Government Coalition which has been in power since the elections in May 2013.

After the collapse of the Communist Regime Turkish language lessons were reintroduced in schools as non-compulsory; during the academic year 2000/2001 education in Turkish was organized in 520 municipal schools in the country, with 34.860 minority students enrolled and 703 teachers. Since 2000 the Bulgarian national television has also launched daily news programmes in Turkish (European Commission – The Euromosaic Study, 2013).

Although the term “minority” is not used in the Bulgarian Constitution, the legal framework for protection against discrimination of ethnic minorities is guaranteed in Article 6 of the Bulgarian Supreme Law which proclaims the principle of equality and non-discrimination that enables treatment of all citizens on equal footing. Another important provision in this regard is Article 5(4) which stipulates that the provisions of international covenants ratified by Bulgaria constitute an internal part of Bulgarian legislation and have priority over domestic law (see Table 2.5). Article 3 states that “Bulgarian should be the official language of the Republic”. However, concerning the rights of using the mother tongue of the minority, Article 36 guarantees that all citizens whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian have “the right to study and use their own language” (Art. 36 - Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria). Articles 39, 40, 41 stipulate the freedom of expression and information. These three articles promote the freedom of expression to all Bulgarian citizens, but without referring to particular ethnic identities.

According to the report of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee to the United Nations - (2010), the legal framework for protection against discrimination of ethnic minorities in Bulgaria is still deficient and some ethnic minorities face widespread discrimination in practice. The Bulgarian Helsinki Committee mentions that Article 11(4) of the Constitution prohibits political parties organized along ethnic and religious lines. Moreover, Article 166 of the Penal Code envisages up to three years of imprisonment for persons who form political organizations along religious lines. Although a number of parties explicitly promoting Christian religious values exist in Bulgaria – continues the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee - in December, 2009 this provision was selectively enforced against a group of Muslims (the so called Yuzeirovi brothers) who were charged for their alleged attempt to form a political party. At the same time, the International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations, IMIR (2012), denounces the fact that the Bulgarian state has no political and administrative will to fully implement the Public Education Act in its part dealing with the right to study the mother tongue. IMIR identifies two problems: the current Bulgarian legislation very generally guarantees the democratic right to study the mother tongue (Constitution; ratification of international legal acts; the Education Act: PEA and LSGEMCA); the practical administrative regulations are not clear as to how to organize the teaching.

Thus, as these reports make it clear, even if Bulgaria seems to respect the general legislative criteria concerning the protection of minority rights, it still has to face the issue of their concrete implementation.

3.3.3 FYROM

The last census the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was carried out in 2002, and showed a population of 2.022.547 people. According to recent population estimates (published on 30.06.2012) it has 2.061.044 inhabitants (State Statistical Office of FYROM). The population of FYROM is very multi-ethnic; indeed, it counts 1.297.981 (64.18%) Macedonians, members of the ethnic majority, 509.083 (25.17%) Albanians, 17 018 (0.84%) Bosniaks, 9.695 (0.48%) Aromanians, 53.879 (2.66%) Romanies, 35 939 (1.78%) Serbs and 77.959 (3.85%) Turks (State Statistical Office of FYROM – Census 2002). According to the data collected in the last Census of the Population (2002), these are the shares of the major existing ethnic communities in the single areas selected for the research:

Districts	Total	Ethnic group					
		Macedonian	Albanian	Roma	Serbs	Turks	Other
Bitola	95385	84616	4164	2613	541	1610	550
KrivaPalanka	20820	19998	0	668	103	2	44
Struga	63376	20336	36029	116	106	3628	2402

Table 3.8 – Demographic data FYROM – 3 Macedonian cases (FYROM Census 2002)

The main languages of the country are Macedonian, Albanian, Romani, Turkish and Serbian, while the main religions are Eastern Orthodox Christianity (70%) and Islam - mainly Sunni (29%), which essentially mark the two main communities existing in the territory as Macedonians and Albanians. Albanians live predominantly in the Western part of FYROM close to the border with Albania. As a result of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001), relevant guarantees have been provided for the Albanian ethnic group, especially as regards language use and participation in public life, including public-sector employment. The University of Tetovo, the only university where tuition is in Albanian language, has been also recognized by the FYROM after 2001.

The public schools are in general well-distributed among the territory; in 1994 there were 1.067 elementary schools, 718 out of which were ethnic Macedonian institutions, 279 were ethnic Albanian, and the remaining 55 elementary schools were

Turkish (Education Encyclopaedia – State University). In the same year 97 high schools were counted in the Country: 90 were Macedonian, 5 were Albanian and 2 were Turkish.

The Albanian language is not taught in Macedonian schools, even in those areas where the Albanian minority represents more than 20% of the entire population. The Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001) indeed confirmed Macedonian as the country's official language, but it added that any other language spoken by at least 20% of the population has also the right to be considered official language. However, in FYROM the educational system remains largely mono ethnic and the dialogue between the two communities is still fragile. During the academic year 2009/2010, Jovanovska from the EU Observer reported that Albanian pupils have boycotted the beginning of the semester; they refused to take part in Macedonian language classes, because their communities claimed that they had been introduced without proper preparation in elementary schools. For the Minority Rights Group International the education system has long been one of the major factors in the *de facto* segregation between ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians due to the insistence of both communities that their children be taught in their first language and resistance to learning each other's language. In addition, according to the organization Minority Rights Group International (2008) the Albanian national minority remains with institutional problems, still facing discrimination in respect to the general unemployment rate, the state employment, the use of their own language in public administration.

Although the current situation seems relatively calm and the inter-ethnic relations are gradually improving, strong disputes take place from time to time. In August 2007, rising tensions over Kosovo's final status appeared to be the spark for sporadic outbreaks of violence in the western border region. Albanian extremists attacked a police station in Albanian Western Macedonia, along the border with Kosovo; Macedonian forces clashed with Albanians maintaining the control of the area till September 2011. In the first months of 2012 other outbreaks of ethnic violence took place in the country. Mass protests, acts of lynching and victims followed in Skopje, Tetovo and in other towns of the country. The escalation culminated on 11 May 2012 with a massive protest of Albanians in front of the government building in Skopje (Euractiv, 14/05/2012).

The ethnic relations between Macedonians and Albanians have also been dominating parliamentary life. In fact, the single representative chamber of FYROM hosts different ethnic parties. Since its independence, FYROM has been governed by multi-ethnic coalitions, with two main Albanian parties (the Democratic Union for Integration and the Democratic Party of the Albanians) split between the governing coalition and the opposition. Furthermore, a Committee on interethnic relations, made up of members of all ethnic groups, has been established and can make proposals to Parliament.

Formally, the Constitution of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, even though it does not make any specific reference to ethnic minorities, guarantees all freedoms of individuals. It includes the principles of equality and prohibits any form of discrimination on the basis of race and ethnic origin (Constitution of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia - Article 9). According to Article 16 the Supreme Law of FYROM guarantees the freedom of speech, public address, public information; according to Article 19 the freedom of religious confession is guaranteed, and according to Article 20 the freedom of association to exercise and protect their political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and convictions is also legally protected (Constitution of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). From Article 30 to Article 49 the economic, social and cultural rights are also proclaimed. Article 32 of the Constitution guarantees the right to work, while Articles 35 and 36 guarantee the right to social security and social insurance. All these rights are warranted for all citizens of the country.

The Macedonian State does not have common and complete legislation to protect minority rights, but it includes a set of laws. For instance, in 2005 an Act on Labour Relations was issued to guarantee equal opportunities of employment, banning any kind of discrimination including race and religion. Another Act was enforced on the Legal Status of Churches, Religious Communities and Religious Groups (2007); a total number of 30 religious entities were registered under this Act (see European Commission, 2012 Progress Report - FYROM).

The Macedonian government has put the EU agenda at the centre of its activity. According to the European Commission this will act as a catalyst for accelerating reforms and will contribute to substantial progress in a number of key policy areas. The

government has submitted proposals to Parliament to improve the legislative framework for elections, including the area of freedom of expression. Thus, the progress on the EU path will be crucial for Macedonian democratic future development (Sulejmani 2011 and Skaric 2004). FYROM is at a crossroads as the Ohrid agreement has still not been fully implemented. The Ohrid Agreement aimed at three main goals, ensuring the future of democracy in Macedonia: the development of related and integrated relations of FYROM with the Euro-Atlantic community, the promotion of peaceful and harmonious development of civil society and at the same time maintaining the ethnic identity of communities, but there is little evidence of its achievements (Sulejmani 2011). According to Sulejmani FYROM has democracy, but its future is at stake; FYROM has good relations with NATO and the EU, but is not part of them yet; in FYROM there is calm, but hardly any harmony.

Decentralization will represent a further fundamental step in the progress of FYROM's democracy; major power delegated to the local authorities will increase democratic abilities and increase the representation of ethnic communities in public life (Sulejmani 2011, Skaric 2004). As stated in chapter II, on the basis of the assumption of this research, the development of cross-border cooperation and CBC structures could contribute to enhance the role of municipalities and their democratic administrative power.

3.4 Bilateral CBC in the nine research cases

The CBC in South-East Europe is a relatively new phenomenon, started around the end of the 90s, compared to other European areas where the first activities were implemented already in the 50s. The regional and enlargement policies of the EU, with the opportunities offered by the EU funds, recognize the importance of CBC, bolstering the bordering activities.

The CBC is usually considered in terms of bilateral relations between two neighbouring states, even though the Euroregions and the transfrontier entities can follow a different logic establishing also trilateral or quadrilateral agreements. In the framework of the research it is relevant to analyse the evolution and the status of each bilateral CBC involving the three selected countries: Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM. The transfrontier

environment for each of the nine cases compared in chapter IV will be therefore analysed in detail.

The three selected countries have different parameter composition. The border lengths along their national borders are distributed as follows (Gasparini, Del Bianco 2003; CBC Programmes Documents):

	AL	BG	FYROM
AL			191 km
BG			165 km
FYROM	191 km	165 km	
GR	282 km	494 km	246 km
KO	112 km		159 km
MN	172 km		
RO		608 km	
SRB		341 km	62 km
TR		288 km	

Table 3.9 Length of borders (Own elaboration)

Figure 3.6 – Length of borders (Own elaboration)



The three countries included in the research, as well as their corresponding 9 cases, have a different economy. In general, the analysed area has a GDP per capita that is lower than the European average, while it varies if considered against the National average. Thus, for instance all Albanian cases register a higher level of GDP per capita compared to the national one (INSTAT - Republic of Albania, 2013); in FYROM the case of Kriva Palanka is under the national average, contrary to Bitola and Struga (State Statistical Office - Republic of Macedonia, 2013); in the same way, in Bulgaria it can be observed that all the three cases have a GDP per capita lower than the national average. Only the region of Yugozapaden - considering the regional level NUTS II (South West) has a higher GDP per capita compared to the National average (Eurostat 2013). Anyway, the higher level of GDP per capita in the Yugozapaden region, which counts the double value of the national result, can be understood bearing in mind that the capital of Sofia is included in this planning region.

Countries	Name of the CASE	corresponding NUTS III	Region Lev. NUTS III GDP per capita EURO	corresponding NUTS II	Region Lev. NUTS II GDP per capita EURO	National Average GDP per capita EURO	EU 27 Average GDP per capita EURO
Albania	Korca	Korca	2.370 (year 2010)	South	2.706 (year 2010)	3.080 (year 2010)	24.500 (year 2010)
	Gjirokaster	Gjirokaster	2.954 (year 2010)				
	Vlora	Vlora	2.905 (year 2010)				
FYROM	Bitola	Pelagonia	3.659 (year 2011)	–	–	3.587 (year 2011)	
	Kriva Palanka	Severoistočen	2.339 (year 2011)	–	–		
	Struga	Jugozapaden	2.604 (year 2011)	–	–		
Bulgaria	Kjustendil	Oblast Kjustendil	2.879 (year 2010)	Yugozapaden	8.200 (year 2010)	4.800 (year 2010)	
	Haskovo	Oblast Haskovo	2.549 (year 2010)	Yuzhen tsentralen	3.300 (year 2010)		
	Ruse	Oblast Ruse	3.400 (year 2010)	Severen tsentralen	3.100 (year 2010)		

Table 3.10 – GDP per capita (euro) – NUTS (Own elaboration)

As specified in chapter I, the CBC was historically launched in 1980 by the Council of Europe approving the Convention of Madrid or the “European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities”, that later on was implemented by three Additional Protocols (1995, 1998 and 2009) and the EU legislation of the “European Group of Territorial Cooperation” or EGTC (2006), that concerns Bulgaria only, as a member state of the EU. The ratification for each treaty was carried out by the three analyzed states as follows:

	AL	BG	FYROM
Convention of Madrid (1980)	7/11/2001 (Ratification)	7/5/1999 (Ratification)	Not ratified
Additional Protocol (1995)	11/12/2001 (Ratification)	30/6/2005 (Ratification)	Not ratified
Additional Protocol II (1998)	11/12/2001 (Ratification)	30/6/2005 (Ratification)	Not ratified
Additional Protocol III (2009)	Not ratified	Not ratified	Not ratified

Table 3.11 – Conventions on CBC (Council of Europe)

The strength of the new vision brought in 1980 by the Council of Europe was the idea to enforce and reconstruct in Europe the democratic system from the bottom, beginning from the local authorities, self-government and cross-border actions. Specifically, in South-East Europe local democracy, through the CBC, has played a fundamental role in terms of security and stability, contributing to the implementation of the aims sanctioned in 1999 by the EU with the “Stability Pact for South-East Europe”, replaced in 2008 by the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC). In South-East Europe, the aims of the CBC, as well as those of the Stability Pact and the RCC, tend to be focused on the following general concepts: democracy and human rights; economic development; and security.

In this respect, the analysis of bilateral CBC in South-East Europe, considering the cross border areas as defined by the EU programmes, will facilitate the comparison of the nine research cases, leading to the definition of the most relevant attitudes and elements of a policy entrepreneur border area in the region. Each CBC area will be analysed on the basis of its geographical, historical and economic features. Particular attention will be also paid to the EU CBC programmes (IPA CBC or European Territorial Cooperation - CBC between member states), their objectives and priorities and the implemented projects carried out by the selected municipalities. The financed projects managed by the selected 9 municipalities and related to all the closed Call for Proposals for each CBC Programme, will be taken into account. It is also relevant to underline that within the EU Programming Period 2007-2013, due to political issues, there is not a specific CBC programme between FYROM and Serbia, thus the analysed CBC programmes are the following (CBC Programmes Documents):

<i>CBC area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Covering size of the CBC area (sq. Km)</i>	<i>Type of EU Programme</i>	<i>Programme budget 2007-2013 (euro)</i>	<i>First launched Call for Proposal</i>	<i>Total launched Call for Proposals</i>	<i>Corresponding cases of the research</i>
AL/GR	1.040.118	21.588	IPA CBC Programme	27.825.759	03/2011	3 Project CfP; 1 Targeted; 1 Strategic;	Korca (AL); Gjirokastër (AL); Vlorë (AL)
AL/FYROM	1.524.674	19.969	IPA CBC Programme	16.480.400	08/2009	2 CfP	Korca (AL); Bitola (MK); Struga (MK)
FYROM/GR	2.222.629	29.259	IPA CBC Programme	31.549.723	11/2010	4 CfP	Bitola (MK); Struga (MK)

<i>CBC area</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Covering size of the CBC area (sq. Km)</i>	<i>Type of EU Programme</i>	<i>Programme budget 2007-2013 (euro)</i>	<i>First launched Call for Proposal</i>	<i>Total launched Call for Proposals</i>	<i>Corresponding cases of the research</i>
FYROM/BG	1.012.352	18.087	IPA CBC Programme	17.417.174	12/2009	3 CfP	Kjustendil (BG); KrivaPalanka (FYROM)
BG/RO	5.104.508	71.930	CBC - European Territorial Cooperation Programme	262.003.541	2008	2 Project CfP; 2 Strategic;	Ruse (BG)
BG/SRB	3.309.998	39.434	IPA CBC Programme	36.905.807	11/2009	2 CfP	Kjustendil (BG)
BG/GR	2.812.836	40.202	CBC - European Territorial Cooperation Programme	130.277.598	10/2009	5 CfP	Haskovo (BG)
BG/TR	1.561.984	29.032	IPA CBC Programme	31.113.547	12/2009	3 CfP	Haskovo (BG)

Table 3.12 – CBC Programmes data (Own elaboration)

3.4.1 Cross Border Area between Albania and Greece

The border between Albania and Greece is 282 km long. It runs from the Strait of Corfu to the Lake of Prespa where it joins the border of FYROM, south-west of the Veliki Grad Island. The border passes through lakes and rivers (Sarandaporos) for 27 km and for the most part through mountains: the Nemerchka mountain chain and Mount Chenndeli. The border area has a total population of 1,040,118 (Greece/Albania IPA Cross-Border Programme). The Albanian side is composed by (NUTS III units) the prefecture of Vlorë, Gjirokastër and Korca, whereas the Greek territory is composed by (NUTS III units) Florina, Kastroia, Ioannina, Grevena, Thesprotia and Kerkika.



Figure 3.7 – Greece/Albania IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

Historically, the area has been largely disputed between the two countries. After the Ottoman rule, Greece obtained a portion of Epirus to the river of Arakthos in 1881. During the First Balkan War (1912-1913) Greece, Serbia and Montenegro occupied all the Albanian territory but it was returned to the Albanians in the same year, in 1913, during the Ambassadors' Conference in London under the negotiations of the main European Powers. During the First World War Epirus was conquered again by the Greeks who left the region after the Italian occupation of Albania (1939). The fixing of the borders happened only at the end of the Second World War, and after the end of the Italian-Greek war. In this period Greek authorities forced the expulsion of thousands of Cham Albanians (subgroup of Albanians who originally resided in the coastal region of Epirus) from Greece. Constant reference to this particular historical event is made during the electoral campaigns of the Albanian Party for Justice, Integration and Unity (PDIU) and the national Movement Red and Black (Kuv e Zi). Today, the Greek – Albanian border is officially recognized, even though fringes of the populations do not accept it. Only in 1985 the Greek government accepted the request of Albania, first formulated in 1958, to establish regular relations between the two countries. The protocol for the restoration of the border markings was signed in 1987 allowing the re-opening to Greek-Albanian trade and cultural exchanges.

The economic sectors of agriculture and animal farming play an important role in the economy of this cross-border area. The main cultivations are olives, vegetables, forage crops, as well as tobacco and some special fruits, cultivated in Dardha, Voskopoja, Drenova, Bilishti. Related to agriculture the food industry is well

developed. Considering the industry sector, both border areas count in particular light industries (leather, textile, food proceeding, beverages), while services are established more in the Greek urban areas. In the Albanian side, a great part of the incomes is emigration-related, mainly from Greece, France and USA. Tourism is becoming an important sector which bears great potential in this border area that offers cultural monuments, coast and seaside as well as mountainous landscapes. In the Albanian area Gjirokaštër represents an important city-museum, recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage site with a castle and a rare architectural character typical of the Ottoman period. Vlorë territory is extended on the Adriatic sea and counts the best beaches of Albania, while Korca is surrounded by the Morava Mountains and the Ohrid Lake flows through its region. On the Greek side the island of Kerkira is a well-known international destination, while the prefectures of Ioannina, Grevena and Thesprotia have developed ecotourism infrastructure and outdoor activities making them a destination for a small but dedicated international clientele.

The total budget of the IPA Cross-Border Programme Greece/Albania is 27,825,759 € for 2007-2013. For Greece the budget is 15,088,783 € (the total financing amounts to 11,316,585 € - 75% EU funding/ERDF and 3,772,198 € - 25% national contribution). For the same actions in Albania the total budget is 12,736,976 € (the total financing consists of 10.826.430 € - 85% EU funding - IPA and 1.910.546 € - 15% national contribution). The programme has three priorities “Enhancement of the cross-border development”, “Promotion and Sustainable development of the environment and of natural and cultural resources”, and “Technical assistance”. The first priority aims to increase the level of entrepreneurship, the tourism and the infrastructures, the second aim is to protect the existing rich natural areas (i.e. Prespa, Ohrid, the Aoos gorge, the Vikos ravine) and enhance the promotion of the cultural heritage between the two countries, that, during the XX century, and in particular under the Regime of Enver Hoxha, had no mutual exchange. According to the available list of selected projects of the bilateral Greece/Albania CBC programme, the three municipalities analyzed for the comparison of this research managed 3 projects, respectively 2 Gjirokaštër (SMARTCULTURE and NaviTOUR) and 1 Korca (ECO-TOURISM TRAILS). The SMARTCULTURE project aimed to valorise new media for the promotion of cultural

resources in the cross-border area, NaviTOUR intended to develop an integrated virtual platform observing the modern view of a specific site through a technology able to show how a particular site looked like in the past, while ECO-TOURISM TRAILS differentiated the tourist products trying to promote eco-tourism as alternative paths attracting new visitors in the border area. The Regional Councils of these three bordering towns were also selected as lead-partners in some projects (1 for the Regional-Council of Gjirokastrë: LESS WASTE; 1 for Regional-Council of Korca: Tour-Act; 3 for Regional-Council of Vlorë: TPNM, BIOTOURISM, In Common), but as it was explained in chapter II they are not functional for the purposes of the research and, therefore, they are not taken into account as appropriate casing units.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Budget (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality of Korca (AL)	ECO-TOURISM TRAILS	Lead-partner	85.880,45	18 months	1.2
Municipality of Gjirokastrë (AL)	SMARTCULTURE	Lead-partner	187.395,19	18 months	2.2
Municipality of Gjirokastrë (AL)	NaviTOUR	Partner	202.600,00	-	1.2

Table 3.13 – Projects, Greece/Albania IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

3.4.2 Cross Border Area between Albania and FYROM

The border between Albania and FYROM is long 191 km (151 land, 12 km river, 28 km lake) and the CBC territory includes 19.969 sq. km. The border runs from the Serbian border to the Greek one. From the north valley between Mount Korab and Mount Desat the border continues to the Drim plane and the Jablanika mountains till the Ohrid Lake. The border separates the Ohrid Lake which belongs one third to Albania and two thirds to FYROM. After the lake, the border follows the Galicica mountains and then descends to the Prespa Lake which adjoins three countries: Albania, FYROM and Greece. The total population of the area is of 1.524.674 inhabitants. The eligible CBC area is determined by 3 Albanian regions and 3 Macedonian regions (all equivalent to NUTS III): AL – Korca, Diber, Elbasan; FYROM – Pelagonia, Southwest,

Polog. The Albanian side counts 17 municipalities and 105 communes, while the Macedonian side counts 31 main municipalities and 813 settlements (Albania/FYROM IPA Cross-Border Programme).



Figure 3.8 – Albania/FYROM IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

The current border between Albania and FYROM corresponds to the past border between Albania and Yugoslavia. This border was fixed in 1913 when Albania gained its independence. The same demarcation was confirmed in 1947, after the Second World War with the Treaty of Paris, which settled the line between Albania and Yugoslavia, and in 1991 when FYROM declared its independence.

The overall level of economic development of the CBC area is conflicting. On the Albanian side Korca represents one of the most developed region of the country while the region of Driba is relatively poor compared to the overall national economic level. Similarly, the conditions registered in FYROM classified the region of Pelagonia as the second richest region of the country and the region of Polog with the lowest level of economic activity. The main industrial poles are located in the city of Bitola and Kicevo (FYROM), Elbasan and Korca (Albania). The economy of the all CBC area is mostly based on few sectors: agriculture, industrial-agriculture, mining, energy, tourism. The dynamic agricultural sector is particularly intensive in the southern part: the Pelagonia region (FYROM) is known for its large production of tobacco, wheat and

apples (90% of the total apples produced by FYROM), and Korca for nuts, vegetables and industrial crops. The industrial sector comprises food processing (meat, fruits, vegetables, beer and alcohol production), textile and construction. Tourism has a relevant growing potential considering that the CBC area includes different national parks, well-known lakes like Prespa and Ohrid, historical sites and spa centres.

The IPA Cross-Border Programme Albania/FYROM counts a total budget for the 7 years of 16.480.400 euro funding as follows: for FYROM the available resources are 9.298.000 euro, of these 7.900.000 euro (85%) are EU funds, while 1.398.000 euro (15%) are National Resources. For Albania the available resources are in total 7.182.400 euro, 6.100.000 euro (85%) the EU contribution and 1.082.400 (15%) National Funds. The programme is based on two priorities “Fostering a cross-border economic, environmental and social development” and “Technical Assistance”. The first priority is subdivided in 3 different measures: Economic development with an emphasis on tourism promotion - Sustainable environmental development with an emphasis on protection, promotion and management of natural resources and ecosystems - Social cohesion and cultural exchange through people to people and institutions to institutions actions. The second priority is subdivided in two measures: Programme, administration and implementation - Information, publicity and evaluation. According to the list of selected projects, the three cases of this border area - municipality of Korca AL, municipality of Struga and municipality of Bitola FYROM - implemented one project entitled “Borders without boundaries” (Korca and Bitola). The project aimed to reinforce the cultural relations, to bring down the prejudices and motivate new relations, cooperation and friendships between the cultural cities of the cross-border region. This was developed through cross-border events such as the annual carnival in Korca, and the summer festival in Bitola.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Grant amount (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality of Korca (AL)	Borders without boundaries	Partner	20.500,62	12 months	-
Municipality of Bitola (FYROM)	Borders without boundaries	Lead-partner	48.099,74	12 months	-

Table 3.14 – Projects, Albania/FYROM IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

3.4.3 Cross Border Area between FYROM and Greece

The Macedonian-Greek border extends on an east-west axis for 246 km (21 km of lakes), covering an area of 29.259 sq. km and a population of 2.222.629 inhabitants. The border runs through the middle of the Balkan Peninsula. Starting from the South, it runs from the Prespa Lake to the Tumba-Bele-Pole mountain (1.452 m) to the northern Bulgarian border line. The eligible NUTS III regions along the border are seven: Pelagonia, Vardar, Southeast belong to FYROM, while Florina, Pella, Kilkis and Serres belong to Greece.

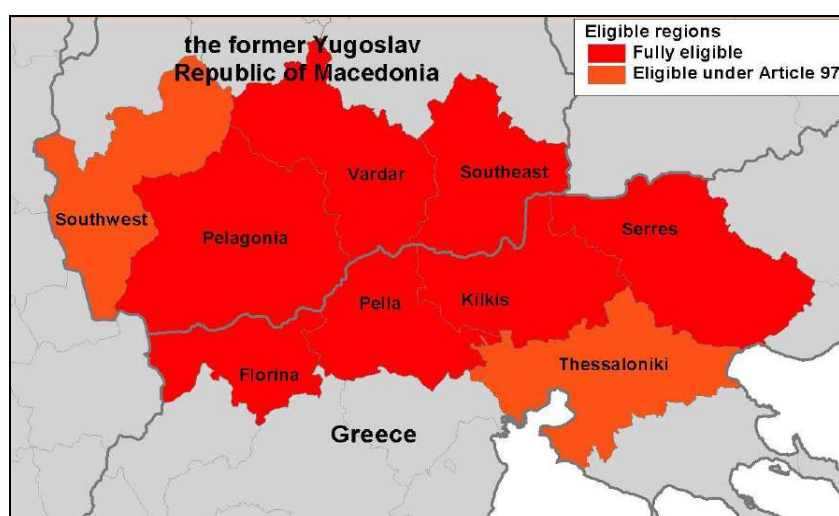


Figure 3.9 – FYROM/Greece IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

The current border corresponds to the old demarcation between Greece and the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This demarcation was delimited after the Balkan Wars when the Macedonian territory was divided. In 1912, Serbia and Greece traced peacefully their common border. In 1913, Bulgaria, dissatisfied over the division of the spoils in Macedonia, attacked Serbia and Greece (which were part of the anti-Bulgarian league including also Romania, Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire) but lost the war. In the same year the Bucharest Treaty fixed the border line of Macedonia which remained constant. After the collapse of Yugoslavia and the declaration of its independence (1991) FYROM tried to revise the demarcation line, but Greece rejected immediately the hypothesis. Greece did not recognize the new state and it opposed the use of the name “Macedonia” by the Republic of Macedonia. In February 1994 Greece imposed embargo on FYROM and closed the border that was then re-

opened only one year later, in October 1995. Some years later, in 1998, Greece and FYROM had some other disputes concerning visa regulations. Since the independence of FYROM the bilateral relations between the two countries have had tensions that re-emerge from time to time.

Economically, when FYROM gained its independence, it was the least developed country of the Yugoslav republics (5% of the federation's entire output). Until 1996 with the downfall of Yugoslavia, the U.N. sanctions against the Yugoslav market and the Greek embargo, the development of FYROM was obstructed. The same CBC programme area, because of the name dispute, was neglected for many years, and the economic development delayed. Anyhow, in the last years the prospective of the EU entrance for FYROM and the intensification of cross-border cooperation with major Greek investments in FYROM due to the convenient labour costs, have increased the economic standards of the CBC border area. Agriculture represents the most dynamic sector for the entire CBC border area with the main occupation of the population. Thessaloniki is an exception and it represents the major urban area of this transfrontier zone. The Prilep region is characterized by the production of wheat, beans, grapes, fruit and tobacco; the Axios/Vardar valley and the Delta are characterized by the production of wheat, barley, corn, tobacco, cotton, sugar-beets, rice, livestock; the Pella and Imathia districts are international leaders in the production of peaches; the Kavadarci, Negotino, Pella and the Thessaloniki regions have also been increasing their wine market for the past decade. In the entire CBC area agriculture has high potential, but there are still a lot of disparities in terms of productivity and export orientation also due to the different educational level of farmers. The industrial sector is relatively declining due to the lack of innovation and competitiveness. Emerging sectors are those related to the energy field (Bitola - FYROM; Florina- GR) and food processing (Pelagonia - FYROM; Pella, Thessaloniki, Serres - GR). National and European funds allowed the set up of new relevant clusters on innovative industries in the Thessaloniki and Kilkis regions, in particular in the production of solar and photovoltaic panels. The tertiary sector is increasing in the main urban areas such as Thessaloniki and Bitola. Even if it is still mainly for a domestic market, tourism is growing rapidly thanks to the plentiful

opportunities of the CBC area (historical sites, natural parks, lakes, spa areas, religious trails).

The CBC programme strategy is structured on three priorities: “Enhancement of cross-border economic development” – divided in four measures: promotion of entrepreneurship, enhancement of Human Resources, development of sustainable tourism and protection of public health; “Enhancement of environmental resources and the cultural heritage of the area” – divided in two measures: promotion and protection of environmental resources and the natural and cultural heritage of the area; “Technical assistance”. The budget allocation among the three priorities is distributed as follows: 40% Priority axis 1 (12.619.889 euro), 50% Priority axis 2 (15.774.863 euro), 10% Priority axis 3 (3.154.971 euro). Considering the two research cases (Bitola, Struga) of this specific CBC area, there are 3 projects selected and implemented in the municipality of Bitola and 1 project in the municipality of Struga, moreover 5 proposals are approved in the reserve list for Bitola and 2 for Struga.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Budget (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality of Bitola (FYROM)	FIRESHIELD	Partner	470.000,00	-	2.1
Municipality of Bitola (FYROM)	TELETERM	Lead-partner	290.000,00	-	2.1
Municipality of Bitola (FYROM)	ZOO INOVATIVA	Partner	1.160.526,00	-	2.1
Municipality of Struga (FYROM)	SAFE WASTECYCLE	Lead-partner	800000,00	-	1.4

Table 3.15 – Projects, FYROM/Greece IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

3.4.4 Cross Border Area between FYROM and Bulgaria

The border between The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria runs for 165 km along a series of mountains, from the junctions with Serbia in the north to that with Greece on Mount Tumba in the south. This border represents the southern section of the old border between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria which was established in 1919. The border area covers a territory of 18.087 sq. km with a total population of 1.012.352 people (Bulgaria/FYROM IPA Cross-Border Programme). The cross-border area includes 5 NUTS III regions in total: the North-East region, the South-East region and the East region on the FYROM side; the district of Blagoevgrad and the district of Kyustendil on the Bulgarian side.



Figure 3.10 - FYROM/Bulgaria IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

Historically, the current border has been the object of disputes among Greeks, Macedonians, Bulgarians and Turks. In 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano sanctioned the vassal Principality of Bulgarian territory which included a large part of the present FYROM. In the same year, after the Congress of Berlin, Bulgaria became a province of the Ottoman Empire losing its western territories. During the Second Balkan War (1913) Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria tried to gain Macedonian land. With the Bucharest peace treaty of 1913, most of Macedonia went to Serbia, only the Strumica valley was left to Bulgaria. In 1919 the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine retraced the border between Bulgaria and the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It required Bulgaria to cede various lands, after Bulgaria had been one of the Central Powers defeated in First

World War. This demarcation line was confirmed after the Second World War (1947 – Paris Peace Treaty) when Macedonia became part of Yugoslavia and later in 1992 when Macedonia became an independent state. Today there are no disputes, both countries accepted the current border line. Anyway, there are sometimes issues related to the interpretation of the Slavic history of the area. For instance, a series of historical events directly related to the history of Bulgaria (from the Kingdom of Tsar Samuil to the Ilinden uprising) are differently interpreted and claimed as part of the Macedonian National history (Kokkolis 2004).

The region is characterized with diversified branch structure: food and tobacco processing industries, textile industry, timber and furniture industries, iron processing and machinery industry, tourism. Tourism in the area is relatively developed with some main well-known ski-areas (Bansko and Razlog), spa (Sapareva Banya, Kyustendil and Sandanski), and religious cultural tours (the Rila Monastery and the Rozhen Monastery). The energy sector is also a key economic factor in the area with the Bobovdol thermal power plant, which runs on locally produced coal.

The border region of FYROM is characterized by its agrarian economy, with concentration in the light industry branch (textile and shoe industry) in the East region. The main industry sectors are textile and shoe industry, non-metals and mining (21% of the companies in the area). Most of the enterprises in the FYROM side are represented by small and medium enterprises. Tourism in the area is in its initial stages with a large potential for diversification of the local economy thanks to its natural and cultural resources.

The total budget of the IPA Cross-Border Programme Greece/Albania is 17,417,174 €, 85% allocated by the EU funding, with 15% by the National public funding. The Programme is based on three priorities: “To foster the sustainable economic growth in the cross-border region”; “To promote social cohesion and cross-border cooperation”; “To further develop the attractiveness and quality of life in the cross-border area”. The first priority aims to increase and diversify the local border economy stimulating research and development cooperation in new sectors as new technologies and business-support clustering; the second aims to raise the adaptability

of the labour force to the market demands investing in human resources development as, for example, in cross-border networks and cultural exchanges; the third seeks to preserve the ecological and cultural heritage supporting the development of tourism in the area. The projects selected (2 calls for proposals) in the FYROM-Bulgarian border area, on the basis of our research cases (municipalities of KrivaPalanka -FYROM- and Kjustendil -BG-), are showed in the table below.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Budget (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality KrivaPalanka (FYROM)	UNDER THE SAME SKY	Lead-partner	296.594,17	16 months	2.2
Municipality KrivaPalanka (FYROM)	Cultural Heritage of our Ancestors - Spiritual mainstay of our common European future	Partner	97.156,38	12 months	2.2
Municipality KrivaPalanka (FYROM)	Bike Lanes for Citizens and Visitors to Kjustendil and KrivaPalanka	Partner	495.357,68	15 months	2.1
Municipality KrivaPalanka (FYROM)	Cultural Heritage – a Bridge to Joint Future	Partner	286.776,23	19 months	
Municipality KrivaPalanka (FYROM)	TOURISM WITHOUT BORDERS	Partner	299.648,42	12 months	1.1
Municipality of Kjustendil (BG)	Transforming the lines of division into a point of cohesion	Partner	294.575,81	18 months	
Municipality of Kjustendil (BG)	Shared Knowledge – Investment in the Future	Partner	289 289,16	18 months	
Municipality of Kjustendil (BG)	Bike Lanes for Citizens and Visitors to Kjustendil and KrivaPalanka	Lead-partner	495.357,68	15 months	2.1
Municipality of Kjustendil (BG)	TOURISM WITHOUT BORDERS	Lead-partner	299.648,42	12 months	1.1

Table 3.16 – Projects, FYROM/Bulgaria IPA Cross-Border Programme 2007-2013

3.4.5 Cross Border Area between Bulgaria and Romania

The border between Bulgaria and Romania is 608 km long and it expands from the junction with Serbia on the west, to the Black Sea on the east. The border with the entire CBC area runs for the most part along the Danube river (473 km). The CBC area is populated by more than 5 million people and it includes the following regions: from the Bulgarian side Vidin, Vratsa, Montana, Pleven, Veliko Tarnovo, Ruse, Silistra and Dobrich, and Razgrad; from the Romanian side Mehedinți, Dolj, Olt, Teleorman, Giurgiu, Calarasi and Constanta.



Figure 3.11- ETC Operational Programme Bulgaria/Romania 2007-2013

The Ottoman Empire ruled in the area since the battle of Kosovo in 1389. In the XIX century, nationalism and the aspiration for independence increased and in 1877/1878 a conflict broke between Russia and the Ottoman Empire resulting in the liberation of the Balkans. In 1878 the San Stefano Peace Treaty was signed, Romania gained its independence, while Bulgaria, in addition to its independence, obtained a new part of territory which expanded from the Danube to the Aegean Sea. A few months later, the Great Powers, at the Berlin Congress, forced Russia to alter the San Stefano Treaty by reducing Bulgarian territory. This borderline was decided in December 1878, but in 1880 it was modified in favour of Bulgaria, that acquired the Silistra-Karaorman road. After the Second Balkan War the Neuilly Treaty (1919) fixed definitively the border and confirmed the border defined after the Russian-Ottoman war. After the Second World War the Paris Peace Treaty also confirmed the same border line. The

border between Bulgaria and Romania is one of the oldest in Europe and there is no dispute between the two countries over the demarcation of their border.

Economically both sides have similar characteristics. The agricultural sector is one of the main activities and it is based on the production of: cereals, vegetables, grapes and fruits, supplemented by livestock. Generally there are small farms with low labour productivity and low competitiveness, being on the food market of reference mainly low-processed. Considering the industrial sector, the CBC area has few large companies and a large number of SMEs. In particular in the last years, thanks to the privatization process of the two countries, the number of SMEs is growing in both the industrial and the tertiary sectors. On the Bulgarian side there are also relevant mechanical and energy production industries. The industries are concentrated in urban areas such as Craiova (Dolj County), Constanta (Constanta County), Plevna (the Plevna District), Vratsa (the Vratsa District), where business enterprises, foreign investment and productivity are relatively high compared to other parts of the programme area. However, the area as a whole is characterized by a relative lack of dynamic growth activities with success in attracting major investments. In the CBC area different river ports are registered such as those in Ruse, Lom, Svishtov and Vidin - Bulgaria – Drobeta Turnu Severin, Giurgiu and Cernavoda - Romania. Costanza in Romania and the nearby Varna in Bulgaria have important harbours on the Black Sea capable of strongly supporting the development of the entire eastern part of the CBC area. Geographically it is also important to mention the proximity of Bucharest to the border area of Romania.

The European Territorial Cooperation - Operational Programme 2007-2013 between Bulgaria/Romania foresees 4 priorities: “Accessibility - Improved mobility and access to transport infrastructure, information and communication in the CBC area”; “Environment - Sustainable use and protection of natural resources and the environment and promoting an efficient risk management in the CBC area”; “Economic and social development - economic development and social cohesion by joint identification and enhancement of the area's comparative advantages”; “Technical Assistance”. The total budget is 262.003.541 euro (217.823.757 EU funding; 44.179.784 National funding)

allocated in the following way: Accessibility 95.426.941 euro, Environment 89.884.333 euro, Economic and Social Development 56.498.724 euro, Technical Assistance 20.193.543 euro. The municipality of Ruse, research case of this CBC area, has implemented 3 projects with its own administration and 2 through the Euroregion Danubius, association based in Ruse and founded on the 9th of May 2002 by Ruse (BG) and Giurgiu (RO). The Euroregion Danubius includes public representative-members of local and regional authorities, but also private representatives of organizations, enterprises, NGOs.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Budget (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality of Ruse (BG)	Improvement of the capacity of the public administration in Ruse – Giurgiu Euroregion for better joint risk management, prevention and environmental protection	Lead-partner	599.235,00	18 months	2.2
Municipality of Ruse (BG)	Euroregion Ruse-Giurgiu Operations - Integrated opportunity management through master planning	Lead-partner	952.222,00	18 months	3.1
Municipality of Ruse (BG)	Improvement of the Accessibility of the Euroregion Ruse – Giurgiu with Pan-European transport corridor 9	Lead-partner	7.996.944,23	30 months	1.1
Municipality of Ruse (BG)	Danube Spirit in Port Communities	Partner	235.371,05	12 months	

Table 3.17 - Projects, ETC Operational Programme Bulgaria/Romania 2007-2013

3.4.6 Cross Border Area between Bulgaria and Serbia

The border between Bulgaria and Serbia runs for 341 km and it covers 39.434 sq. km (20.525 sq. km from the Bulgarian side and 18.909 sq. km from the Serbian side). The border starts from the confluence of the Danube and the Timok rivers, where

there is also the junction with Romania, and it ends on the Macedonian border, at about 10 km north-west of the road linking Palanka (FYROM) and Kyustendil (BG) – 1.333 meters above the sea-level. The CBC area includes respectively 6 districts (NUTS III) from the Bulgarian part and 6 from the Serbian part: Vidin, Montana, Pernik, Sofia, Sofia city, Kyustendil – Bulgaria; Bor, Zajecar, Nisava, Pirot, Jablanica, Pcinja – Serbia. The population of the CBC area is around 3.3 million people.



Figure 3.12 - Bulgaria/Serbia IPA CBC Programme 2007-2013

The modern states of Bulgaria and Serbia had their origin during the Berlin Congress of 1878, where Bulgaria was declared as vassal Principality of the Ottoman Empire, Serbia instead obtained full independence. During the Second Balkan War (1913) Bulgaria tried to conquer part of the Macedonian territory, but it was defeated and with the Bucharest Peace Treaty - signed in August 1913 - it obtained only the Strumica valley. This disappointing result drove Bulgaria to join the Central Powers during the First World War. The Neuilly Treaty (1919) sanctioned a further loss of land for Bulgaria which had to move the border to the east leaving to Serbia a strip of land near the river Timok and the towns of Bosilegrad and Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad). The border line was then fixed between 1920-1922 by an international commission which drove Bulgaria again to ally with Germany in the Second World War. However, the Treaty of Paris (1947) did not change the demarcation line with Serbia, and it remained constant. Today, the border is accepted by both countries and there are no disputes or official claims.

The economic level of the entire CBC area, with the exception of the city of Sofia, is low compared to national and European levels. The economy is characterized by a relative large tertiary and large-industrial sectors; agriculture also plays a sizable role in the border area. The Bulgarian side is more focused on finance and business consultancy, while the Serbian side is more specialized in high-tech repair services and construction field. The agricultural sector, due to the fertile land of the area, has a large variety of products: cereals and fodder, fruit and vegetables, wine, sunflower, sugar. For both sides, the main problems in the agricultural sector are the fragmented land structure, the low level of technologies, the ageing of people working in that field and the absence of foreign investments. The industry of this CBC area is declining but still holding a key share in the national industrial production. The main products are: copper – in Bor, coal, quartz sand – in Zajecar for the Serbian part; coal – in Svoge and Pernik for the Bulgarian part. Thanks to its geostrategic position, this CBC has high potential for the development of the tertiary sector. In particular, the proximity to the pan-European corridors could foster a significant development of transports and trade services. Tourism is developing through different forms, eco, winter, spa, cultural which benefit from the variety of landscape and the natural resources of the area.

The IPA Programme 2007-2013 between Bulgaria and Serbia is based on 3 priorities: “Development of small-scale infrastructure”, “Enhancing capacity for joint planning, problem solving and development”, “Technical Assistance”. The first priority axis is structured in 3 measures: 1.1 Physical and information infrastructure, 1.2 Infrastructure concerning environmental issues, 1.3 Assistance for project preparation; the second priority axis also has 3 measures: 2.1 Links and networking on institutional, business and educational levels, 2.2 Sustainable development through efficient utilization of regional resources, 2.3 People to people actions. The total budget of the Programme is 36.905.807 euro. On the basis of the priorities, the budget is allocated as follows: 20.298.194 euro for the first priority; 12.917.033 euro for the second priority; 3.690.580 euro for the third priority. Within this CBC area, the municipality of Kyustendil, research case of the thesis won a single project as a lead-partner and one as a partner.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Budget (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality of Kjustendil (BG)	Green cross border area - Investment in nature	Lead-partner	765.600,73	24 months	1.2
Municipality of Kjustendil (BG)	Challenges and good practices in EU Funds absorption in Cross-border region	Partner	154.649,63	-	2.1

Table 3.18 – Projects, Bulgaria/Serbia IPA CBC Programme 2007-2013

3.4.7 Cross Border Area between Bulgaria and Greece

The border between Bulgaria and Greece is 494 km long, it covers 40.202 sq. km and it runs in an east-west direction. The border line extends from mount Tumba (1.883 m above sea level) to the junction with the Bulgarian-Turkish border. The eligible area of the Programme consists of the Region of Eastern Macedonia-Thrace (Regional Units of Evros, Kavala, Xanthi, Rhodopi and Drama) and the Region of Central Macedonia (Regional Units of Thessaloniki and Serres) in Greece and the South-Central Planning Region and South-West Planning Region (Districts of Blagoevgrad, Smolyan, Kardjali and Haskovo) in Bulgaria. The Regional Unit of Kavala has been included as an adjacent area. The CBC area has a total population of 2.812.836 inhabitants.



Figure 3.13 - ETC Operational Programme Bulgaria/Greece 2007-2013

The history of modern Greece and modern Bulgaria began from the recognition of their autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in the XIX century, specifically Greece became autonomous in 1828 and Bulgaria in 1878. During that time they did not share a common border because they were separated by territories under the direct sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. In 1908 Bulgaria declared its independence from Istanbul and with the First Balkan War in 1912 (allied with Greece, Serbia and Montenegro) it forced the Ottoman Empire to withdraw few kilometres to the east, establishing a new border line between Bulgaria and Greece. Conflicting territorial interests about Macedonia broke out in the Second Balkan War, when Bulgaria lost most of the territories previously conquered. At that time the border was extended from the Strymon river basin towards the east, then curved on south towards the Aegean Sea, reaching it near Nestos. Thus, during this period the Bulgarian border included also 113 km of Aegean coast. After the First World War, where Bulgaria was defeated together with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria, Turkey), the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) sanctioned a new border line taking from Bulgaria the coastal outlet to the Aegean Sea. The new demarcation with Greece was set in 1922, while the one with Turkey was defined during the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The Second World War did not move the border line which was confirmed by the treaties of 1947. Nowadays there are no border disputes between the two countries.

The economy of the CBC area is pulled by the third sector even if there is a heterogeneous economic structure between the two sides due to the fact that Bulgaria, as well as other post-communist countries, is undergoing a period of transition in terms of fiscal and institutional reforms. This sector is very active in big urban centres, such as Blagoevgrad, Serres and Thessaloniki (the main metropolis of the CBC area), the majority of the enterprises operating in the tertiary sector provide financial, trade, telecommunications and logistics services. Products of the primary sector of the area are supplied to both national and international markets. In particular on the Bulgarian side of the cross-border area the sector is dynamic in the Haskovo, Smolyan, Kardjali and Blagoevgrad districts where vegetables, fruit, tobacco, potatoes, cotton, vineyards and cereals are produced. Fishery is also an important industry in Thessaloniki and

Alexandroupoli districts, particularly in the Thermaikos gulf where the largest fish cultivations of the whole Greek economy are concentrated. The industrial sector is more developed in the Greek part, mostly in the Thessaloniki area. Private investments are establishing new industrial parks also in Serres, Rhodopi, Xanthi and Evros. Blagoevgrad has set up a business incubator to increase and support innovative green projects in the area. The main sectors of production in the cross-border area are food and beverage, tobacco, machine tools, metallurgy and textile. Especially with reference to the textile industry, the area has seen a relevant movement of the enterprises that are trying to take advantage of the lower cost of Bulgarian workforce. Thus, the textile economic clusters moved from Thessaloniki, Drama and Serres (Greece) to Blagoevgrad and Smolyan (Bulgaria).

The European Territorial Cooperation - Operational Programme 2007-2013 Greece/Bulgaria is structured on 4 priorities. The first one, "Quality of life", aims to reach a higher standard of living for the people of the cross-border area. The CBC area has a high potential for economic development, being capable to attract further foreign investments. In the framework of this first priority the programme has identified 3 areas of intervention: Environment issues, Cultural issues, Health and Social Security issues. The second priority, "Accessibility", is concentrated on ameliorating the infrastructures which are still insufficient for the special morphology of the area. This priority, therefore, intends to establish new roads, railways and transport networks to facilitate the mobility of goods, services and people. The third priority, "Competitiveness and Human Resources", aims to invest in human capital through economic activities stimulating entrepreneurship and networking, facilitating the integration of innovation in new productive sectors functional for the area. Finally, the fourth priority, "Technical Assistance", tends to ensure correct management and better exploitation of European funds and other financial opportunities. Within this cross-border area the research studies the municipality of Haskovo which had a positive result in the last programme participated actively in 5 CBC projects, 1 as a lead-partner and 4 as a single partner.

	Name of the project	Partnership	Budget (euro)	Duration	Priority and measure
Municipality of Haskovo (BG)	WMFP - Water management and flood protection in Trakiets village, Haskovo municipality	Lead-partner	581.531,75		1.1
Municipality of Haskovo (BG)	Bulgarian-Greek Partnership by Assistance, Services, Solutions to Promote Open Regions Team	Partner	1.049.030,00		3.2
Municipality of Haskovo (BG)	INTEGRATED GREEN CITIES	Partner	975.043,00		1.1
Municipality of Haskovo (BG)	Improvement of human capital skills and competencies of culture mediators, adult educators, and athletics professionals in the cross border area, through the development of a Lifelong Museum Learning system	Partner	472.939,30		3.1
Municipality of Haskovo (BG)	Water management and flood protection in Trakiets village, Haskovo municipality	Partner	581.531,75		1.1

Table 3.19 – Projects, ETC Operational Programme Bulgaria/Greece 2007-2013

3.4.8 Cross Border Area between Bulgaria and Turkey

The border between Bulgaria and Turkey runs for 288 km and the cross-border areas between the two countries cover 29.032,9 sq. km with total population of 1.561.984 people. The border extends from the Black Sea to the border with Greece on the Maritsa river, in the south-eastern end of the Balkan peninsula. The border stretches along 136 km of land and 102 km along river courses. Within this cross-border area, the IPA CBC Programme 2007-2013 involves 3 Bulgarian districts and 2 Turkish provinces: Burgas, Haskovo, Yambol (Bulgaria CBC); Edirne, Kırklareli (Turkey CBC).



Figure 3.14 - Bulgaria/Turkey IPA CBC Programme 2007-2013

Turkey ruled the Bulgarian territory from 1389 to 1877-78 when Russia defeated the Ottoman Empire supporting the liberation of Bulgaria. With the Russia-Turkish war and the Berlin Congress (1878), Bulgaria obtained an autonomous status but remained under the Ottoman influence. The Bulgarian State gained its final independence in 1908. In 1912, allied with Greece and Serbia in the First Balkan War, Bulgaria forced the Ottoman Empire to retreat and with the Treaty of London a new demarcation line was extended from Enes on the Aegean Sea, to Midye on the Black Sea. The new territories were lost few months later during the Second Balkan War (1913) when Bulgaria was attacked by the other Balkan countries, Turkey included. Edrine, the ancient Adrianopolis, returned to Turkey and the border was moved towards the Maritsa river. The Treaty of Neuilly, after the First World War, confirmed the same border line sanctioned in 1913. The Greek-Bulgarian Border Demarcation Committee in 1921 and another special Committee in 1926 set the junction with the Greek border on the Maritsa river. The demarcation line is currently accepted by the two countries.

The economic structure of the cross-border area is mostly represented by small and medium enterprises (SMEs), which cover also the majority of the newly opened workplaces. Despite their dynamism, SMEs have a stable position within the local and domestic market, but only some of them export abroad. In general, the industrial sector

differs on both sides of the border area. In Turkey there is a greater concentration of industrial activities around large urban areas which cover mainly the following fields: food processing, textile, leather, metal and wood. In Bulgaria, instead, the industrial zones are more distributed and specialized in: electrical engineering, textile, chemical industry, food and beverages, glass and ceramic. The services sector is represented in particular by tourism which has an upward trend in the CBC area. The natural characteristics, the historical places and numerous monuments make this a unique destination. The agricultural sector is traditionally developed: on the Bulgarian side the agricultural land and forests cover around 59% and 33% of the total territory, while on the Turkish side they cover respectively 49% and 27%. The most relevant crops growing in the area are: cereals, orchards, fruit and vegetables, grapes. The main challenges for the development of this sector are: reduced irrigated areas, obsolete facilities, lack of investments and new technologies.

The IPA CBC programme 2007-2013 of the area defines 3 priorities to be implemented: “Sustainable Social and Economic Development” (measures: 1.1 Improvement of the social development and the social cohesion links; 1.2 Economy competitiveness increasing; 1.3 Infrastructural support for the improvement of the economic potential of the cooperation area); “Improvement of the quality of life” (measures: 2.1 Protection of environment, nature and historical and cultural heritage; 2.2 Capacity building for sustainable use of the natural resources, cultural and historical heritage); “Technical Assistance” (measures: 3.1 Overall administration and evaluation of the Programme; 3.2 Publicity and Communication). The corresponding budget of the 3 priorities is: 12.734.775 euro for priority 1 - 15.267.418 euro for priority 2 - 3.111.354 euro for priority 3. The total amount is 31.113.547 euro, 85% community funding and 15% National public funding. Within this last EU programming period, 2007-2013, the research case which belongs to this CBC area, the Municipality of Haskovo, did not implement any project as a lead-partner.

CHAPTER IV - Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and data analysis

Chapter III has shown the specificity of the area of South-East Europe and the different national backgrounds where the cross-border cooperation activities have been developing in the last years. On the basis of the re-conceptualization of Perkmann's theory of "policy entrepreneurship", this last chapter illustrates the comparison among the 9 cases of the research, trying to identify the common elements and the divergences between the different cross-border areas. Thus, after giving a positive or negative result to the dependent variables of each case - using the method of QCA and keeping the concept of causality, typical of the qualitative approach - the corresponding outcome will be evaluated, trying to recognize causal regularities and eventually to produce generalizations. The variables that the research has established evolving Perkmann's theory of "policy entrepreneurship" are: CBC Organization; Resource base; Cross-border cooperation appropriation; Diversity Management; Ideological Compatibility. The relation and combination of them gives the research the opportunity to define the level of policy entrepreneurship of the 9 selected cases in developing their own efficient and effective cross-border cooperation activities. So, the study and the comparison of these variables will permit to identify the ability of a bordering municipality in South-East Europe to exploit the existing local opportunities related to the cross-border themes. The other two external variables, CBC history and EU membership status, are not included in the QCA because they represent two exogenous elements which are not dependent on the will of the CBC structures. Thus, following the example of Perkmann's study they are evaluated as external factors and they are analysed at a later stage.

The collected data are based on different interviews carried out mainly between the years 2012 and 2013. The data include the main 9 semi-structured interviews I had with the referents of CBC activities in the 9 municipalities selected by the research, plus a series of open interviews carried out with different local and national actors and stakeholders working on CBC to better investigate the mechanisms and the current status of cross border areas in South-East Europe. The interviews are totally 116 and they are divided in 4 main groups: a) 35 experts such as professors, researchers, CBC

specialists; b) 28 representatives of public authorities or ministries (local, regional, national level); c) 40 stakeholders representatives of the economic, political actors or civic society involved in CBC; d) 13 representative of European offices such as the JTS, the Managing Authority, the European Union Delegation. Among these interviewees I can mention: the Delegation of the European Union to Albania; the Ministry of European Integration of the Republic of Albania; the Bulgarian Ministry of Regional Development; the FYROM Ministry of Local Self-Government; Cross Border Cooperation - National Authorities or Managing Authorities for IPA-CBC BG-FYROM, European Territorial Cooperation BG-Romania, IPA-CBC BG-Serbia; Joint Technical Secretariat or Local Antenna - IPA-CBC FYROM-AL based in Struga; IPA-CBC BG-FYROM based in Kyustendil; IPA-CBC BG-FYROM based in Haskovo; IPA-CBC GR-FYROM based in Bitola; private experts and consultants in EU programmes and CBC funds; Local Agencies for Economic Development or Chambers of Commerce (Ruse, Gjirokaster, Bitola); Associations belonging to a specific minority group or dealing with general minority issues (Korca; Gjirokaster; Ruse) - See Annex A for a full list of interviewed people.

The chapter is divided in three parts: it identifies and defines the value of the 5 independent variables on the basis of the CBC conditions of the different cases, it develops the QCA comparing the 9 municipalities, and finally it explains the main results of the analysis.

4.1 Data analysis, identification and construction of the 5 independent variables

On the basis of the collected data among the cases the research evaluates the conditions of each variable which can obtain a positive or negative indicator (binary code 0 or 1). Each of the conditions is also estimated by using a binary code on the basis of the interviews and the data analysed for each cross-border area. Then, depending on the majority or minority codes obtained - 0 or 1 - the final result of each independent variable is determined.

4.1.1 First variable: CBC Organization

The variable “CBC Organization” is part of Perkmann’s conceptualization and it measures how the CBC of a municipality is structured and consolidated. In other words, this variable tries to define the size, the expertise and the capacity building of the offices

and the respective employees involved in CBC activities. To identify the final value of this variable, the research operationalises the analysis in 9 different conditions: 1) Number of employees involved in CBC activities; 2) Number of municipal departments involved in CBC activities; 3) Existence of a single specific ad hoc office for CBC activities; 4) Congruent educational background of the employees working in CBC activities; 5) CBC professional training; 6) Recruitment; 7) Experience and turnover of employees working in CBC activities; 8) Specific-commission for winning a CBC project; 9) Extra-agency for CBC activities (i.e. Euroregion or another local development CBC agency).

Variable 1: CBC Organization

	Korca	Gjirokastra	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Employees involved</i>	30	7	6	6 (+ 5 dep. Infrast. + 5 dep. Local dev.)	10	6	10	8	7
<i>Departments involved</i>	5/6	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	1
<i>Specific educat. of employees</i>	8	4		3	5	2	5	4	6
<i>CBC training</i>	10	3	2	4	6	2	5	6	5
<i>Single office for CBC</i>	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
<i>Recruit. Staff</i>	On their experience		Municip. Procedure	Municip. Proced.	Municip. Proced.	Municip. Proced.		On their exp.	On their exp.
<i>Exp/changing staff</i>	Max 2 years	Changing time to time		Some with long, some with short exp./no frequent change	All with exp./no frequent change	2 people with long exp, the others with short exp.	All with exp./no frequent change	The majority with exp.	All with exp./no frequent change
<i>Specific commiss./ bonus</i>	No	No	No	No	No		No		No
<i>Extra agency for CBC activity</i>	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes

Table 4.1 - First Variable, data (Own elaboration)

According to these data the study underlines the various approaches undertaken by each municipality to organize and develop their internal CBC structures.

The first condition is that the number of employees directly involved in CBC is changing from 6 to 10 with the exception of Korca who manages to involve 30 people. Considering the overall low level of intensity of CBC activities in the area, the threshold to get a positive indicator for the first condition is fixed to a minimum of 5/6 people. All the municipalities, therefore, have a positive result on this first specific condition. The second condition instead evaluates the number of departments involved in CBC projects, in terms of planning, design and implementation of CBC activities. Due to the specificity and multiple implications and effects of the CBC activities, different municipal departments are integrated in order to facilitate the implementation of CBC projects. Most of the municipalities have collaboration between the accounting office for the managing of funds and the local development department or the cultural department, depending on the CBC themes. The second condition is, therefore, valued as positive when there are two or three departments working together on CBC activities. In case of only one department it would be necessary to have a specific office working only with CBC. For the case of Korca, with more than three departments involved, the work on CBC seems to be too dispersive and not well-organized. This analysis is also confirmed by the indecision of one of the people in charge of CBC in Korca who, during the interview, was not sure about the number of departments involved in CBC projects. The third and fourth conditions are linked together. They measure the education and the training of employees related to CBC. In particular, they focus on the degree/education of the employees and the training promoted by the Joint Technical Secretariats (JTS) before launching the Call for Proposals of the relevant CBC programmes. The conditions are evaluated positively in case 50% of the employees - declared as involved in CBC (see first condition) possess specific related education (European studies, Management, Economics, Local Development, Spatial Planning, etc.) or have attended more than once JTS seminars. The next condition, the single CBC office, refers to the existence of a specific CBC department. This is the case of Ruse and Struga, but with different results. As will be shown in the next paragraph, creating a single office working on CBC can be an asset, but it is not sufficient to have a successful CBC action. It becomes evident, in fact, comparing Ruse and Struga that the choice of the people, their experience and the investment in their training is crucial. Conditions No. 6 and No. 7 are related to the recruitment and the stability of the

employees. Several experts from the JTS or the competent Ministers pointed out during the research that in different local authorities there is high mobility and turnover in the CBC working team which can hinder the effective implementation of the CBC activities. Other CBC experts work in private companies or NGOs, in particular in Albania but also in FYROM, emphasise this problem due to the political clientelism which is still not completely eradicated on the territory. According to these interviewed experts, clientelistic practices are widespread, specifically at the local level. In this respect, it is relevant to mention the “Albania 2012 Progress Report” written by the European Commission which pointed out the necessity of a public administration reform as key priority for the Country to increase the transparency and the fight with corruption (European commission 2012).

The research, hence, on the basis of conditions 6 and 7, evaluates the recruitment approach, the experience of the people working on CBC actions and, finally, their turnover. Condition No. 8 underlines whether there are internal mechanisms to stimulate the employees in developing more and more CBC projects, for example, in getting an extra-pay or bonus, but none among the municipalities has adopted this strategy. Finally, the last condition investigates whether there is an extra CBC office such as a Euroregion or a specific agency capable of stimulating and supporting the CBC development within the territory. Among the 9 cases, it is relevant to mention the creation of a real Euroregion in Ruse (Euroregion Danubius) and of a development agency in Bitola called “Pelagonija Regional Development Agency”. Following this analysis, the corresponding values of the single conditions and the deduced results (depending on the majority or minority 0 or 1 codes) of the first variable “Organization” are shown below.

Variable 1: CBC Organization

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Employees involved</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Departments involved</i>	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Specific educat. of employees</i>	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
<i>CBC training</i>	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Single office for CBC</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
<i>Recruit. staff</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Exp/changing staff</i>	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Specific commiss./ bonus</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Extra agency for CBC activity</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

Table 4.2 - First Variable, results (Own elaboration)

4.1.2 Second variable: Resource base

The second variable, the “Resource base”, which belongs to the primordial Perkmann’s conceptualization, refers to the entrepreneurship of an entity enlarging its financial base and collaborating with different donors and stakeholders. Thus, the more the resource base is diversified, the more consolidated can the CBC action be. The study of the 9 municipalities highlights that none of them is trying to follow this strategy. Most of the referent people interviewed declared that it was hard to find funds and that there were difficulties even in co-financing the projects implemented through the EU programmes. The European CBC programmes are in fact financed by the EU for 85% and by the beneficiary for 15% of the total budget of a project. Thus, even if in Bulgaria and in FYROM the national state reimburse entirely the quote of co-financing of all projects (this for the period EU budget 2007-2013), most of the municipalities declared that it was also hard to anticipate these partial funds. In Albania the national state shares with the project beneficiaries the sponsorship of the co-financing. In this case local authorities have to subsidise on their own a little segment of the co-financing which corresponds to the 15% of the entire 15% of the total co-financing. The remaining amount is covered by the Albanian state. The case of Albania can be seen as a slight disadvantage for the local authorities which should allocate more systematically part of their budget in CBC activities. Moreover, another interesting finding of this variable is the relation of some municipalities with other donors. Some interviewees stated that there are several ongoing projects related to the local economic development and social

inclusion, but none has a cross-border scale propensity. Beyond the economic contingencies of each case, this tendency to implement CBC only by using European funds can be interpreted on one hand as a lack of skills and experiences in planning a real autonomous financial strategy on CBC; on the other hand, it can simply mean a lack of will and a different view of local priorities.

Variable 2: Resource base

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Diversif. CBC funds</i>	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds	Only EU funds
<i>Working with other donors (within the municipal territory)</i>				Yes (i.e. USAID)	Yes				Yes
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4.3 - Second Variable, data and results (Own elaboration)

4.1.3 Third variable: CBC Appropriation

The third variable, the “Cross-border cooperation appropriation”, is defined by Perkmann as the significance of CBC among the local society. It identifies, therefore, the legitimacy, the relevance and the awareness that the local actors and their leaders (economic, political, social, civil) give to the CBC in their daily life. The higher the appropriation of the CBC is, the higher will be the “policy entrepreneurship” of the municipalities and the CBC structures. Because of the differences between Western and Eastern countries (history; concept of border; experience in CBC programmes; European status – i.e. Albania and FYROM are not member states yet), this variable takes into account not only the real appropriation of the single actors of the CBC, but also their perception and future perspectives on CBC towards a major development of the territory. This third variable is composed by 5 elements: 1) CBC appropriation of citizens; 2) CBC appropriation of political actors; 3) meeting between political leaders on CBC activities; 4) CBC appropriation of economic actors; 5) CBC appropriation of civil society.

Variable 3: Cross-border cooperation appropriation

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Citizens</i>	Among citizens not high	Not high	Some knowledge, but no real appropriation -> interest only if immediate effect	Positive view when the can see a concrete result (i.e. we restructured a garden)	Perception of people on CBC is not strong - they see the concrete results (i.e. restructuration of a monument)	Not high	People see only real results/effects (i.e. restructuration of a monument)	The appropriation of citizens on CBC was really low, now it seems that is growing day by day	CBC contributes a lot to the intercultur. Exchange btw Bulgarian & Romanian
<i>Political actors</i>	The interest is "to develop good relations with other cities" -> higher development		= Citizens (with focus on building infrastructures)	Good perception -> the mayor meets often the Regional Develop. Agency and together decide the priorities for future CBC projects	Positive approach because they can get a better political role	CBC is not a relevant interest - They do not lobby at the national level	CBC is not the first interest of political actors	Positive approach for networking and for using EU funds	High interest: to develop a strong economic relation with Bucharest
<i>CBC meeting btw political leaders</i>	3/4 for planning CBC projects - plus for the management of the Ohrid lake	2/3 per year	2/3 per year	1 per year	There are different meeting s- it depends on the relevance of the CBC project	1/2 per year - for the management of the Ohrid lake	Since 2005 (first CBC Programme) the situation is changed a lot, today regular contacts for diff. topics (good networking)	Several meeting s per year	Several meetings per year
<i>Economic actors</i>	Large interest on "tourism -> Ohrid lake	Large interest on "tourism" - > Gjirokaster is UNESCO World Heritage	Economic actors are not involved - anyway it depends on the field of the program and the manag. of the company	Positive approach/ appropriation - networking and enlarging business in specific fields	There are problems in terms of taxes, different laws -> still a border, there is interest but it is diff.	Strategic interest to strengthen an economic relation with the port of Durazzo & Vlore	The main interest of CBC in on "tourism"	There is a good perspective view - Anyway, for business is diffic. where there are still borders (i.e. BG/TR)	Interest for economic activities with Bucharest (large econ. centre)
<i>Civil society</i>	Large interest on "tourism"	Really good awareness and expertise among NGOs	Very important, it is their main economic activity	very positive approach	High interest among civil society – strong collaboration btw NGOs and Municipality	Positive vision on CBC	High legitimization; NGOs are very involved		For benefits in education, culture and to have intercultur. Exchange

Table 4.4 - Third Variable, data (Own elaboration)

The data of this third dependent variable show a large gap between the identified conditions. Civil society, NGOs, associations, and groups of interests are actively involved in the mechanisms of CBC. In all cross border areas they demonstrated to have high appropriation of CBC activities. They have large awareness of the concept of CBC and, at the same time, of the technical characteristics of CBC programmes; they have consolidated cross-border networks and good relations with local and foreign associations with which they participate in CBC calls for proposals; the large majority of them have already submitted projects under a CBC call for proposal; they all perceive the CBC as a good instrument for local development (specifically in tourism) and intercultural exchanges. Analysing the interviews on the CBC appropriation among the economic actors I notice the large and almost unanimous (with the exception of the case of Vlore) positive perception. Some interviewees have pointed out the relevance of networking and of exchange of information about business and new opportunities for collaboration. In the cross-border area of Kyustendil there was some successful collaboration between Bulgarian-Macedonian companies which made it possible to save two Bulgarian manufacturing plants that were close to bankruptcy. The negative perception of CBC demonstrated by the economic actors of Vlore can be explained by their predominant interest in the Italian market and their relative big distance to the border with Greece. Indeed, although the distance between Vlore and Greece is only about 150 km, because of the deficiencies of the Albanian road network, today it takes around 3 hours to get to the border. So, this situation highlights the relevance of the infrastructures and the importance of their development to let CBC happen.

With reference to the CBC appropriation of political actors, the variable considers the element 2 - CBC appropriation of political actors - and 3 - CBC meetings between political leaders. Considering the meetings and networking between the mayors and the political leaders of the bordering municipalities, the condition is evaluated positively when at least 2 meetings per year related to CBC actions take place. The case of Bitola and the case of Struga registered the minor values and consequently they obtained a negative code, while to all the others a positive code is attributed. Yet, concerning the CBC appropriation of political actors the data appear really varied. The most advanced views are in Ruse and Haskovo where the municipal interlocutors explained the high motivation of mayors in improving the CBC activities through their networking and

meetings. In general the political motivation to enhance CBC activities was expressed in different ways. The responsible for CBC in Kriva Palanka – a department of local development – stated that politicians through CBC are able to enlarge their local actions gaining a larger popularity. Of course, this popularity offers the possibility to be easily re-elected and, eventually, to have a national political career. Others declared that political leaders have a more pragmatic approach and their main interest is to obtain European funds due to the scarcity of national resources. Contrary to these reasons, some interviewees explained that politicians do not give a lot of importance to CBC, they rather concentrate on the internal situation trying to enlarge their national contacts. On one hand, this is due to the easier path that they have to follow to gain some funds for the territory, and, on the other hand, this offers them the possibility to consolidate national contacts strengthening their position within the national power. Yet, some NGOs in Albania (in particular in Gjirokaster and Vlore) underlined the phenomenon of local clientelism which permits the politicians to aid and offer favours in return for votes (mostly land concessions and jobs). This personalized mechanism excludes the CBC and the will to promote real economic growth from the political priorities. A Macedonian expert in CBC programmes and IPA funds pointed out the sense of fright that sometimes the leaders experience as a result of their reticence in taking legal responsibility. In the last period, she explained, there were some legal complaining procedures against two local administrations which did not manage properly IPA funds. Hence, in her opinion the implementation of European projects is very complicated, so local leaders prefer not to risk, and follow well-trodden paths. Finally, the analysis of the data has to point out the good example of Ruse and Bitola where the municipalities have instituted parallel agencies to be more efficient and effective in CBC and fundraising actions. In Ruse the Euroregion Danubius (2002) was established between Ruse and Giurgiu (BG/RO) which involves different cross-border local public and private institutions, while in Bitola, the Pelagonija Regional Development Agency (that includes several Macedonian municipalities) was established to increase the fundraising and to promote the CBC. The worst result among the conditions evaluated for the third variable is certainly the CBC appropriation of citizens which obtained 7 negative codes out of 9 cases. All the interviewees have expressed the absence or the very moderate CBC appropriation of citizens. The only exceptions were Ruse and Haskovo. However,

the majority of interviewees underlined the visibility and the concrete impact for people. The CBC projects which have a material construction or renovation (i.e. monuments, buildings, public gardens, etc.) are well-considered and better-known. Anyhow, the issue of a large-scale appropriation of CBC represents a hurdle even for Western cross-border areas which still have to put strong effort in it. The identification and codification of the third variable is presented below:

Variable 3: Cross-border cooperation appropriation

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Citizens</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Political actors</i>	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
<i>CBC meeting btw political leaders</i>	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
<i>Economic actors</i>	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Civil society</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

Table 4.5 - Third Variable, results (Own elaboration)

4.1.4 Fourth variable: Diversity Management

The fourth variable, utilized as part of the new-conceptualization by the research, is the “Diversity Management”. This term is interpreted as all the actions (planned or unplanned) implemented by the CBC structures of municipalities to involve and influence the local actors who can be identified as “diverse”. A positive diversity management can stimulate and improve the CBC actions of a local authority and, consequently, contribute to the socio-economic development of the territory. This criteria can be developed as internal or external feature: internally a cross-border administration can hire citizens with different cultures, languages or backgrounds; externally it can involve specific associations working with diversity of CBC projects. Thus, within the meaning of diversity management as internal feature of local administrations, the author intends mainly to focus on the regard given to language

skills, genders, ethnicities, educational and social backgrounds; as external features the author concentrates mainly on the exploitation of cross-border networks (mostly of national-minority) and further specific knowledge. Particularly for the peripheral areas of South-East Europe, good diversity management can symbolize a relevant conceptual step: from diversity conceived as historical issue related to minorities, to a future development instrument of multicultural societies. Anyway, as it was highlighted in chapter II diversity presents unique challenges for management as it is linked to both positive and negative organizational performance outcomes (Mannix and Neale 2005). The elements that the research uses for identifying the value of the fourth variable are: 1) gender diversity; 2) CBC language skills; 3) EN language skills; 4) ethnic diversity; 5) perception of diversity; 6) vision on diversity management in CBC; 7) planning and management of diversity management in CBC; 8) involvement of minorities – associations or individuals - in CBC projects (external collaboration for designing, implementation, networking). The final value is identified as positive only if the majority of these 8 elements result positively.

Variable 4: Diversity management

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Gender diversity</i>	11 m / 19 w	4 m / 3 w	2 m / 4 w	2 m / 4 w	6 m / 4 w	4 m / 2 w	2 m / 8 w	4 m / 4 w	6 m / 4 w
<i>CBC langu. skills</i>	3 gr / 1 mk	1 gr	2 gr	1 gr / 1 al	10 bg	6 al	7 mk	2 tr / 1 gr	3 ro
<i>EN langu. skills</i>	10 en	3 en	2 en	ALL en	08 en	3 en	7 en	6 en	6 en
<i>Ethnic diversity</i>	2 gr / 1 mk	1 gr	0	0	0	4 mk / 2 al	0	2 tr	0
<i>Perception on diversity</i>	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
<i>Vision on div. man. in CBC</i>	Minorities can be actors in shaping our future development	Cultural events	Not part of set priorities – it is a national issue	Positive (for designing, implementation, networking)	Positive (for designing, implementation, networking)	Possibility to discover the common heritage of the area	Intercultural exchange	Enlarge the network and the local market	Enlarge the network and the local market
<i>Planning and management of div. man in CBC</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Involve ment of minoriti es in CBC projects already impleme nted</i>	Yes, Roma -> project on handcraft	Yes, Greeks	We have municipal projects on Egyptians	Involved some NGOs of minority groups	We have several internal projects with Roma	Minority is an asset, but not sufficient	The CBC project that we implemente d did not required the involvemen t of minorities	Some minority associatio n for an intercultural event	Yes, it depends on the topic and the aim of the project

Table 4.6 - Fourth Variable, data (Own elaboration)

Looking at the data it can be noticed that almost all the cases have an excellent gender equilibrium referring to the employees working on CBC. Excluding the administration of Kyustendil which has a large male majority, the other cases obtain a positive code.

With reference to language skills – CBC language skills which takes into account the knowledge of and speaking bordering languages, and EN language skills which takes into account the knowledge in speaking of English as an international working language – the two conditions gain a positive result depending on the percentage of employees able to speak the corresponding CBC languages (1/3 of the total employees) or the English language (1/2 of the total employees). So, for instance within the municipality of Korca – an Albanian cross-border area located between FYROM and Greece – Macedonian or Greek speakers could represent a valuable asset to promote and improve CBC activities. The table shows that in this specific case there are 3 Greek speakers and 1 Macedonian speaker, plus 10 people who are confident in English. In general, within this condition the collected data prove that there is a good variety of speakers among the 9 different CBC structures.

The fourth element for the identification of this variable, ethnic diversity, measures the number of employees involved in CBC who belong to an ethnic local minority. This element registers a lot of differences among all the cases. Struga, which has an ethnic Albanian local majority, is the only Macedonian municipality who hired some people belonging to a minority group. Anyway, the municipality of Struga started to hire Albanian Macedonian people only after the Ohrid Agreement signed in 2001. Since this event the number of employees follows the percentages of the presence of local communities residing in the city. Bitola and Kriva Palanka, the other two Macedonian cases, have smaller percentages of ethnic minorities living on their territories; they do not have on their staff anybody who belongs to a minority group. Within the Albanian

CBC structures there are two cases which included employees with other specific ethnic origins: Korca (3 Albanian Greeks, 1 Albanian Macedonian) and Gjirokaster (1 Albanian Greek). Vlore, despite its large Greek minority, does not have any employee who belongs to this group. A similar situation is registered in Ruse where different minorities live but none is represented in CBC activities. Haskovo, however, has some Bulgarian Turks working on CBC. Anyhow it is also relevant to underline that the location of Haskovo can better exploit the presence of Bulgarian Turks in its staff thanks to the proximity of the kin-state of Turkey. Finally, reading the data of this element, it is relevant to emphasize the total absence of the Roma community which is not included in any of the 9 CBC structures. Only externally, as in the cross-border area of Korca, I noticed real collaboration and good activism of the Roma in transnational actions.

The next element, the perception of diversity, focuses on the view of the different CBC referents towards the concept of “diversity” and “multiculturalism”. All the interviewees answered with positive explanations and good examples of the “real” and not “political” local multiculturalism. Most of the interviewees, in particular in Korca, Struga and Bitola, distinguished between the national and the local political level stressing mostly on the relevance of the daily life and the “natural” multicultural environment of their cities. The CBC referent of Bitola has run over the national situation of the “Name Dispute” between FYROM and Greece saying that, at the local level, they can anyway work successfully on CBC. He has also referred to the circumstances of minorities in Greece affirming that there ethnic groups are not legally recognized; he admitted then that this dissimilar situation sometimes can create not straightforward behaviours.

The element “vision on diversity management in CBC”, sixth indicator for the creation of the variable of diversity management, aims to evaluate the approach that the 9 cross-border local authorities have towards the use or potential use of diversity management in CBC activities. As was pointed out in chapter II, Grix and Knowles (2002) - using Putman’s concept of social capital - declare that the Euroregions and CBC structures are “a social capital maximizer” because they develop the level of trust relations amongst the people. The exploitation of good diversity management, in local authorities located in multi-ethnic borderlands, where diversity is one of the most relevant peculiarities,

would, therefore, give the border area better chances to act as real “social capital maximizer”. This is above all true if we consider the study of Malloy (2007, 2010) where she defines national minorities as “capacity builders” of cross-border regions. Malloy emphasises five points of CBC carried out by the national minorities: Political, Cultural, Educational, Social Services and Economic cooperation. A constructive and mature long term vision on diversity management for CBC activities could, therefore, foster positive advantages in social, cultural and economic terms. Analysing the results and the data I noticed a general elementary vision on this specific concept and on its potential exploitation. Speaking on this topic, a lot of the interviewees have often brought back the conversation to the concept of “multiculturalism” without any rationalization of the relation between diversity management and CBC. Anyhow, some of the municipalities have demonstrated higher maturity on the topic than others. Ruse, Haskovo, Bitola, Kriva Palanka and Korca indeed showed positive interests in diversity and diversity management as reasons of a socio-economic development and not only as a mere opportunity to create common cultural events (Gjirokaster, Vlore, Struga, Kjustendil). Of course, festivals and intercultural meetings are the basic steps to enforce further transfrontier collaborations in different other fields, but they represent still a primordial vision on diversity management in CBC.

After analysing the different visions and perspectives, the last two elements try to examine the real actions realized for the use of diversity management. The interviews proved that there are no instruments for planning and managing diversity management. None of the 9 cases has implemented any explicit control or strategy. Some of the people interviewed declared that they externally have involved some minority associations to develop specific CBC projects. Korca and Ruse organized a transnational event involving the Roma community, Gjirokaster the Greeks and Haskovo the Turks. However none have engaged minorities in projects with a socio-economic aim. Having a conversation with an expert of the Joint Technical Secretariat of Struga, it was interesting also to discover that there is not any criteria related or linked to the concept of diversity management within the evaluation criteria of the IPA CBC Programmes. The expert of JTS continued stating that considering the history of South-East Europe and the EU strategies in the region, primarily based on the concepts of security, democracy and economy (cf. the Stability Pact for South-East Europe -

1999 -and Regional Cooperation Council - 2008) it could be helpful to add as evaluation criteria a new concept capable of including the idea of “diversity management”. In this way municipalities and CBC structures would be encouraged to apply it in their activities. Following this analysis I add here below the final codification of the fourth variable, diversity management:

Variable 4: Diversity management

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Gender diversity</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
<i>EN langu. skills</i>	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>CBC langu. skills</i>	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Ethnic diversity</i>	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
<i>Perception on diversity</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Vision on div. man. In CBC</i>	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
<i>Planning and management of div. man in CBC</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Involvement of minorities in CBC projects already implemented</i>	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1

Table 4.7 - Fourth Variable, results (Own elaboration)

4.1.5 Fifth variable: Ideological compatibility

The fifth variable is the ideological compatibility. This is the last independent variable which composes the scheme of the QCA of the research. This variable allows the research to evaluate the political factor present among cross-border areas in South-East Europe. This political factor can be filled with ethnic, ideological, historical or nationalistic cleavages capable of hindering real transfrontier cooperation. To cover these potential cleavages, the variable is identified by 4 distinctive elements: 1) perception of nationalism between the CBC countries; 2) bilateral international relations between the CBC countries; 3) CBC ideological compatibility between local

parties (in terms of ideology and ethnicity); 4) influence of the internal (relation national/local) ideological compatibility on CBC. All these points take into account both the national and local situation.

Variable 5: Ideological compatibility

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Perception on nationalism and history btw the CBC countries</i>	Yes -> can decrease the will to develop CBC	Sometimes, in some specific issues	Yes, strong nationalism could have a bad impact	The "name dispute" influence s CBC, but anyway we work	NO, it is more an electoral campaign strategy of some parties	CBC amortizes the nationalism -> creating networks	NO nationalism	Sometimes it is used as electoral campaign strategy of some parties – national level	NO nationalism
<i>Current bilateral relation btw the CBC countries</i>	Good	Good	Good	As above	Good	Good (before 2001 the municipality had few AL employees, now = % city)	Good (at local lev. NO problem -> relevance of FUNDS)	Good	Good
<i>CBC id. comp. btw local parties (ideology / ethnicity)</i>	There is not	There is not, CBC represents a way to subsidize local authorities	Not, because political parties in diff countries are not rivals	Not ideology / not minorities: in GR are not recognized, thus it cannot influence a lot	Not	Not	Not (anyhow the majority of Mayors are from the same party of the government)	There is not	There is not
<i>Influence of the internal (national/local) id. comp. on CBC</i>	Yes	In some cases	Yes, it could be - political parties are rivals	Not	Possible	Possible	Not	There is not	Not

Table 4.8 - Fifth Variable, data (Own elaboration)

Analysing the results obtained for the first element, on the basis of the cross-border area, the research registered dissimilar perceptions on nationalism and history. A higher level of nationalism is perceived within Albania in all the three cases, in Bitola – a Macedonian border area with Greece – and in Haskovo – a Bulgarian border area with Turkey. Today, Albania counts Albanian communities living in all its neighbouring countries: Montenegro (4.91% - Montenegro Census 2011), Kosovo (92.9% – Kosovo

Census 2011), FYROM (25.17% - FYROM Census 2002), Greece (about 25.000 people – Markusse 2001). In particular, some interviews made to local associations in the three border areas of the research (Korca, Gjirokaster, Vlore) expressed an historical unsolved problem between Albania and Greece: the Chamaria issue. Most of them explained that at the end of the II World War Albanian Muslim Chams - who were living on Greek territory - were massively deported to Albania and they were expropriated of their lands and proprieties. Some other interviewees explained their opinion on the current Greek strategy to influence Albanian politics. They stated that the passport-policy of Greece, which allows old Greek Albanian people to get a Greek passport and a corresponding pension, is just a way to control and have influence on politics on the Albanian territory. Some others also declared that Albanians belonging to the Chams have still a lot of problems today to visit their historical villages and lands in Greece. On the contrary, Greek Albanians denied this affirmation saying that today there is not any problem between Greece and Albania and between the different bordering areas. In March 2012, the leader of the Albanian Greek Party “Unity for Human Rights”, Vangelis Doules, as well raised a polemic, accusing the deputies Shpëtim Idrizi and Dashamir Tahiri (PDIU - Albanian Party for Justice, Integration and Unity) to provoke Albanian nationalism. Also considering the border areas of Haskovo (BG/TR) and Bitola (FYROM/GR) there are some historical issues which anyway seem less embedded than the Albanian-Greek issue. Between FYROM and Greece the “Name dispute” is still an exceptionally sensitive issue. Even if it represents more of a national issue, local actors declared that sometimes it can affect CBC activities. The most significant example is the lack of final signature from the Greek side to establish the Ohrid-Prespa Euroregion in 2009. Between Bulgaria and Turkey the five century of Ottoman rule are considered by the Bulgarians a "traumatic" experience in Bulgarian history. Among some Bulgarian citizens the Turks are still seen as a menace.

Speaking of the second element, the current bilateral relations between the CBC countries - with a focus on the local level – the data show that the local referents of CBC are generally satisfied with the bilateral relations between the neighbouring countries. All the cases, with the exception of Bitola and Struga, confirmed good relations between the bordering countries for the CBC activities. Bitola underlined the problem of the “Name dispute” which can sporadically affect the CBC between

FYROM and Greece, while Struga expressed as potential brake for CBC the national internal difficulties (even if rare) between Albanian and Macedonian Parties which can affect Albanian public opinion and the bilateral position between Albania and FYROM. Quite surprisingly, the third element of this variable - CBC ideological compatibility between local parties (in terms of ideology and ethnicity) - was turned down by all the cross-border areas, as the interviewees did not identify in CBC activities potential incompatibilities in terms of ideological or ethnical belonging. The most common justification of these criteria was the political rivalry construction which is only internal and not external. So, because of the distinctive local and national electoral systems, the competition remains within a country. As the representative of the municipality of Gjirokaster explained, the CBC represents, instead, a potential to subsidize local authorities which in South-East Europe are very poor. This result is confirmed by the local election results, too. Most of these 9 municipalities within the relevant period of this research – EU budget 2007-2013 – maintained the same ruling parties and in many cases the same mayors. So, in the region and in the 9 cross-border areas there were no particular political changes at the local level which could explain real ideological incompatibilities for CBC activities. Thus, for instance in both of the last local elections in Albania (2007 and 2011), in Korca, Gjirokaster and Vlore the Albanian Socialist Party of Edi Rama dominated. In FYROM, Bitola elected the same mayor Vladimir Teleski of the coalition VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity) in the last 3 local elections, 2005, 2009 and 2013; Kriva Palanka has also a mayor from the same coalition VMRO-DPMNE since 2009, Arsenco Aleksovski, while before (2005-2009) its citizens elected Dragi Traichevski from the CДCM - Social Democratic Union of Macedonia; Struga registered a supremacy of Albanian parties, before the Democratic Union for Integration DUI (2005-2009) with the mayor Ramis Merko and after the Democratic Party of Albanians DPA (since 2013) with the mayor Ziadin Sela. In Bulgaria, in Haskovo the mayor Georgi Ivanov, despite a scandal in 2009 when he was accused of fraud, he has been in office for 4 terms (since 1999), in Kyustendil Mr Paunov is in charge since 2007, while in Ruse there was a change in the last election from the Bulgaria Socialist Party to GERB (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria): mayor Plamen Pasev Stoilov.

Other interviewees denied any kind of potential transfrontier political incompatibilities and pointed out the “soft” and cross themes of CBC (i.e. tourism, cultural events, education, infrastructures) as working sectors that cannot provoke disputes. Yet, other experts, underlining the large CBC area of each European CBC programme, stated that even if a municipality might have a specific incompatibility, it has different opportunities in choosing further corresponding transfrontier partners to participate in CBC activities. The ideological incompatibility at the local level, hence, does not really influence the will and inclination of a local authority to develop its CBC actions. The data illustrated, therefore, that the ideological incompatibility has to be considered more fully on the national level.

The internal national electoral competitions, indeed, can provoke possible incompatibilities between the local power and the central government. The role of the party at the national level is very dominant. This was the affirmation of many interviewees, predominantly in Albania and FYROM. This tendency is not perceived in Bulgaria. Some referents of the municipalities in Albania and in FYROM added also that within the country the lobbying of mayors is really important. According to these criteria, the contacts with the central power and the political membership of a mayor are very important for lobbying and being selected in CBC projects. These interviewees did not give details but implicitly they explained that there could be political influences in the second step of the CBC selection procedures (1st main step - check and screening on the basis of eligibility and formal bureaucratic requirements – by the specific local JTS ; 2nd – selection on the basis of contents and the action priorities of the CBC area – by national experts selected occasionally from a bilateral list).

On the basis of these data, a positive variable is identified with at least 3 positive codes.

Variable 5: Ideological compatibility

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>Perception on nationalism and history btw the CBC countries</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
<i>Current bilateral relation btw the CBC countries</i>	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
<i>CBC id. comp. btw local parties (ideology / ethnicity)</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Influence of the internal (national/local) id. comp. on CBC</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1

Table 4.9 - Fifth Variable, results (Own elaboration)

4.2 The Policy entrepreneurship of the nine selected cases: comparative analysis and evaluation of data

The use of QCA allows the research to develop a systematic comparative analysis of the 9 border areas of Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM, in view of drawing an appropriate model of cross-border cooperation in South-East Europe. In other words, using Perkmann's theory, the QCA allows the research to identify the case/cases - among the 9 selected with the highest level of "policy entrepreneurship".

4.2.1 Defining the outcomes of the QCA

In order to visualize the corresponding graphic of the QCA, it is relevant to define the outcome or dependent variable for each case analysed. As was explained in chapter II, as different from Perkmann's theory, the research operationalises the last level of its new conceptualization on the basis of the number of CBC projects implemented by each case - during the EU budget period 2007-2013. So, following the list of projects described in chapter III, the 9 cases present the following situation:

	Korca	Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
CBC Projects implemented as "Lead-Partner"	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	1	3
CBC Projects implemented as "Partner"	2	2	0	2	4	1	3	4	1

Table 4.10 – CBC Projects: Lead-Partner and Partner (Own elaboration)

To define whether the outcomes have a positive or negative code, the author can pursue three different paths. The simplest way consists of summing up all projects implemented for each case, without any distinction between the project realized as a “lead-partner” or a “partner”; the second way could be to define a distinctive score for “lead-partner” projects vis a vis “partner” projects, and to sum up the final results; the third option could be to consider all budgets, so the total amount will correspond to all projects implemented in each case. Thus, considering that the capacity building and the management are more complicated in a project realized as a “lead-partner” than in a project realized as a “partner”, I immediately discard the first option. The third option does not seem to be the correct choice either because there are large funding differences between IPA CBC programmes - which are covered by a total amount of 600 million of euro - and the European Territorial Cooperation - which, through the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund), are covered by a total amount of € 5.6 billion. Thus, there is a relevant disparity between the CBC programme for member states and non-member states. According to the case-selection of the research, the Operational Programme “Romania-Bulgaria” and “Greece-Bulgaria” have larger budgets than all the other IPA CBC programmes. The research then intends to define the outcome of each case using the second option. So, all the projects implemented as a “lead-partner” obtain a score of 1,5 points, while the project implemented as a “partner” a score of 1 point. A final positive code to the outcome is given to the cases with a total score higher than 4 points. Following this scheme, the outcomes of the 9 cases are:

	Korca	Gjirokastr	Vlore	Bitola	Kriva Palanka	Struga	Kjustendil	Haskovo	Ruse
Lead-Partner	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	1	3
Partner	2	2	0	2	4	1	3	4	1
Total budget corresponding to all CBC projects (€)	169.430,45	389.995,19	0,00	2.004.076,00	1.475.532,88	800.000,00	2.299.121,43	3.660.075,80	9.783.772,28
Final score for evaluating the outcome	2	2	0	5	5,5	1	7,5	5,5	5,5
OUTCOME	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

Table 4.11 – Outcomes per case (Own elaboration)

4.2.2 QCA and the key combinations of the model

Having defined the outcomes of the cases, the research can measure the impact of a successful policy entrepreneurship reframed for South-East Europe. The logic of comparison allows the research to explain the causes and the relations between variables and events. The comparison of the 5 independent variables through the use of QCA permits, therefore, to consider each case a complex entity keeping the conception of causality, and at the same time it permits to draw generalizations. In this way the study will be able to recognize causal regularities within the whole set of conditions.

Responding to the RQ it can be stated that, among the 9 bordering municipalities analysed, there are 5 good models of cross-border cooperation structures. Taking into account the specific features of South-East Europe, these municipalities have at least 3 positive variables out of 5. This means that the local authorities of Bitola, Kriva Palanka, Kjustendil, Haskovo, and Ruse have higher policy entrepreneurship or good CBC ability to exploit their local opportunities.

	Organiz. (O)	Resource base (R)	Appropri. (A)	Div. man. (D)	Id. comp. (I)	Policy entrepreneurship (P)
Korca AL	0	0	1	1	0	0
Gjirokaster AL	0	0	1	0	0	0
Vlore AL	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bitola FYROM	1	0	1	1	0	1
Kriva Palanka FYROM	1	0	1	1	1	1
Struga FYROM	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kjustendil BG	1	0	1	0	1	1
Haskovo BG	1	0	1	1	1	1
Ruse BG	1	0	1	1	1	1

Table 4.12 – Scheme of the QCA (Own elaboration)

Analysing the table above, the research can point out that the three cases of Albania express a negative inclination to a CBC policy entrepreneurship, the three cases of Bulgaria are instead positively inclined, and the cases of FYROM present differences. Thus, although Korca and Gjirokaster seem to have a positive appropriation of CBC,

they lack in almost all the other variables. This stratification of different levels of *CBC policy entrepreneurship* between Albania, FYROM and Bulgaria can be interpreted as reflection of the *European membership status* of the 3 countries which vary from a non member state - Albania, to a candidate state - FYROM, to a real member state - Bulgaria.

In addition, comparing the three Albanian cases to the three Bulgarian cases the author notices that there are common relations: contrary to the Bulgarian cases, all the Albanian cases have negative results in *CBC organization* and *ideological compatibility*. This relation is valid also for the case of Struga which resembles the Albanian cases.

Another interesting finding is the perfect correspondence between the first variable and the outcome, thus when there is a positive or negative code for the variable *organization*, there is also a corresponding positive or negative code for the *policy entrepreneurship*. With the exception of the case of Bitola, this correspondence exists between the variable of *ideological compatibility* and the *policy entrepreneurship*. Moreover, with the exclusion of the case of Kyustendil, all the positive outcomes have positive *diversity management*, which is positive in all the cases of FYROM.

Due to the large presence of minorities in their territories, all Macedonian municipalities seem to be capable of exploiting their local multicultural environment which any way alone is not sufficient to have a successful CBC policy entrepreneurship. The case of Struga, for instance, has good *diversity management* but it does have a deep gap in all the other variables. In particular, comparing Struga to the other 2 Macedonian cases, at least positive *organization* and *appropriation* are missing.

Analysing the single variables, the study emphasises the total lack of the second variable *resource base*, so the ability of CBC structures in South-East Europe to enlarge their fundraising and their financial opportunities which depend only on the European Union Programmes.

The *ideological compatibility* also results mostly in the negative with 5 cases: Korca, Gjirokaster, Vlore, Bitola and Struga. The bilateral relation with Greece is the determinant to explain the outcomes of this variable. Hence, the heritage between Albania and Greece has still certain influence on CBC activities as well as the “Name dispute” which occasionally affects the will of Greek and Macedonian leaders to

develop CBC among bordering municipalities (i.e. the finalization of the Ohrid-Prespa Euroregion). Anyway, despite the “Name dispute” issue, evaluating the number of CBC projects implemented by Bitola and Struga, the research highlights that the Macedonian municipalities have implemented more projects with Greek than with Albanian partners. This can be justified by considering the larger experience in writing and managing CBC projects acquired by the Greeks if compared to the Albanians. According to the interviews, the results of the variable *ideological compatibility* can also be explained by the internal political competition, which both in Albania and FYROM can influence CBC activities.

Analysing the other single independent variables, the study points out 5 CBC structures out of 9 with a positive *organization* - 3 negative for Albania, 3 positive for Bulgaria and 2 positive and 1 negative for FYROM. The variable of *diversity management* has 6 positive and 3 negative cases. The negative codes are registered for the cases of Gjirokaster, Vlore - Albania - and Kyustendil - Bulgaria. Considering the fact that the municipality of Kyustendil has the highest number of realized CBC projects (6 projects - 7,5 points), the variable of *diversity management* can be seen as an asset, but not as an essential factor for a successful CBC policy entrepreneurship. Finally, I mention the variable *appropriation* which has 7 positive codes and only 2 negative (Vlora - AL - and Struga - FYROM). Thus, there are some municipalities that even if they realized the relevance of CBC for their local socio-economic development, they are not able to put it into practice or even to maximize its potentiality.

Comparing and evaluating all outcomes of CBC policy entrepreneurship, the research observes specific combinations for all positive and negative outcomes. Thus, comparing only all positive outcomes I observe a constant value of three variables (organization, resource base, appropriation) plus a positive value of *diversity management* or *ideological compatibility*. So using capital letters for positive values and small letters for negative values, these combinations can be minimized through this following expression:

$$P \rightarrow O . r . A . D + O . r . A . I$$

The first part of the expression (O . r . A . D) is represented by the cases of: Bitola, Kriva Palanka, Haskovo, Ruse; the second part of the expression (O . r . A . I) is represented by the cases of: Kjustendil, Kriva Palanka, Haskovo, Ruse. A positive

diversity management can substitute a positive *ideological compatibility* and the other way round. Thus, excluding the 3 similar cases - Kriva Palanka, Haskovo, Ruse – which have both positive values for *diversity management* and *ideological compatibility*, the other 2 cases correspond to only one positive variable: *diversity management* positive and *ideological compatibility* negative (Bitola), or *diversity management* negative and *ideological compatibility* positive (Kyustendil). Interpreting this expression the research can assert that a good policy entrepreneurship of CBC structures in South-East Europe is based on the two variables *organization* and *appropriation* which represent the fundamental pillars of CBC, so the capacity building of a local entity and its trust/will to work on the CBC - and on the alternation of the variables *diversity management* / *ideological compatibility* representing the added value, the further element which permits better exploitation of CBC using local features. In a certain sense, considering the article of Perkmann, the alternation of the variables *diversity management* / *ideological compatibility* compensates the lack of a differentiated *resource base*, a variable that is more consolidate in Western European CBC areas.

Studying in particular the cases of Bitola, it is possible to notice that the results highlight the specific role of national minorities. Even if the research considers the larger concept of *diversity management* as a general multicultural and diverse environment, in Bitola, the role of national minorities comes up, which anyhow is in contrast with the result observed for the cases of Haskovo and Struga. Thus, within a total population of 95.385 people, 84.616 Macedonians live in Bitola, 4.164 ethnic Albanians, 2.613 ethnic Roma and 1.610 ethnic Turks. During an interview with the Director and a Project Officer of the JTS of Struga (IPA CBC Programme FYROM-Albania), Bitola was mentioned as a good example of the CBC area FYROM-Albania as one on the few active local authorities which won a project as a lead-partner. In the implemented cultural project between Bitola and Korca, “Borders without boundaries”, the two municipalities, in fact, have involved different associations representing the ethic and national minorities living in the territory. As the CBC referent of Korca explained, this project represents a first step for a major role and major commitment of minorities in the CBC activities. Using the words of Malloy (2010) and comparing this CBC area with the German-Danish CBC area, this project could represent the milestone for a new vision on national minorities which more and more could become real

“capacity builders” of the area. Contrary to Bitola, the municipalities of Haskovo and Struga do not sufficiently involve the national minorities in CBC projects. Thus, although both cases have a positive result concerning the variable *diversity management*, they did not have specific CBC projects involving their national minority groups and the counterpart countries (Haskovo: BG-TR; Struga: FYROM-AL - see the approved project in chapter III). This means that the concept of *diversity management* in these two cases could be better exploited in the near future. Further research applied through a fuzzy-set QCA and gradual assessment of the variables could better measure the different levels of the *diversity management* implemented in the single CBC areas.

Comparing and evaluating only all negative outcomes of CBC policy entrepreneurship, the research can minimize the results with this second expression:

$$p \rightarrow o.r.i$$

This means that for all the cases with a negative value of *policy entrepreneurship*, there is a common negative value for the variables of *organization*, *resource base* and *ideological compatibility*. The municipalities representing this second expression are Korca, Gjirokaster, Vlora and Struga. In addition to a well-structured CBC *organization* and a differentiated *resource base* (it is negative for all cases), there is a common absence of *ideological compatibility*, so certain instability of the political factor (in terms of internal and external political relations) and which in some CBC areas of South-East Europe still affects negatively the mobilization of local authorities and their socio-economic development.

The 7 different combinations that the research embodies with its 9 case studies and the 4 variable conditions (the variable “Resource base” is not included because it is negative and constant, the expression can be therefore minimized as $P \rightarrow O.A.D + O.A.I$) can be visualized in this graphic - created with a Tosmana, version 1.3.2:

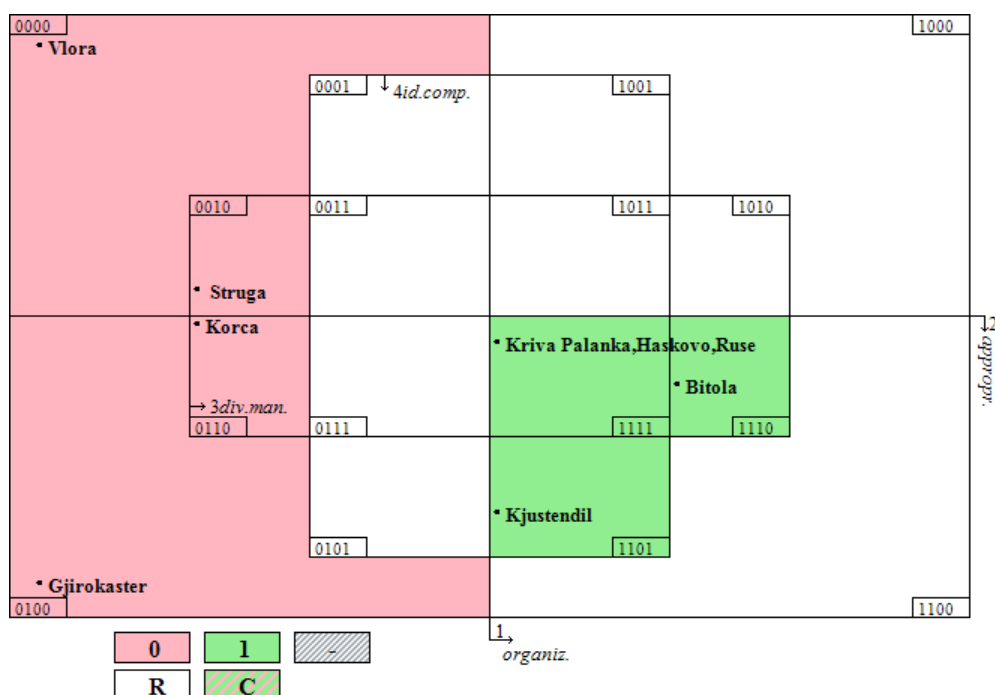


Figure 4.1 – QCA, Venn diagram - Tosmana - (Own elaboration)

4.3 The new external factors

The *EU membership status* and the *CBC history* are considered by the author as further significant external variables to examine the policy entrepreneurship of the 9 South East cross-border areas analysed in this research. The first factor, on the basis of the EU enlargement process, takes into account the economic, political and legislative “democratic maturation” of the three Balkan countries, while the second touches more specifically on the historical and cultural background of each cross-border area and its corresponding countries.

4.3.1 EU membership status

The factor *EU membership status*, indeed, can be used to evaluate the more or less stability of Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM, in terms of the democratic system and the market economy (on the basis of respecting the “Copenhagen criteria” – TEU) and also the potential experiences in managing EU funds of the local authorities selected in the research. The disparities among the three countries can contribute or hinder the increase of a policy of entrepreneurship in implementing socio-economic cross-border

projects. Thus, the CBC areas included in the study cover a large combination of cases: cross-border areas located between countries outside the EU (AL-FYROM; FYROM-SRB which anyway does not have a IPA CBC programme); others between EU and non-EU members states (AL-GR; BG-FYROM; BG-TR); others between EU members states (BG-GR; BG-RO). Moreover, the existence of real borders in some CBC areas affects concretely any kind of capital, people and goods exchanges. Although there are already bilateral agreements between the EU and all the Western Balkan countries, including Albania and FYROM, the external borders of the EU still define duties and taxes with neighbouring countries impeding an actual fluent exchange. This is what several interviewees belonging to municipalities of non-EU member states explained in particular referring to the economic and commercial CBC. They emphasised the difficulties of SMEs to develop their business abroad; SMEs, in fact, do not have the international capacity to face taxes and bureaucratic requirements for export or import. Some of the interviewees also suggested a policy implementation for IPA CBC programmes which do not include private companies among the eligible beneficiaries. Due to the small and complex economic situation of border areas in South-East Europe, CBC experts advice to the EU to create further action for SMEs and bordering companies. The increase and the enlargement of the labour market in CBC areas can favour higher socio economic development as well as lower emigration exodus of young people.

Although the situation appears similar in CBC areas between two member states, at least there are no difficulties in terms of taxations and duties. The Business Support Centre for SMEs based in Ruse (BG-RO) affirmed that cross-border cooperation is essential for the development of the economies of both neighbouring countries. It stimulates local businesses creating various common tools and documentation fostering collaboration and better understanding, and facilitating business contacts between entrepreneurs. Between Ruse and Giurgiu there are already a lot of transfrontier commercial agreements which already link Bulgarian and Romania economy. So, if in CBC areas between two non-member states or one member and one non-member state the economic exchange is still a perspective or it is in its initial phase, in CBC areas between two member states the transfrontier economy seems to be facilitated and in a bit more advanced phase. The same circumstances are valid for the knowledge and

expertises assumed by the local authorities in designing and managing EU projects. This is evident looking at the number of projects implemented by CBC area (see the Table below: “External factors”).

4.3.2 CBC history

The second factor, *CBC history*, analyses the specific historical heritage between two countries and how this can affect the attitude of people living in the two border areas towards cooperation. Hence, a positive historical background, the acceptance of the border line, the type and the historical meaning of borders in a specific CBC area, the cultural respect of the neighbour country are all elements considered essential requirements for a fruitful cooperation between bordering local institutions and for a potential cross-border socio-economic development.

Malloy (2007; 2010) stated that the negative historical past and resentment between bordering communities can be overcome with time through the involvement of minorities in cross-border activities. Analysing this external factor, the research is able to distinguish between the different situations of CBC areas pointing out the history of the two equivalent neighbour countries, the historical type of border established in the CBC area, the transfrontier attitudes perceived by the people interviewed. So, looking back to the history of the 3 countries, Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM, the strong persisting meaning of borders is palpable in Albania. Today, along the borders the tracks to get to the customs are not comfortable and around them it is still possible to see the bunkers built during the Communist regime of Enver Hoxha. The latter established in Albania one of the most closed and oppressive Communist regime ever. Initially, he aligned Albania to the Yugoslavia of Tito, then to the USSR of Stalin (1948) and at the end to the China of Mao (1961). When China started a new dialogue with the USA, he then decided to detach Albania from them and to completely isolate the country. This rigid use of borders has provoked a lot of consequences which are still faced today by the Albanian people. Some interviewees of Struga and Korca - AL/FYROM cross-border area - for instance reported that they have met old relatives only few years ago after years of Albanian isolation.

The use of physical borders in FYROM and in Bulgaria were more moderate, in particular in FYROM - part of ex-Yugoslavia of Tito - where in the 50s and the 60s a

variant of market socialism was launched with the so-called “policy of open borders”. During this period federal investments developed a successful tourist strategy in the area expanding and transforming several sites into a major source of income.

In addition to the past typology of borders, within this second external factor, the research values the historical heritage of the 3 Balkan states and their relations with their corresponding neighbouring countries. Thus, mapping the actual neighbour countries of Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM, following the attitudes ascertained by the different interviewees a reference should be made to the most “arduous” historical bilateral relations of the region: Albania-Greece; Bulgaria-Turkey; FYROM-Greece. As it was explained in the previous paragraph, describing the construction of the variable 5, ideological compatibility: Albanians are still feeling victims for the issue of Chamaria, the Bulgarians historically suffer for the 5 centuries of the Ottoman yoke, while FYROM and Greece have to solve the “Name dispute”. The interviews showed different perceptions on this issue among the people interviewed, but regularly the latent resentment came up, especially with the Albanian referent people and experts interviewed.

4.3.3 Their significance on the final outcomes

According to these data, here below the author combines the 2 external factors with the numbers of implemented CBC projects (per cross-border area) and the corresponding value which was calculated for defining the outcome results of the QCA (see the previous paragraph).

External factors: EU membership status & CBC history

	Korca		Gjirokaster	Vlore	Bitola		Kriva Palanka	Struga		Kjustendil		Haskovo		Ruse
	AL/FYROM	AL/GR	AL/GR	AL/GR	FYROM/AL	FYROM/GR	FYROM/BG	FYROM/AL	FYROM/GR	BG/FYROM	BG/SRB	BG/GR	BG/TR	BG/RO
CBC history	-	-	-	-	-	-/+	+	-	-/+	+	+	+	-/+	+
EU membership status	-	-/+	-/+	-/+	-	-/+	-/+	-	-/+	-/+	-/+	+	-/+	+
N. implemented projects	1	1	2	0	1	3	5	0	1	4	2	5	0	4
Corresponding value (Lead-partner & Partner)	1	1	2	0	1,5	3,5	5,5	0	1	5	2,5	5,5	0	5,5

Table 4.13 – External factors (Own elaboration)

The different scores are distinguished in three levels. In the first line - *CBC history* - red squares, (-) correspond to the minimum score of the bilateral historical heritage present in that specific CBC area; yellows (-/+) to a medium score; greens (+) to the maximum score. In the second line - *EU membership status* - red squares (-) correspond to 2 non-EU member states; yellows (-/+) to 1 EU member and 1 non-EU member states; greens (+) to 2 EU member states. In the last line - *Corresponding value of the implemented CBC project* - red squares (-) correspond to a low level of CBC activities and of policy entrepreneurship - from 0 to 2 points; yellows (-/+) to a medium level of policy entrepreneurship - from 2,5 to 4 points; greens (+) to a high level of policy entrepreneurship - equal or more than 4,5 points.

Hence, this table proves the significance of the 2 external factors analyzed in the research. Indeed, there is a tendency to have a better policy entrepreneurship where green squares are combined. On the basis of the score, it is visible that the 4 municipalities (Kriva Palanka, Kjustendil, Haskovo, Ruse) with the highest levels of policy entrepreneurship are located in CBC areas with a good CBC history and at least one EU member state. In particular, among these cases, there are 2 with both green squares (BG/RO; BG/GR) and 1 with one green and one yellow square (BG/FYROM). Moreover, evaluating the 2 cases of medium level of policy entrepreneurship, it is also evident that there are 2 combinations without any red square. So, there is the case of Kyustendil (BG/SRB) with a green CBC history, plus one EU member and one non-EU member state; the case of Bitola (FYROM/GR) which has a medium level of CBC history, plus one EU member and one non-EU member state. All other cases, i.e. all CBC areas with a *corresponding value* equal or lower than 2, correspond only to three combinations: red-red; red-yellow; yellow-yellow.

CONCLUSION

The research was set up to explore the concept of Cross-border cooperation and its forms in a specific area of South-East Europe. The research has therefore defined a good model of CBC structure implementing Perkmann's theory (2007). It has evaluated the policy entrepreneurship in terms of efficiency and effectiveness, and the dynamism of CBC for each analysed border area. Due to the peculiarities of South-East Europe the theory of Perkmann was reviewed adding two independent variables, diversity management and ideological compatibility, and changing the external factors, from the national administrative system to the EU membership status and CBC History.

The CBC represents a consolidated form of European integration, but in South-East Europe it seems to be still too weak and unexploited. In particular after the Balkan wars and the ratification of the Stability Pact for South-East Europe (1999), the CBC represents a crucial strategy in the region for both the EU Enlargement and EU Regional policies, above all with reference to four key aspects: security, stability, democracy and development. Focusing more on the latter element, thus maximizing the socio-economic development in the CBC areas of the region, the research is grounded on the liberalism school of the International Relation theories taking into account also the other perspectives (realism, functionalism, marxism for the *rational choice* approaches; social-constructivism for the *normative* approach) in the general theoretical literature review, illustrated in chapter I. Hence, the framework of the International Relation theories allows the research to consider the articulated multi level dynamics of CBC and to pay heed to arguments that still have strong impact on the internal and external policies of South Eastern states: Nationalism, State formation, Minority issues, International bilateral disputes, European enlargement, Globalization and Marketization. The general theoretical literature on this subject and specifically in the context of South-East Europe is inconclusive with relation to several questions within the local governance and its new vertical and horizontal dynamics which are shaping the complex concept of multi level governance. The research addressed the following question: *How can a good model of a cross-border cooperation structure be defined in terms of policy entrepreneurship in South-East Europe?*

The casing or unit of the research is represented by a municipality with its office/s involved in CBC activities, and identified as CBC structures. As different from Perkmann, who considered a Euroregion a unit of his study, the analysed specificity of South-East Europe and the primordial phase of CBC in the area, have moved the comparison to the local authorities.

The study was set up focusing on three countries, Albania - Bulgaria - FYROM, which share relevant characteristics for this empirical analysis such as the high national centralization of the administrative system, the low socio-economic development of the CBC areas and the numerous presence of minority groups living in CBC areas. Within these three countries, following the map of AEBR (2011) and Gasparini's classification of Euroregions (2000, 2003a), 9 cases were selected for the csQCA: Korca, Gjirokaster and Vlore for Albania; Kyustendil, Haskovo and Ruse for Bulgaria; Bitola, Kriva Palanka and Struga for FYROM. The three countries represent also different levels of the EU enlargement process in the Balkans, in fact, Bulgaria is already part of the EU, FYROM has the status of a candidate country, while Albania is still working to obtain it. In this way the research has provided a more complete argumentation evaluating also the role of the European factor in the Balkans in influencing the CBC actions of each case.

This conclusive chapter will illustrate the final results observed by the study by giving a comprehensive answer to the research question.

The chapter is divided in 4 discrete sections: Empirical Findings; Theoretical and Policy implications; Limitation of the study and Recommendation for future research; Conclusion.

Empirical Findings

The empirical findings are analysed within the Chapter III and Chapter IV. This section will synthesize the empirical findings and the resulting combinations. Thus, having a broad overview of the results, the research has verified a certain general static approach of CBC structures in engaging in policy entrepreneurship and a particular implication of the 2 external factors: EU membership status and CBC history.

The QCA model for South-East Europe

Analysing the combinations of the QCA, the research has illustrated that, in South-East Europe, a policy entrepreneur CBC structure has to fit together the CBC organization, the CBC appropriation, and alternatively the diversity management or the ideological compatibility ($P \rightarrow O.r.A.D + O.r.A.I$). Thus, the CBC organization and the CBC appropriation, as well as the working composition and capacity building of an organization and the trust in CBC, represent the pillar of a policy entrepreneur CBC structure, while the variables of diversity management and ideological compatibility represent a replaceable added value which permits to better exploit the CBC potentialities. The variable Resource base is a negative constant for all the 9 cases, so it can be minimized and excluded. This, therefore, has shown that in South-East Europe the CBC structures are working only with EU funds.

The second combination derived by the QCA has demonstrated the relevance of the variables CBC organization and Ideological compatibility ($p \rightarrow o.r.i$). Specifically, it is remarkable to highlight the value of the ideological compatibility; in fact, for all negative outcomes a corresponding negative code of the ideological compatibility is associated. This means that in South-East Europe the political frameworks strongly influence CBC dynamics.

The static approach of CBC structures in engaging in policy entrepreneurship

The results of the research outline a general low level of CBC in South-East Europe. Compared to other European Western areas, the CBC in this region appears more static or with low mobility. This can be demonstrated, for example by counting the number of operative Euroregions present in South-East Europe which is almost nonexistent; there is, in fact, only one operative Euroregion between Bulgaria and Rumania (Euroregion Danubius). Another indicator of this limited CBC is the non-ratification of the “European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities” (1980) by FYROM. This document, also called the Convention of Madrid, is considered the first international agreement which has supported the growing of CBC in Europe. Thus, even for the research cases that have obtained a positive final outcome in their policy entrepreneurship, the CBC appears in an ongoing process, still to be better exploited in all its potentialities. Indeed,

working on Perkmann's theory in South-East Europe, the research has demonstrated that there are two levels of policy entrepreneurship which characterised a more active or passive inclination of CBC structures. To bring to completion a policy entrepreneurship in CBC actions there is a path, or two steps which bring the bordering authority to intensify the CBC and maximize its local opportunities towards a higher socio-economic development. In Western countries, this path has already been covered by the majority of CBC areas, while in South Eastern countries this path is ongoing. Furthermore, in South-East Europe, this CBC intensification process of local authorities can be favoured or hindered by historical and political issues, international dispute, or economic and administrative conditions which often depend on or are conducted by the national powers. Thus, for instance, considering the 9 cases of the research, I can mention the Name dispute between Greece and FYROM which has impeded the finalization of the Prespa/Ohrid Euroregion, or the strong political internal cleavages in Albania which, according to the interviews, affect the role and the functions of local administrative entities. Moreover, as the research verified in chapter IV, the European factor is crucial in CBC. To be a EU member or non-EU member state influences the CBC expertise of a border area and the general political and economic setting of a country.

The table below represents the steps towards a full policy entrepreneurship and a fruitful CBC in South-East Europe. The two levels of policy entrepreneurship (Level 1 and Level 2) are distinguished and visualized for each of the 5 variables. According to the research, in South-East Europe the variables of CBC structures stand mainly between a negative policy entrepreneurship and a positive policy entrepreneurship - level 1. The policy entrepreneurship - level 2 is reached rarely in some specific cases.

	NEGATIVE Policy entrepreneurship	POSITIVE Policy entrepreneurship	
		Level 1	Level 2
CBC Organization	Absence or incompetence of CBC structures	Municipal office/s	Euroregion / specific CBC agencies
Resource base	NO donors or funds	Only EU funds	Different donors
CBC Appropriation	Negative or indifferent perception	Positive perception	Positive action

	NEGATIVE Policy entrepreneurship	POSITIVE Policy entrepreneurship	
		Level 1	Level 2
Diversity Management	Negative or indifferent approach	Static approach	Dynamic approach
Ideological Compatibility	Radicalization of political or historical cleavages / Closure	Historical issues / Dispute	Future common vision / Solid Cooperation

Table 5.1 – Levels of Policy entrepreneurship (Own elaboration)

Looking at the single variables, it can be observed that every case of the research fits in a different level of policy entrepreneurship. The empirical findings have established the relevance of 3 levels of analysis which are missed in this research based on a crisp-set QCA. Future research on CBC in South-East Europe could be set on a fuzzy-set QCA trying to improve the analysis and the comprehension of the concept of policy entrepreneurship in this area.

Now, to better understand the disparity between Western and South-East European CBC areas, I try to underline the main general static approach of the 9 cases studied in this research focusing on the 5 single independent variables.

The different levels of policy entrepreneurship are visible within the first variable: CBC organization. According to the analysis of chapter IV, the CBC organization varies from a negative outcome verified in the three Albanian municipalities and in Struga (FYROM) to a positive outcome verified in the three Bulgarian municipalities plus Bitola and Kriva Palanka (FYROM). Among the 5 positive cases of this variable, the municipality of Ruse can be singled out, the latter being the only CBC area with an operative Euroregion - Euroregion Danubius - with its own Secretary General and different ongoing CBC activities.

The second variable, Resource base, confirms the general passive trend of all the 9 municipalities which have never resorted to extra donors or funds outside the EU Programmes in implementing CBC projects.

The CBC appropriation, third variable of the QCA, has shown a generally positive perception of the nine local actors, but this inclination has not always been brought to real action. In this respect the interview with the CBC referent of Kyustendil who declared that CBC is something interesting for political actors is pertinent, but the former is not considered a priority. Moreover, it is important to underscore the low

involvement of the economic actors in CBC. Despite their interest, in fact, they have rarely participated in CBC activities. Anyway, in some CBC areas this is due to the border limitations which divided EU and non EU member states or two non EU countries. This was mentioned by numerous CBC experts, with reference to the Macedonian-Bulgarian border, the Macedonian-Albanian border, the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

Referring to the fourth variable, Diversity management, all cases have demonstrated a positive perception of diversity as a good opportunity, but few have already planned or implemented positive actions to exploit this potential opportunity. In a certain sense they undergo the presence of diversity (they have it in their offices, in their territories), but they do not implement any specific action related to this aspect. So, for example the majority of the interviewees stated that a multicultural environment can support CBC activities in networking, language skills or cultural events, but all of them have spoken about minorities as targets and not as instrumental to improving the CBC. On the other side the associations and the different NGOs of minority groups have shown a positive and a slightly more active approach in CBC activities. A further consideration on this variable is the cultural perspective that the majority of CBC experts declared on minorities. Indeed, minorities were seen as a useful partner to the local authorities in creating cultural and traditional events (e.g. in Korca, Gjirokaster, Bitola, Ruse, Haskovo) or, alternatively, in social inclusion projects, specifically with Roma people (e.g. in Korca, Vlore, Kyustendil). However, they were never actively involved in economic projects. Thus, compared to other Western border areas, the participation of minorities in CBC is still linked to purely cultural reasons and does not represent a potential instrument in fully exploiting the concept of diversity management. Moreover, referring to national minorities, the research has confirmed that different CBC areas have not taken advantage of their potential. As shown in chapter IV, the CBC area of Haskovo and Struga, both with a high percentage of national minorities (Turkish minority in Haskovo and Albanian minority in Struga) have not implemented any CBC project with their corresponding neighbour countries, Turkey and Albania. The municipality of Bitola instead has begun a first CBC action involving its national minority in a cultural project, "Borders without boundaries", but the different potential opportunities are still unexplored. Some other CBC referents and experts have instead

justified the low participation of minorities by presenting it as a national issue that cannot be addressed locally. In Vlora, for example, the person responsible for the CBC projects underlines this political interest gap between the local and the national powers. This overview on the variable diversity management confirms that among the 9 cases there are different levels and that, essentially, they stand between a Negative or indifferent approach and a Static approach.

The last variable, Ideological compatibility, describes also the different levels of policy entrepreneurship among the research cases. The three Albanian municipalities plus Bitola and Struga (FYROM) have displayed a negative outcome even if some of them have showed major political maturity, such as Bitola where the CBC structure is concentrated only on practical projects. Kriva Palanka (FYROM) with the three Bulgarian cases displayed instead a better ideological compatibility which, however, is differentiated on the basis of the specific CBC areas. Due to the international relations or historical issues of the countries, the policy entrepreneurship of each CBC area can be more or less inclined to level 1 or 2. Thus, the research distinguishes between the cases of Ruse (Romanian-Bulgarian CBC area), Kyustendil and Kriva Palanka (Macedonian-Bulgarian CBC area) as level 2, and the case of Haskovo as level 1.

These are the corresponding levels of policy entrepreneurship for each variable of the 9 selected cases:

		Organiz.			Resource base			Appropri.			Div. man.			Id. comp.		
		0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
Korca	AL	v			v				v			v		v		
Gjirokastr	AL	v			v				v		v			v		
Vlore	AL	v			v			v			v			v		
Bitola	FYROM		v		v				v			v		v		
Kr. Palanka	FYROM		v		v				v			v				v
Struga	FYROM	v			v			v				v		v		
Kjustendil	BG		v		v				v		v					v
Haskovo	BG		v		v				v			v			v	
Ruse	BG			v	v				v			v				v

Table 5.2 – Policy entrepreneurship per variable (Own elaboration)

The proportional relation of the policy entrepreneurship between Albania, FYROM and Bulgaria

Another relevant consideration that becomes evident while analysing the empirical findings of the QCA is the graduate and proportional relation of the final outcomes. There is a sort of progression considering the policy entrepreneurship of the Albanian, Macedonian and Bulgarian cases. Indeed, all Albanian cases have a negative final outcome, the Macedonian cases have a mixed result and the Bulgarian cases are fully positive. This evidence on the different policy entrepreneurship engagement reflects the values and the significance of the 2 external factors of the research: EU membership status and CBC history. The position of a state towards the EU, therefore, reflects - more or less - the policy entrepreneurship of its CBC areas. The study has also underlined the role of the CBC history which can affect the CBC propensity of a country and of its CBC areas. The particular history of Albania and the regime of Ever Hoxha have shaped the meaning of the Albanian borders which are still seen as persisting frontiers and not as “permeable” lines.

Other recent historical events such as the Albanian rebellion (1997), due to the Pyramid Crisis, and the Macedonian civil war (2001), between ethnic Albanian and ethnic Macedonian, have also affected the internal and external equilibriums.. The major stability held by Bulgaria after the collapse of the Communist regime and its quicker path to enter the EU supported an enhanced CBC with respect to the other two countries.

This diagram visualizes the positive proportional relation of the EU membership status and the corresponding level of policy entrepreneurship of each case. With reference to the liberalism framework of the IR paradigms, the level of policy entrepreneurship represents the relatively maximization of a local authority towards its local features – in terms of obtained CBC projects and socio-economic development.

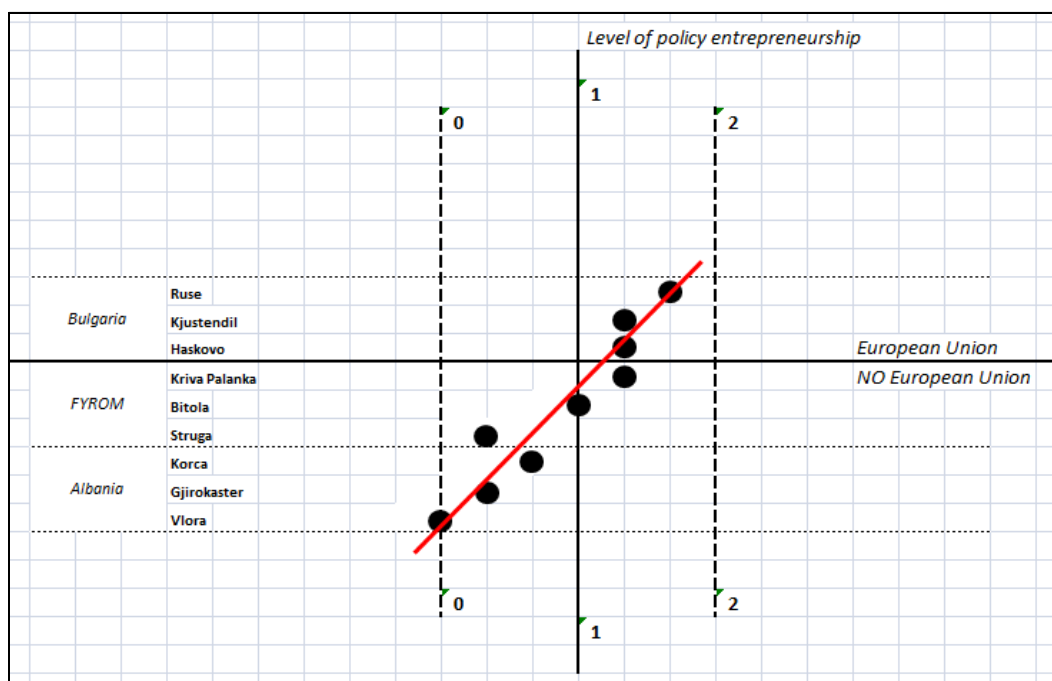


Figure 5.1 – Proportional relation between EU membership and Policy entrepreneurship (Own elaboration)

The graphic above unifies the levels of the policy entrepreneurship of the nine cases (see Table 5.2) with the relevance of the EU membership. In Figure 5.1, indeed, all cases follow the red line, keeping the direct proportionality between policy entrepreneurship and EU membership. The worst case is Vlora (level 0 of policy entrepreneurship) and the best one is Ruse (almost level 2 of policy entrepreneurship). The only case clearly out of this tendency is Struga which seems to be closer to the Albanian level than to the Macedonian one. In general, the role of the EU in the increasing CBC activities appears fundamental. Thus, in South-East Europe the EU Enlargement Policy and the CBC strategy seem able to lead to more political stability and better socio-economic development in border areas. The more a CBC structure is involved in the EU mechanisms, the more it is engaged in policy entrepreneurship - capable of attracting policy tasks and resources. As can be seen in paragraph 5.2.1, this top-down dynamic decreases with time and with the State Building process of a country. When a democratic state is consolidated, major bottom up forces (exercised by local Authorities) increase and the top-down ones decrease.

Main implications of the research

Theoretical contribution

The results of the research provide a contribution to the liberalism school of International Relation theories (chapter I). The research, in fact, confirms the scheme highlighted by some scholars (Delli Zotti and Strassoldo 1982; Delli Zotti 1983; Ricq 1992) which stressed the double views of the CBC evolution: top-down and bottom-up. On one hand, the static approach in engaging in policy entrepreneurship has shown still weak mobilization of the local authorities in CBC; on the other hand, the relevance of national and European policies has shown the weight of external implications. In other words, this confirms a weak bottom-up force and stronger top-down force. However, according to the final outcome of the QCA, this statement has proportional validity from the Albanian to the Bulgarian cases. In Albania the bottom-up forces are weaker than in FYROM and in Bulgaria, while the top-down forces are stronger than in FYROM and in Bulgaria. From the opposite perspective, in Bulgaria the bottom-up forces are stronger than in FYROM and in Albania, while the top-down forces are weaker than in FYROM and in Albania. In a common graphic this can be drawn with a progressive line:

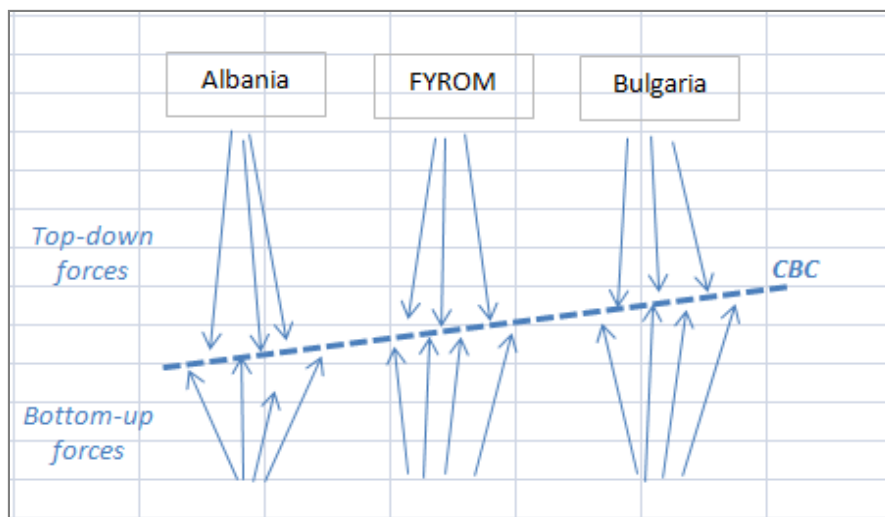


Figure 5.2 – Cases and IR theories, Bottom-up and Top-down forces (Own elaboration)

The inclination of this line can be explained with reference to the concept of State Building (Tilly 1975), or the progressive power enforcement of a state in society. So the

more advanced the state building process is, the more advanced are the democracy and the economy of a country. These are two essential elements in shaping the dynamism of CBC and of its policy entrepreneurship at the local level which are founded on responsibilities, mobilisation and cooperation. Thus, for instance, the high political cleavages, the low decentralization of power and the low socio-economic development, on the basis of their intensity, are structural obstacles to the increase of CBC in South-East Europe. In particular, in Albania, the high corruption and clientelism have confirmed the different difficulties of CBC structures to engage in policy entrepreneurship and to exploit the local features. The overlapping of interests between the political, economic, and civil actors in Albania does not support the definition of the need for real local cooperation of powers, which instead are still in the hands of the only political actors. This lack at the local level is replaced by the relevant influence of Tirana in CBC activities, confirmed by the negative codes obtained from the variable ideological compatibility in all the 3 Albanian cases.

Another contribution of the research is its comparative perspective that has been used only by few scholars (Perkmann 2007). Using a Qualitative Comparative Analysis the research had the opportunity to compare 9 cases, 9 local authorities in South-East Europe. If directly the research has compared the 9 cases, indirectly it has compared 3 countries: Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM. This approach has confirmed an interesting logical relation between the 3 countries and their EU membership status. This innovative form of double comparison has been useful for studying the specific region of South-East Europe, but it could be adapted, transferred and used in other areas.

Moreover, the research has focused the analysis on the role of CBC structures towards their local actors, an aspect that has not sufficiently been explained in the literature, especially considering the region of South-East Europe. As has just been mentioned above, compared to Western countries, South-East Europe has shown low mobility or a more static approach of CBC structures towards their local actors and their local opportunities. Anyhow, there is an increasing tendency which could bring some CBC structures of the area to reach very high performing level of policy entrepreneurship. The innovative theoretical framework implemented by Perkmann's theory has added 2 variables (Diversity management and Ideological compatibility) which have demonstrated to be pertinent within the first combination of the QCA.

These two added variables have allowed the research to pay attention to minority-majority relations within border regions in South-East Europe and the political inclination of the local administrations involved in CBC activities that are both still unexplored subjects of analysis (McCall 1998; Malloy 2010). Furthermore, working in the new context of South-East Europe with a primordial CBC activities, the research has modified the casing of Perkmann, from a Euroregion to a local authority - municipality, and it has ascertained the 2 levels (more static or active) of concept of policy entrepreneurship. This new perspective could be useful for future research on further areas as in Africa or in Latin America where the AEBR with the DG Regio of the EU Commission has already started some CBC projects (i.e. “Support to integrated and sustainable development and CBC between Micronesia, Cape Verde and Senegal”; “EU-Latin America collaboration on cross-border cooperation in the framework of Regional Policy”).

Policy suggestions

The two main policy programmes related to the CBC in South-East Europe within the EU budget 2007-2013 are the IPA CBC Programmes which involve non-EU member states and the CBC European Territorial Cooperation Programmes which involve only EU member states. Among the aspects of the research, I would like to highlight two that are particularly relevant: the economic aspect of the CBC structures and the value of diversity management. These both aspects could be improved assuming some innovative mechanisms and expedients within the different Calls for Projects of the two CBC programmes.

The first aspect was highlighted by the negative outcome obtained by all 9 cases with respect to the variable Resource base. The analysis has underlined the passivity of all municipalities in using only EU funds to implement CBC projects. The budget of each programme is essentially financed by the EU (85%) and by the National public funding (15%). Thus, the most difficult economic duty of the local authorities is to anticipate the money that the State will then refund them to cover the co-funding of 15%. To stimulate the local authorities in looking for further donors and funds, a fundamental element for a policy entrepreneur CBC structure (Perkmann 2007), a mechanism capable of distinguishing two typologies of Calls for Projects could be

implemented: one just with the classic financing procedure (EU and National funds); one with a new financing method, where the budget has to be differentiated in the three parts (EU, National, Local funds). Of course, this diversification of the funds has to be backed up by larger budgets and specific commissions to attract and motivate the CBC structures and the other local actors to search major sources of funding. Moreover stakeholders such as AEER or ALDA could contribute and stimulate other donors to finance CBC projects.

The second aspect, the diversity management within the CBC areas, has shown good potentiality in the region of South-East Europe. The results of the variable have shown that the exploitation of diversity management is still underestimated, but it is not likely to lead to an increasing territorial fragmentation of national sovereignty. The results show a unanimous positive perception of this concept even if no rational and planned action was found to have occurred. As was explained above, the diversity management is implemented more through an indirect method. Thus, in specific CBC areas with congruous historical and political panorama the two EU CBC Programmes could develop new evaluation criteria encouraging the presence of diversity management in CBC activities. This could allow to maximize the social capital of CBC structures developing the level of trust in the relations between peoples (Grix and Knowles 2002) and to better exploit minorities and the local multiculturalism as CBC “building capacity” Malloy (2007, 2010).

Limitations of the thesis

The limitations of the research are mainly 2: the choice of the outcomes evaluated with the QCA and the relatively limited number of cases.

With respect to the first limitation, the author has chosen to measure the outcome of the QCA through the number of implemented CBC projects by each local authority. Considering the new theoretical framework deduced by Perkmann’s theory of policy entrepreneurship (chapter II) - interpreted through the liberalism approach - the research assumes a direct and proportional link between the performing of a local authority in gaining CBC projects financed by the EU and the socio-economic development of its border area. It is clear that there is not an automatic relation between the granted projects and a real socio-economic development, in particular because the

outcome of the QCA has not considered also specific economic data. However, as the research has shown studying the variable of the CBC funds of the bordering municipalities, in South-East Europe the sources of funding for CBC activities are only and exclusively the EU programmes. This implies that any new transborder infrastructure, cultural event or economic initiative is implemented through CBC projects, with a potentially positive result on the socio-economic environment of the border area. Moreover, the multiple aspects addressed by the CBC programmes (economic, institutional, social, cultural, educational, etc.) and the large differences of all implemented CBC projects (in terms of sector, stakeholders, area, timing, etc.) would not have permitted the study of each single project and the use of a unique economic index to measure the socio-economic impact on the 9 border areas.

The second limitation of the research is the small N analysis which has included 9 cases (out of 18), 9 bordering municipalities located in South-East Europe. Taking into consideration the 5 independent variables investigated by the QCA, the number of cases appears relatively small for a more articulated analysis. In fact, the combinations covered by the selected cases are relatively few in comparison to the larger potential algebraic framework. Nevertheless, as it was displayed within the graphic created with Tosmana – version 1.3.2 (chapter IV) – there are only 4 real influential independent variables which have to be considered; in fact, the “Resource base” results constantly negative for all cases. Generally, the small N analysis was due to the obstacles to realize an adequate data collection and the necessity to visit each of the 9 CBC areas which have not permitted (in terms of actual feasibility and access to the needed information) to enlarge more the case selection. The case selection, anyhow, has been well-structured through a scrupulous theoretical reasoning: 1) Selection of the more intensive CBC areas in South-East Europe – on the basis of the AEBR’s map (2011); 2) Following Gasparini’s classification, the research has selected the CBC areas defined as “contiguity cooperation” - third type (see chapter II); 3) The remaining cases were selected covering all border areas of the 3 selected countries, Albania, Bulgaria and FYROM.

Recommendation for future research

The results obtained by the research could be extended to future studies capable of investigating more in detail some further topics emerging from this analysis.

Thus, considering the relatively low CBC and the ascertained two levels of policy entrepreneurship of CBC structures in South-East Europe, future research can examine the region by trying to apply a fuzzy-set QCA for enlarging the perspective of analysis and distinguishing more accurately the different CBC dynamics.

Moreover, the research has focused on the comparison among the CBC areas of three countries situated in the South Eastern part of Europe. The research, therefore, could be extended to other areas which share similar characteristics: with other countries of the Balkan peninsula; with other member or non-member states of the EU; with other regions of the globe such as Africa and Latin America where the CBC has been promoted by the AEBR in the recent years.

Finally, the research has pointed out other topics which so far have not been comprehensively considered by the literature on CBC and Euroregions: the role of lobby – local/national – within the EU CBC programmes; the influence of internal political relations on CBC dynamics; the concept of marketization in CBC areas of South-East Europe; the significance of the energy policy in CBC activities.

Final remarks

The research has investigated the relevance of CBC in South-East Europe. It has demonstrated that the “cross-borderisation” processes occurring in South-East Europe are not leading to an increase in territorial fragmentation of national sovereignty, but they can be considered as a form of slow policy innovation for democratization, facilitating the integration of the present diversities and the socio-economic growth, in light of the emergence of the EU as a supranational policy-maker. The CBC activities in the region have shown a positive tendency even if the path for maximum exploitation of the local features seems long and with some structural issues still to be faced. In South-East Europe, a good model of a CBC structure can be defined on the basis of the improvement of 5 variables - CBC organization, Resource base, CBC appropriation, Diversity management, Ideological compatibility - which represent the fundamental elements for a high policy entrepreneurship. Despite some positive cases which have

demonstrated good effectiveness in terms of the number of implemented projects, the policy entrepreneurship gained by these CBC structures offers still room for improvement.

The countries where the 9 cases are located – Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM – have shown different results and approaches to the CBC dynamics. Depending on the maturity of the country and also on its CBC history and EU membership status, the research verified the existing possible variety of conditions. In this sense, the study has confirmed the significance played by the two main concepts related to CBC: the different conceptualization of borders (permeable or persisting borders) and the different intensity of the Multi Level Governance, also due to the democratic and economic settings of a country. Considering this latter concept, the region of South-East Europe - even if at different levels depending on the country - has shown a still relatively strong significance of the national state on the local authorities which has not allowed strong development of the MLG.

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ANNEX A

Interviewees

EX – Expert

PA – Public Authorities

ST – Stakeholder

EU – CBC office related to the European Union

1	EX	Eva Hyskaj Tafili	Tirana University (Albania)	Tirana, AL
2	EX	Ilir Kulla	Tirana University + SIOI Roma	Tirana, AL
3	EX	Ridvan Peshkopia	New York University Tirana	Tirana, AL
4	PA	Eltion Verleni	Albanian Diplomatic	Tirana, AL
5	ST	Jonida Goci	Foundation FRIEDRICH EBERT	Tirana, AL
6	PA	Greta Rakaj	Ministry of European Integration (AL), Dipart. CBC	Tirana, AL
7	PA	Gentian Xhaxhiu	Ministry of European Integration (AL), Dipart. CBC	Tirana, AL
8	EU	Ivan Manzano Barragan	EU Delegation in Albania - CBC AL-Montenegro; AL- Kosovo	Tirana, AL
9	EU	Stefano Calabretta	EU Delegation in Albania - CBC Programme Albania- FYROM	Tirana, AL
10	EU	Marzia Dalla Vedova	EU Delegation in Albania - CBC Programme AL-GR; AL-KO	Tirana, AL
11	EX	Dikensa Topi	Advisor – economic and political policies	Tirana, AL
12	EX	Marioli Qesaraku	IDM (Institute for Democracy and Mediation)	Tirana, AL
13	EX	Hoti Emjrian	IDM (Institute for Democracy and Mediation)	Tirana, AL
14	ST	Aida Gojda	Association of Albanian Municipalities	Tirana, AL
15	ST	Aida Ndrevataj	Association Avsi	Tirana, AL
16	ST	Bianca Buzzetto	Association Avsi	Tirana, AL
17	ST	Gimi Fortuna (Director)	NGO "Rromani Baxh Albania"	Tirana, AL
18	PA	Teodor Bilushi	Italian Consul - Gjirokaster	Gjirokaster, AL
19	ST	Sadi Petrela (Director)	Fondation Gjirokaster (NGO)	Gjirokaster, AL
20	ST	Jonida Dhrami	Fondation Gjirokaster (NGO)	Gjirokaster, AL
21	ST	Loida Vjollka	Fondation Gjirokaster (NGO)	Gjirokaster, AL
22	EX	Ola Skuqi	Univ. Gjirokaster	Gjirokaster, AL
23	PA	Mada Margariti	Baskia Gjirokaster	Gjirokaster, AL
24	PA	Ornella Leshi	Qarku Gjirokaster (Region Gjirokastra)	Gjirokaster, AL

25	ST	Stefan Arnesi	President Ass. "MIQESIA"	Gjirokaster, AL
26	ST	Mr Maiko	NGO MIN.	Gjirokaster, AL
27	PA	Edlira Boraku	Qarku Vlora (Region Vlora)	Vlora, AL
28	PA	Mr Beshiri	Bashkia Vlora - Deputy mayor	Vlora, AL
29	PA	Mr Ilir Banushi	Bashkia of Vlora (CBC)	Vlora, AL
30	EX	Mr Agron	NGO Vlora	Vlora, AL
31	EX	Angela Ballerbach	Univ. Vlora	Vlora, AL
32	PA	Irida Karra	Univ. Vlora	Vlora, AL
33	PA	Mr De Cire (Desilda Çaçi)	Bashkia of Vlore	Vlora, AL
34	EU	Ms Elita	Help Desk Officer, EU info Center	Vlora, AL
35	PA	Rina Pellumbi	Qarku Korca (Region Korca) - CBC AL-GR	Korca, AL
36	PA	Mr Vangjush Dishnica (Director)	Qarku Korca (Region Korca) - CBC AL-MK	Korca, AL
37	EX	Alma Ceci (Specialist)	EU Project expert - CBC	Korca, AL
38	PA	Sofjola Kotelli	Municipality of Korca	Korca, AL
39	ST	Mrs Miranda Feso	NGO su MIN.	Korca, AL
40	ST	Mr Arben Kosturi	NGO Roma of Korca (+ TV)	Korca, AL
41	ST	Mr Dobrev	NGO Macedonian of Korca	Korca, AL
42	ST	Viola Bogdani	Duch Foundation; Dorcas Aid International Albania	Korca, AL
43	EX	Mrs Donika	Expert / Specialist	Korca, AL
44	ST	Kujtim Topuzi	LSI party (META)	Tirana, AL
45	ST	Diana Murati	LSI party (META) - Candidate Vlora	Tirana, AL
46	ST	Sokol Lula	PDIU (for Camaria)	Tirana, AL
47	ST	Silvia Bardhi	PD party	Tirana, AL
48	ST	Bledi Kasmi	PD party (Berisha - gov.)	Tirana, AL
49	ST	Adrian Kollozi	PD party (Berisha - gov.) - Candidate Vlora	Vlora, AL
50	ST	Edvin Kukunja	PS (Rama) - off. MEDIA	Tirana, AL
51	ST	Armela Imeraj	PS (Rama)	Tirana, AL
52	ST	Valentina Leskaj	PS - Candidate Vlora	Vlora, AL
53	ST	Genci Kojdhelli	PS - Candidate Vlora	Vlora, AL
54	ST	Kozeta Stafa	PBDNJ	Vlora, AL
55	PA	Mjellma Mehmeti	Ministry of Local Self-Government, CBC	Skopjia, MK
56	EX	Sara Barbieri	Researcher PECOB	Skopjia, MK
57	PA	Emilija Gjerovska	Director - IPA CBC - Region of PELAGONIA (based in Bitola)	Bitola, MK
58	EU	Anita Poposka	Expert - JTS Struga	Struga, MK
59	EU	Goce Toleski	Head of JTS Struga	Struga, MK
60	EU	Ardita Istrefi	JTS Project Officer	Struga, MK

61	PA	Toni Konjanovski	Municipality of Bitola - Public Health Department	Bitola, MK
62	PA	Todor Ivanovski	Department of Culture - Municipality of Bitola	Bitola, MK
63	EX	Klaudia Lutovska	CBC Expert	Bitola, MK
64	PA	Mr Zlatkov	National extension agency	Skopjia, MK
65	EX	Stoevka Andrianad	CBC Expert	Kriva Palanka, MK
66	PA	Antonio Devitskoski	CBC Programmes - Municipality of Kriva Palanka	Kriva Palanka, MK
67	EX	Mr Zoran	Expert (MK-BG-GR)	Strumica, MK
68	EX	Stefanov Lyubomir	New Bulgarian University	Sofia, BG
69	EX	Vladimir Shopov	Sophia Analytica	Sofia, BG
70	EX	Michail Gruev	Sofia University	Sofia, BG
71	EX	K. Grosev	Sofia University	Sofia, BG
72	EX	Ingrid Shikova	Sofia University	Sofia, BG
73	EX	Mariana Stamova	Institut de Balkanique, Bulgarian Academy of sciences	Sofia, BG
74	EX	Boiko Marinkov	Institut de Balkanique, Bulgarian Academy of sciences	Sofia, BG
75	EX	Yana Kiev	Institut de Balkanique, Bulgarian Academy of sciences	Sofia, BG
76	EX	Emi Zapad	Institut de Balkanique, Bulgarian Academy of sciences	Sofia, BG
77	EX	Rusland Khaled	Expert - Forum for Arab Culture	Sofia, BG
78	EX	Sefer Hasanov	Higher Institute of Islamic Studies	Sofia, BG
79	ST	Antonina Zhelyazkova	IMIR Sofia	Sofia, BG
80	ST	Marko Hajdinjak	IMIR Sofia	Sofia, BG
81	ST	Kristian Vigenin	MEP – BSP	Sofia, BG
82	ST	Juljeta Avdjieva	BSP party	Sofia, BG
83	ST	Andrej Kovachev	MEP – GERB	Sofia, BG
84	ST	Ivanov Velko	GERB party	Sofia, BG
85	EX	Iliana Draganova	Expert projects - Business Support Centre for SMEs	Ruse, BG
86	ST	Devora Fileva	Business Support Centre for SMEs	Ruse, BG
87	ST	Lili Gancheva	Secretary General - Euroregion DANUBIUS	Ruse, BG
88	ST	Biliana Karaivanova	Euroregion DANUBIUS	Ruse, BG
89	ST	Maria Dobrova	Euroregion DANUBIUS (Romania)	Ruse, BG
90	PA	Mrs Pavlova	Municipality RUSE, European Development Office	Ruse, BG
91	PA	Mrs Milena Martinovic	CBC Programmes - Municipality of Ruse	Ruse, BG
92	EU	Guerdijkova Tzvetana	CBC Bulgaria Nazionale	Sofia, BG
93	EU	Delchev Ivan	JTS IPA CBC BG-TR	Haskovo, BG

94	EU	Dochev Nikolay	JTS IPA CBC BG-MK	Kjustendil, BG
95	PA	Valkova Katya	EU Programmes - Senior Expert - Municipality of Sofia	Sofia, BG
96	PA	Daniela Shilkova	Deputy-Mayor for Economy and Investments	Ruse, BG
97	PA	Iliana Hristova	CBCProgrammes - Municipality of Veliko Tornavo	Veliko Tornavo, BG
98	PA	Ivaylo Velez	CBCProgrammes - Municipality of Blagoevgrad	Blagoevgrad, BG
99	EU	Tenev Yordan	Managing Authority - CBC MK-BG	Sofia, BG
100	EU	Nebojsa Nikolic	Managing Authority - CBC BG-RS	Sofia, BG
101	EX	Jeta Bakija	ECMI Kosovo	Pristina, KO
102	EX	Tove Malloy	ECMI Flensburg	Flensburg, DE
103	EX	Martin Klatt	Univ. Southern Denmark	Flensburg, DE
104	ST	Guillermo Ramirez	General Secreatry - AEER	Gronau, DE
105	ST	Karl Heinz Lambertz	President AEER	Gronau, DE
106	ST	Jens Gabbe	AEER - Advisory Committee	Gronau, DE
107	ST	Oriano Otočan	President ALDA	Strasbourg, FR
108	EX	Olga Borou	ICBSS (Atene)	Atene, GR
109	EX	Gianluca Bagnara	Univ. Bologna	Bologna, IT
110	ST	Mihaela Tudor	Black Sea Euroregion	Costanza, RO
111	EX	Ulrich Ermann	Leibniz-Institut fur Landerkunde	Leibniz, DE
112	EX	Christian Geiselmann	Leibniz-Institut fur Landerkunde	Leibniz, DE
113	EX	Daniele Del Bianco	ISIG (Ist. Intern. Sociology of Gorizia) - Univ. di Trieste	Gorizia, IT
114	PA	Giuseppe Napoli	Servizio Corregionale all'Esterio Regione FVG	Trieste, IT
115	PA	Piacentino Ciccarese	Puglia Region - Cooperazione Territoriale, Balcani ed Europa Sud Est, CBC	Bari, IT
116	EU	Giorgos Papadopoulos	JTS – IPA CBC AL-GR	Thassalonico, GR

ANNEX B

Questionnaire used for the semi-structured interview

Name of the person who fills in the questionnaire

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.....

Contacts (tel./mail) of the person who fills in the questionnaire

.....
.....

Name of the Municipality / Region

.....
.....

Corresponding European level (NUTS II / NUTS III / smaller...)

.....
.....

Programmes of CBC where the Municipality/Region is involved (CBC btw.. / IPA-CBC btw..)

.....
.....

Main bordering Municipalities/Regions with whom you implement CBC activities
(specify also their country)

.....
.....

Main aims of your CBC activities

.....
.....

CBC organization

Employees that are involved in CBC activities/projects

Total n. of employees are working in CBC activities / projects	Number of men / women	Number of employees that can speak English?	Number of employees that can speak the corresponding language of the other bordering state involved in CBC?	Number of employees involved that are belonging to specific local minority groups? Which ones?	Number of employees that are belonging to different religion? Which ones?	Number of employees that have a degree related to the EU studies or to CBC activities?

Number of departments that are involved in CBC activities/projects (specify which ones)

.....
.....

Have the employees working in CBC been carrying out CBC projects and activities for long? Or are there frequent changes of staff? (if yes specify why)

.....
.....

How do you recruit my staff, working in CBC?

.....
.....

How many employees that work with CBC have attended specific CBC training (organized by the JTS / Managing Authority / Nat. Authority)?

.....
.....

Is there a specific single office for CBC activities?

.....
.....

Are there specific salary-commissions/incentives/contributions for the staff that that are working with CBC projects?

.....

CBC Resources

For how many CBC projects your local authority has applied (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

.....

How many CBC projects your local authority managed as coordinator (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

.....

How many CBC projects your local authority managed as partner (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

.....

Please specify the title of the projects won, partner, the field/aim and the budget (between 2007-2013):

Title of the project (specify when you were coordinator)	Year (and code of the Call for proposal)	List of the other partners (specify also their country)	Field and aim of the project	Budget of the project (euro)	
				Local aut.	EU funds

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How many CBC projects your local authority has implemented independently without the support of European funds? (between 2007-2013)?

.....

Do you have other donors/sponsors which are supporting CBC projects of your local authority? (between 2007-2013)

.....

Please specify the budget of your CBC activities in the last years distinguishing the EU funds to the other donors

Year	Budget (total)	EU Funds	Other donors
2007			
2008			
2009			
2010			
2011			
2012			
2013			

CBC Appropriation

In your opinion, what is the relevance of CBC activities among the citizens of your city? Why?

.....

In your opinion, what is the relevance the political actors give to the CBC activities?
Why?

.....
.....

How often do the leaders of the cross border area have a meeting?

.....
.....

In your opinion, what is the relevance the economic actors give to the CBC activities?
Why?

.....
.....

In your opinion, what is the relevance the civic society (association and NGOs) give to the CBC activities? Why?

.....
.....

Diversity Management

In your opinion, what is the “diversity management” and how your local authority could implement and use this concept?

.....
.....

Could you specify some example where your local administrative authority worked with minority groups in CBC?

.....
.....

In your opinion, are there any pragmatic advantages that your local authority could gain by working with minority groups in CBC (i.e. their language skills, their network, their knowledge of other country, etc.)?

.....
.....

Is there any negative factor instead?

.....
.....

In your opinion, how could the local authority better involve the minority groups in CBC activities?

.....
.....

In your opinion, what are the main difficulties to have a good working relation with minority groups in CBC?

.....
.....

In your opinion, how do the local political leaders see the involvement of minority groups in CBC? How do they implement the concept of “diversity management” in CBC activities? Why?

.....
.....

Measures that your local authority use (or would use) to monitor "diversity management"

.....
.....

Ideological Compatibility

Has the border area where you are living an historical heritage of CBC? How and Why?

.....
.....

Is there an historical period where the current border area was a unique and unity territory? When?

.....
.....

Today, in your opinion, how are the relations btw your state and the bordering country/countries?

.....
.....

In your opinion, particular historical bilateral problem could obstacle the CBC between two countries? How and Why?

.....
.....

In your opinion, could a strong nationalism among the main parties at the national level
obstacle the CBC between two countries? How and Why?

.....
.....

How do the political leaders of the 2 bordering municipalities/regions decide the
priorities of the CBC activities?

.....
.....

How often the political leaders of the 2 bordering municipalities/regions have a meeting
speaking on CBC activities?

.....
.....

In your opinion, could the ideological political divergences hinder the CBC activities
between two bordering cities/regions which have different political party ruling (one
belonging to the left wing, one to the right)? How and Why?

.....
.....

How do you consider the ideological political divergences within your country? Is the
political ideology between the national and the local level sometime an obstacle in CBC
activities (for example in procuring funds or in deciding the priorities)?

.....
.....

Further suggestions/plans

What role could the CBC have in the development of the local administrative system of
the State? How the CBC support and improve the local autonomy of municipalities and
regions? Why?

.....
.....

.....
.....

What role could the CBC have in the development of your area? Why?

.....
.....

.....
.....

What are the best assets/problems in improving the CBC have in your area? Why?

.....
.....

.....
.....

In the next near future, do you think that your region/municipality will create a real **Euroregion** (for example through an association or NGO) or a **EGTC** (European Group of Territorial Cooperation) to formalized the CBC activities with the bordering local authorities? Why?

.....
.....

.....
.....

Do you have other suggestions for improving the CBC in your border area?

.....
.....

.....
.....

ANNEX C

Extracts of primary sources (Interviews and Questionnaires)

Extract 1

Name of the person / office

Ruse Municipality, Directorate European Development

Name of the Municipality / Region

Municipality of Ruse

Corresponding European level (NUTS II / NUTS III / smaller...)

LAU 1

Programmes of CBC where the Municipality/Region is involved (CBC btw.. / IPA-CBC btw..)

CBC Ro-Bg 2007-2013

Main bordering Municipalities/Regions with whom you implement CBC activities (specify also their country)

Giurgiu, Romania

Main aims of your CBC activities

- to improve conditions for crossing the border and to develop the transport and communication infrastructure in the area
- to protect the environment, by dealing effectively with natural and technical risks (floods, water and air pollution etc) and joint emergency responses
- to enhance the economic development of the eligible areas through business infrastructure support, training of the human factor, and cooperation between communities and institutions

CBC Resources

For how many CBC projects your local authority has applied (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

4

How many CBC projects your local authority managed as coordinator (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

3

How many CBC projects your local authority managed as partner (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

1

Please, specify the title of the projects won, partner, the field/aim and the budget (between 2007-2013):

Title of the project (specify when you were coordinator)	Year (and code of the Call for proposal)	List of the other partners (specify also their country)	Field and aim of the project	Budget of the project (euro)	
				Local aut.	EU funds
Improvement of the capacity of the public administrations in Ruse-Giurgiu Euroregion for better joint risk management, prevention and environmental protection	2009 1-2.2-1	Giurgiu Municipality, Romania	Environment - Development of joint infrastructure and services to prevent the impact of natural and man-made crises, including joint emergency response services The aim of the project is to provide the necessary conditions for effective joint risk management, prevention and environmental protection in the cross-border area Ruse-Giurgiu, through development of joint information data base for planning and pursuing a Common crisis management policy	90464,58	505481,18
Euroregion Ruse-Giurgiu Operations - Integrated opportunity management through masterplanning	2010 2(2i)-3.1-20	Giurgiu Municipality, Romania	Economic and social development - Support for cross-border business cooperation and promotion of a regional image and identity The aim of the project is to contribute to the sustainable development of the Romanian-Bulgarian cross-border region thus introducing new cooperation models and partnership platforms	144201,57	805742,91

Improvement of the Accessibility of the Euroregion Ruse – Giurgiu with Pan-European transport corridor 9	2010 2(3i)-1.1-4	Giurgiu Municipality, Romania	Accessibility – Improvements to land and river cross-border transport facilities The aim of the project is improvement of Ruse - Giurgiu Euroregion's accessibility through modernization of transport Infrastructure and optimization of the traffic system related with the pan-European Corridor 9	2036291,01	5734952,78
Danube Spirit in Port Communities	2011 2(4i)-3.3-14	Constanta Art Museum, Romania Lower Danube Museum Calarasi	Economic and social development People-to-people The aim of the project is to contribute to cultural and social cohesion at local and cross-border level, in 3 Danubian port-towns and at cross-border level	35729,33	199641,72

How many CBC projects your local authority has implemented independently without the support of European funds? (between 2007-2013)?

0

Do you have other donors/sponsors which are supporting CBC projects of your local authority? (from 2007 to 2013)

No

Please specify the budget of your CBC activities in the last years distinguishing the EU funds to the other donors

Year	Budget (total)	EU Funds	Other donors
2012	1 150 525,32 Euro	976 180,93 Euro	
2013	19 328,31 Euro	16 324,69 Euro	

CBC Appropriation

In your opinion, what is the relevance of CBC activities among the citizens of your city? Why?

The CBC cooperation contributes mainly to the intercultural exchange between Bulgarians and Romanians.

In your opinion, what is the relevance the political actors give to the CBC activities? Why?

Political actors in Ruse give importance to the CBC activities mainly because of the possible strong economic relations, the nearby location of the 3-million market of Bucharest, and in recent years, because of the possible strong cooperation of Bucharest for the application of Ruse to become a European Capital of Culture 2013.

How often the leaders of the cross border area have a meeting?

Political leaders in Romania and Bulgaria meet several times a year.

In your opinion, what is the relevance the economic actors give to the CBC activities? Why?

Possible economic activity and cooperation.

In your opinion, what is the relevance the civic society (association and NGOs) give to the CBC activities? Why?

Activation of the intercultural exchange; benefits for education and culture.

Extract 2

In-depth interview

Name of the respondent

The Municipality of Kyustendil

Status

Municipality

District, region, town, country

Kyustendil district, region of Kyustendil, the town of Kyustendil, Bulgaria

PART I

Data concerning the the IPA Cross-border cooperation between Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria - Serbia

Main aims of the CBC activities in your district / municipality? How often do you discuss the questions concerning the CBC activities in your City Council / District Administration?

The main objectives of the program activities CBC Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria - Serbia are an effective opportunity to overcome the limitations and weaknesses of the cross-border region and to define a common future development of the border area. Border regions are often disadvantaged due to peripheral geographic location and the relative isolation from national economies. The interventions and the activities that have been implemented and are being implemented in the border area, Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria - Serbia frequently support activities for economic development by investing in the necessary infrastructure on a small scale, human resources, social integration and support of business favorable environment.

The issues related to the implementation of CBC programs are discussed in the City Council Kyustendil, in all the cases in which the Kyustendil Municipality applies with a project draft under an announced scheme and one of the necessary required documents is the Decision by the local council, in relation with the development of the project and the costs associated with it.

For how many CBC projects your local authority has applied (between 2007-2013 with IPA CBC)?

For the period 2007 - 2013 Kyustendil Municipality successfully developed and implemented eight projects under CBC Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria – Serbia. Two projects are in the process of implementation one under CBC Bulgaria - Macedonia and one under a CBC Bulgaria – Serbia programme.

As results of the completed projects in the border region under the CBC Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria - Serbia programmes a number of activities were realized: seminars, workshops, round tables, cultural visits, exhibitions and workshops, activities related to environmental protection and maintenance of the cultural heritage, alongside infrastructure development of the region through the rehabilitation of existing tourist routes and building new ones, construction of bicycle lanes and promotion of cultural, historical and natural attractions in the border region through the applying of an innovative approach - an electronic platform / info-terminals; restored military historical sites of the First World War and other activities supporting the economic development of the region.

What are the main sources of funding for implementation of the projects under the Cross-border cooperation programme? How many people in the area / municipality are involved in the projects under cross-border cooperation and which departments or directorates?

The Programme finance 85% of the eligible expenditures and the state budgets of the two participating countries shall provide 15% co-financing (7,5% each country).

For the period 2007 - 2013 Kyustendil Municipality has successfully implemented eight projects under CBC Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria – Serbia. Two projects are in the process of implementation - one CBC Bulgaria - Macedonia and one CBC Bulgaria - Serbia. For the successful implementation of any project a joint management team is formed according to the objectives and specifics of each project.

PART II - ESTIMATIONS

Your ESTIMATION of the effects of cross-border cooperation between Bulgaria - Macedonia and Bulgaria – Serbia

What is your opinion about the programmes of CBC?

CBC programs are designed for all border areas of Bulgaria. Kyustendil as a frontier region can work together with Macedonia and Serbia. The programmes, the sources of funding, the objectives, the target groups and the expected results of the cross-border cooperation across border zones are similar according to the fact that the financing of these areas contributes to the integration of mixed population and minorities living there, keeping the population in these areas with the creation of new jobs, with rising living standards, and the promotion of education by supporting scientific and cultural exchange. Essential for the prosperity of these areas are training and experience of the target groups in this kind of cooperation. Cross-border cooperation programmes seek to provide specific and targeted territorial dimension of the geographical distribution of growth, innovation and processes of the labor market in eligible cross-border, trans-national areas and the EU as a whole, and by providing integrated and truly joint sustainable development of the participating countries. These projects contribute to the integrated territorial development through a wide partnership approach (involving different sectors and levels of government) and must meet at least two of the following four criteria:

- co-creation ;
- Joint Implementation ;
- joint team;
- co-financing .

The projects must have a clear impact beyond the national borders and include aspects (for example territory, multi-sectorial approach, level of partners' involvement) that are not eligible for funding or possible within the sectorial programs. Through the implementation of projects of this kind cooperation between border regions can be achieved, which will lead to improved quality of life and improved relationships between the populations participating in the project towns, which as the target group of the project are included directly or indirectly.

How do you think this type of programmes can change the local communities in economic terms? Which economic sectors could draw as many positives from the cross-border cooperation?

The most important natural resources

Natural potential: varied terrain, presence of thermal curative springs.

Resource base: forests, minerals, building materials and others.

The nature of the topography of the area has given a mark on the structure of land resources. The total area of the territory with the highest shares are the agricultural 50.47% and forest areas 40.61%. The cultivated land area is 831,620 acres.

Industrial sectors

Industrial sectors distribution:

1. Industry: 31.5%
2. Agriculture: 7.2%

3. Services: 61.3%

Almost all sectors of the national economy are covered: agriculture, forestry, including logging, hunting and fishing, mining and processing industry, and construction. All the sectors of the service sphere are presented. During the last years, leading industrial subsectors in the manufacturing industry are manufacture of food products, beverages and tobacco, production of medicines, clothing, footwear, timber and woodworking industry. In the area of Kyustendil there are eco-environmental territories and territories with destroyed characteristics of the nature environment. Natural environment in the region is varied, and in some areas - unique - Struma valley and Rila. The mountainous areas are with clean environment, well wooded and very important for the formation of the water flow. The nature-geographic picture of the field has a wide variety - nature reserves, protected areas, forest parks, recreational areas, green areas, natural landmarks. There are availability of geothermal waters.

Judicious use of cultural and natural resources makes them an inexhaustible source of socio-economic development - permanent employment, improvement of the social and demographic structure of the population, increase in living standards and maintenance of the ecological cleanliness of the area. The tourist activity in the area would generate the development of all economic sectors. The storage and the exhibitions of the unique cultural and natural heritage fortune make the area a subject of regional, national and cross-border cultural exchange. The cross-border cooperation could draw as many positives and lead to the development of border regions .

**Does the cross-border cooperation affect of the political situation at local level?
Do you think that such programs contribute to the integration process in the EU?**

The cross-border cooperation is related to the political situation at local level, so - far as it may affect, but it depends on the object and purpose of cooperation, in what area is, in what direction it is pointed and what's invested in this cooperation. The integration is carried out in a functional way in different fields. The greatest economic dynamism stands is in the economic sector. The economic integration is complex and takes place in various sub-sectors: agriculture, labor standards and practices, providing capital and generate common environment for its exchange between the participating central banks, etc. The social integration requires mutual tolerance and general social and political values. The political integration requires a huge step in transferring the sovereignty of individual states to over national central institutional structures. A very important indicator for the transition to full political integration is the formation of a common foreign and defense policy and common defense activities. Deployment of a single parliamentary- legislative and judicial activity is also an important element of political integration.

The integration objectives in the international relations aim to achieve the maximization of economic and political potential of integrating countries, and permanently resolve potential conflicts between neighbors.

Do you think that the experience of cross-border cooperation can help Bulgaria to cope better with the challenges of globalization? Why?

The last two decades are decades of a new social, political and economic process - globalization. The combinations of technological and social development in the world, together with the establishment of permanent economic and cultural ties between countries lead to a new stage in human communication. According to the scientists studying the process of globalization is an old phenomenon, which gradually evolved to its current form. Most importantly, it suggests a new state of the economy, state in which the Bulgarian economy became part of an integrated whole, of an economic system whose components are scattered around the world. The practical unlimity of the market enables a country to pursue its interests and achieve its potential far beyond its direct geographic area. Besides the market dimensions that the global economic environment requires, the Bulgarian economy has to adapt in two important indicators - culture and economy.

Contrary to the view that globalization eliminates the cultural differences between people, practice proves that the global cultural exchange does not destroy, but rather syncs cultural differences, thus creating synergies between cultures. In the era of global economy, proper communication and correct approach is crucial to creating of lasting relationships between two or more countries or specific sectors of their economies. Trade is one of the oldest types of cultural exchange and history has proven repeatedly that the proper use of cultural specificity leads to excellent results. Besides proper communication with partners, the Bulgarian economy is extremely important to be oriented towards those sectors that have the greatest chance of development within the specific Bulgarian conditions. While heavy industry, for example, is a completely bleak direction of development, tourism agriculture and the food industry are vital for Bulgaria. Economic globalization is a process that needs not only technical, but also scientific collateral. Economic measures by themselves are useless without reliable support from the education system. Bulgaria has undoubtedly economic and social basis on which to develop a modern and competitive economy. Proper development of resources - human and material is the key to economic prosperity that will bring the Bulgarians the so desired quality of life. Negative phenomena such as high levels of corruption, low motivation to work and often inadequate training are results of poor legislation poor attitudes and behavior of the Bulgarians. Like any other element of global development, the economy is not isolated from areas such as social policy, education and social development.

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