

Partnership and Cooperation Models in Cross-Border Areas

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Abstract: The paper aims at exploring the partnership and cooperation issues in cross-border areas in European Union. The theoretical part of the papers is defining the role of the borders in the framework of the European Union enlarged and it includes a review of forms of cooperation and principles applicable in cross-border cooperation considered by the Council of Europe and the European Union or the Association of European Border Regions. Further there are identified in the specific literature important challenges and key points that are marking the cross-border partnerships. The last part of the paper is focusing on some examples of cross-border cooperation, making distinction between two main situations: the border between Member States and the borders between EU and neighboring countries.

Keywords: cross-border; partnership; cooperation

JEL Classification: P48; R58

The Role of Borders and Cross-Border Cooperation

The economic functions of the international borders are changing from the traditional view to a new approach in the last decades. Usually the borders were associated with barriers to trade, quantitative and qualitative ones. That meant that the goods and services flows were passing the borders according to the legal regimes from the two countries that include payment of fees, presentation of documentation and compliance with the regulations, all of the formulated within the national interest. Due to the change of the economic, political and social framework, mostly accelerated in the last years, inside the European Union the borders, as economic barriers, became less significant following the main negotiation linked to the GATT/WTO and the EU enlargement. (Clement, 2006, pp. 50-51) Due to the erosion of the traditional functions of the borders some changes are likely to happen in the border regions of the countries. First of the changes will be an increase of the cross-border flow of trade including both the traditional export-import and the informal border transactions. (Clement, 2006, p. 52) In the internal EU cross-border areas can increase the flow of investments and

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labor and already this phenomenon was noticed between some Member States. Second change will concern the structure of the trade, investments, consumption and employment. This change is in relation with the exchange rate between the countries, mainly when we refer to the relations between the Euro countries and others. The third change is affecting the 'location' of some economic activities. It could be the tendency to move more to the peripheries where some production factors are cheaper. In the framework of the negotiation of agreements with partner countries, in this case, Eastern EU border countries, it can be the opportunity to decrease the trade costs in case of moving the operations near to the eastern border or even in the neighbouring countries. The globalization process can shift the role of border areas from peripheries of economic activity to attractors of new industries or of expansion of existing ones, leading to economic development of the region. (Clement, 2006, p. 53)

Nevertheless it should be done the distinction between two main situations: the border between Member States and the borders between EU and neighbouring countries. In the first case the communities in the border regions can explore together the development of policies for collaboration with the other side and finding solutions for common challenges. In the second case there is encouraged as well the common exploring and policy shaping but there is a supplementary factor that can affect trade and economic activities, namely the Schengen Treaty provisions that imply the respect of strict rules for the signatory states in what concerns the border inspection and control for goods and people. In this second case, no matter the economic potential of the cross-border region and the will for collaboration, the border ruling will be a brake, though a necessary one. (Clement, 2006, p. 53)

The cross-border cooperation is recommended and welcomed if there are considered three issues that are bringing good effects for the border regions. The first issue is the *economy of scale*, building the infrastructure by the parties is a benefit for the whole region making easier the access and communication inside the region and with the external areas. The second issue on which the countries involved in the cross-border cooperation can work is the *negative externalities*, meaning the management of environmental or emergency situations that can occur and spread in the cross-border region. A third one, *the transaction costs*, can bring the joint efforts in order to share information regarding market conditions, legal constraints, common business practices, language and culture of the partner country. Norris notices that the cross-border partnership mechanisms could be informal or formal and the relationship between the partners can vary from peaceful coexistence to partners in development and even in case of strong cross-border cooperation still there are issues for competition such as attracting tourism and new investments. (Clement, 2006, pp. 54-55)

The main motives considered for cross-border cooperation are¹: the transformation of the border from a line of separation into a place for communication between neighbours; the overcoming of mutual animosities and prejudices between peoples of border regions which result from historical heritage; the strengthening of democracy and the development of operational regional/local administrative structures; the overcoming of national peripherality and isolation; the promotion of economic growth and development and the improvement of the standards of living; the rapid assimilation into or approach towards an integrated Europe.

Forms of Cross-Border Partnership and Cooperation

Forms and methods of cross-border cooperation vary from one cross-border area to another. In the view of the Council of Europe² they result from a combination of two parameters: decisions and policy choices made jointly by local partners on both sides of the border, together with the legal avenues available to them under domestic law and international undertakings entered into by the states to which they belong. Many of the partnerships or cooperation has been conducted informally, based on the co-ordination of activities by participants on either side of a border with a view to a joint cross-border approach. Partner communities and authorities are bound only by an agreement in principle. This form of cooperation is often used in the early stages of cooperation or in the absence of a legal framework enabling local communities and authorities to formalize their cooperation.

As a next step it is when the cooperation become formalized by means of cooperation agreements signed by the executives of local communities and authorities and subject to the approval of the deliberative assemblies of these communities and authorities. In signing such an agreement, the latter formalize their partnership, set common objectives and enter into reciprocal undertakings, while overcoming differences between countries as regards administrative and institutional structure.

The participants in cross-border cooperation are communities and authorities at the local or regional level. Accordingly, the geographical scope of cooperation arrangements can range from local inter-county cooperation, which is the basic of cross-border cooperation, to inter-regional cooperation through Euroregions, depending on the strategies formulated by those involved. The wider level, depending on the issues addressed and the form of cooperation adopted, is

¹ Association of European Border Regions, *Practical Guide to Cross-border Cooperation*, 3rd Edition, European Commission, 2000, http://www.aebr.eu/files/publications/lace_guide.en.pdf, pp. 6-7.

² Council of Europe, *Practical Guide to Cross-border Cooperation*, 2006, http://www.espaces-transfrontaliers.org/en/studies/practical_guide_en.pdf, pp. 12-13.

represented by cooperation arrangements that may, at a transnational level, entail establishing networks linking non-adjacent areas within the same extended geographical area.

With regard to cooperation beyond borders, the following types are to be clearly distinguished by the European Commission¹: cross-border cooperation, interregional cooperation and transnational cooperation. Comparing these three types of cooperation we may say that the *cross-border cooperation* means directly neighbourly cooperation in all areas of life between regional and local authorities along the border and involving all actors and it is more organized because of a longer tradition, regional or local. The *interregional cooperation* supposes cooperation between regional and local authorities mostly in single sectors, not in all areas of life, and with selected actors. The organization is not advanced because of a short tradition of partnership. The third type, the *transnational cooperation* is the cooperation between countries, sometimes allowing regions to participate, with regard to a special subject (for example regional development) related to large, connected areas. The organization usually is still under development and involves a more diplomatic approach.

Important criteria which differentiate types of border regions include²:

- **degree of homogeneity of the cross-border region.** Some border areas are characterized by a common identity or regional consciousness where cross-border cooperation occurs as a natural process. This shared identity may arise from historical, cultural, linguistic, geographic and other reasons.
- **level of development and support status of the border region under the EU's structural policies:** There is an order of preference for eligibility for support, from the least-developed regions in the EU (rural, often peripheral areas, also including some areas in severe industrial decline), to more developed regions, primarily in the core regions, to the most developed regions likewise mostly in core regions of the EU;
- **position on the EU borders:** border regions on the EU's internal borders and those on the external borders which are either on the periphery and less developed
- **natural geographic features** such as mountain borders.
- Various combinations of these factors may create a multitude of types and varieties of border and cross-border regions in Europe.

¹ Association of European Border Regions, *Practical Guide*, p. 15.

² *Idem*, pp. 17-18.

Principles Applicable in the Cross-Border Cooperation

The guide of Council of Europe that draws lines about cross-border cooperation presents a group of principles necessary for an efficient cooperation¹:

- Cross-border cooperation provides local communities and authorities on either side of a border with a means of exercising the powers they enjoy, and does not constitute an additional power.
- Local communities and authorities enter into cooperation solely within their common areas of competence.
- Cross-border cooperation takes the form of projects of common local interest that are in the benefit of the communities
- Communities and authorities enter into cooperation in accordance with the legislation governing their powers, procedural matters and review of their decisions. Nevertheless the national and international legislation in force should be respected.
- Enforcement and regulatory powers are excluded from the scope of cross-border cooperation. Local communities and authorities may, however, agree to coordinate their policies and strategies in these areas in accordance with the domestic law applicable to each cooperation partner.
- Communities and authorities engage in cooperation in accordance with the international agreement entered into by the state to which they belong, including undertakings concerning cross-border relations and the various issues connected with the crossing of borders and cross-border mobility in general.
- Where the legal framework allows it, these local communities and authorities formalize their cooperation by signing cross-border cooperation agreements or setting up cooperation bodies having or not legal personality. They should decide together which of the domestic law of one of the partner local communities or authorities applies to the cooperation agreement or body (basically, the law of the state in which the body's headquarters are located).

The Association of European Border Regions (AEBR) has, *inter alia*, adopted the following principles for successful cross-border cooperation²: partnership, subsidiarity, the existence of a common cross-border development concept or programme, joint structures on regional/local level and independent sources of financing. These principles, which are generally recognized, form the basic requirements for European aid programmes. The principle of partnership has two

¹ *Idem*, pp. 14-15.

² *Idem*, p. 13.

elements¹: a vertical partnership on both sides of the border; and a horizontal partnership across borders between partners who often differ from each other. *Vertical partnerships* refer to the relationships to and between the EU level, the national level and the regional/local levels on both sides of the border. The vertical organizations and structures that are created for this purpose should complement or complete those already in place, not compete with or replace them. *Horizontal partnerships* refer to the relationships between these partners (organizations/structures) on both sides of the border. This principle is based on the equality of both partners, irrespective of the size of a country, its physical or economic importance, or other characteristics like population. To develop this kind of horizontal partnership, a number of obstacles concerning differences in administration, competencies and funding sources have to be dealt with.

Experience shows that cross-border cooperation functions best and is most successful where regional and local participants take the initiative and assume responsibility. Following the „bottom-up” principle and keeping in mind the rules for horizontal and vertical partnerships enable cross-border cooperation according to the principles of subsidiarity. In this context, **subsidiarity** also means² strengthening the regional and local bodies as the most appropriate administrative level for cross-border cooperation. These bodies have the flexibility needed to balance out remaining differences in the structures and competencies on both sides of the border, and compensate for them in cross-border structures.

Challenges and Key Points of the Cross-Border Partnership

In the exploring the implications of policies shaping and the decision making process that concerns the border regions and the cross-border collaboration, Wright and Pavlakovich (Wright & Pavlovich-Kochi, 2003) sum up a number of key points that should be included by the partner countries in their partnership. The first and one of the most important ones is the *regionalized decision making*, in order to realize the potential of economy of scale, manage the negative externalities effects and decrease the transportation costs as part of transaction costs in the economic activity. It is argued that due to the interconnectivity and collaboration, the increase of the economic activity on one side of the border can lead to an increase of the same activity on the other side of the border based on the cross-border flows. The continuous changes in the economic framework and processes at different levels, national, European and worldwide affect the cross-border regions and as a consequence impose *flexibility* in the approach of the cross-border partnership. On the other side there is need for *understanding the complexities of the border regions* and to reflect them in the shaping of the economic development strategies.

¹ Idem, p. 16.

² Idem.

This comes together with another two key points that are the *incorporation of the local knowledge*, the residents and local government experience in dealing with cross-border issues being a consistent one and *the importance of the catalyst*, the capacity of local decision-making factors being a good support in the coordination of the economic strategies in the cross-border area. Regional cross-border programs should respect the *regional specificities* that sometimes require targeted cooperation interventions and as important as this is the *recognition of the historical experience* by the higher level decision making bodies, national or European. Not the last as importance, in the policies shaping and cross-border decision making processes it should be considered the *building of comprehensive policy frameworks*, addressing to the region's structural problems, and the *monitoring the context-specific effects*, making easier to track the changes in the region structures and to re-shape the policies if needed.

Some authors (Krämer, 2011, *apud* Tassilo, 2011, pp. 6-7) consider that cross-border cooperation faces three main challenges. *The first ones* are the mental challenges such as to preconceptions, stereotypes and tensions accumulated during years. The gap is due to the lack of common positive memories or the focus of negative memories. A good starting point to overcome this challenge would be to build common reference points by common borderland memory, experiences and identity. *The second type* of challenges is represented by the social and economic differences, meaning the one between the Western part and the Eastern part. What was Eastern at a moment became Western by westernization and the border moves because the gap moves. The distance and periphery is *the third challenge* to which is added the presence of physical-geographical forms that are usually creating the impression of border as dividing line.

Models of Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe

In most of the border and cross-border regions (Euro regions or similar structures) in the European Union cross-border initiatives and programmes were developed or are already in place. These border regions have learned from the experience in the area of cross-border cooperation in the European Union and they established cooperation with neighbouring regions in all areas of life on regional/local and national level step by step. Some of the cooperation frames are still building the structures and finding optimal ways for a good partnership.¹ In the following some of the examples will be presented in order to illustrate the challenges and the solutions that the partners identified aiming a good partnership in the benefit of all countries or regions involved. The partnership examples are grouped in two. The first group is formed by examples of cross-border cooperation inside the European

¹ Association of European Border Regions, *Practical Guide*, pp. 6-7.

Union and the second group concerns examples from the borders of the European Union.

Cross-border Cooperation Models inside the European Union Borders

Polish-German border

The Polish-German cross-border cooperation is considered an example of model solution mainly because of the historical events deeply imprinted in the memory of the inhabitants from the cross-border area. One of the areas with significant achievements is the management of the natural resources and environment cooperation. These are considered to be on equal level with social and economic factors in the regional development stimulation. (Degórski, 2008, pp. 161-173) The Polish-German cooperation treaty and projects are focusing on three areas: conservation activities, logistical activities concerning the establishment of consistent protection goals according to international agreements and planning of a coherent system for environmental management between the two countries. As far as concerns the previous financial assistance implementation, an analysis of the INTERREG programme¹, few important conclusions arisen for the future Polish-German cooperation:

- Euroregions may play an important role in the future in the border integration, mainly because this border is between the member states;
- An important mental challenge for inhabitants from this area is that should be an increase of awareness of living in the border area, partners from the other side should be more involved and should be acknowledged that the cooperation has more benefits for both countries than the competition;
- It is recommended a change in the structure of projects with more focus on economic and social integration and less on infrastructure;
- The cooperation programmes can cause polarization within the border area.

More than the cross-border area there is a developing cooperation and networking between the capitals of the two countries that is a deeper and complementary level of collaboration which is considered a support for a cultural European West-Axis reinforcement.² The nowadays Polish-German border is considered an internal EU border “connecting rather than dividing two different and mutually complementary

¹ Stanisław Ciok, Andrzej Raczyk, *Implementation of the EU Community Initiative INTEREG III A at the Polish-German border. An attempt at evaluation* in (Leibenath, Korcelli-Olejniczak, & Knippschild, 2008, pp. 34-47)

² Ewa Korcelli-Olejniczak, *Functional complementarity a basis for inter-metropolitan collaboration and networking. A case study on cultural activities in Berlin and Warsaw* in (Leibenath, Korcelli-Olejniczak, & Knippschild, 2008, pp. 118-130)

economic, cultural and social systems.” (Gorzela, 2006, p. 1) The support for the cross-border cooperation comes from different levels firstly EU, than national governments, regional authorities from both sides of the border, Euroregions and local administrations. One may consider that the Polish-German cross-border cooperation can serve as a model for the regions at the Eastern border of EU being identified similarities between this border and the Ukrainian-Polish one. (Gorzela, 2006, p. 1)

Three Borders Area –Austria, Italy, Slovenia

This area is an interesting example for researchers¹ due to the closed connections between the three countries rising from common historical roots. The economic issues, political decision-making process and social patterns influenced the communities on all the sides of the common borders. S. Janschitz and A. Ch. Kofler consider that there are few examples in Europe of “such a multicultural living space by virtue of a shared history and material culture, as well as geographical proximity”.² During the last decades, all the three countries, becoming member states of EU, step by step assumed a common European identity and were subject of various financing programmes as PHARE CBC and INTEREG. The financial framework helped in running various cross-border projects and activities and to empower the common development of the Three Borders Area. The first step of an institutionalized cooperation was made at the national level through the Working Community Alpe-Adria organization³ (started in 1978) that includes regions from more than the named three countries (Austria, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Slovenia and Switzerland). The aim of this organization was focused on traffic, economic development, tourism, water management, cultural relations and other related issues. Later on the European funds gave the proper impulse for specific projects on some certain areas. There are several examples of successful projects⁴ that were implemented in the area: development of a cross-border cooperation plan for common marketing of cultural monuments and cultural events, design of common offers for recreation and touristic attractions, tourism development concept for the Three Borders Area that promotes a variety of cultural sites, social aspects and natural resources that united and divided the area in the past, the application of a coordinated bid for Olympic Winter Games 2006 with a common marketing view and many more.

¹ Susanne Janschitz, Andrea Ch. Kofler, *Protecting Diversities and Nurturing Commonalities in a Multicultural Living Space* in (Pavlovich-Kochi, Morehouse, & Eastl-Walter, 2006, pp. 193-213)

² Ibidem.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

Vienna-Bratislava metropolitan region

The two cities are the administrative and economic centers for the two neighbourhood countries – Austria and Slovak Republic and together form the most closely located pair of capitals in the world. This offered a good context for the development of the cooperation between the two countries and to influence significantly the relationship between different actors in the region.¹ The cooperation, framed in the Vienna-Bratislava region, focuses on five main issues.² Firstly the region wants to become a development pole of European significance, based on a concentration of specific human, scientific, cultural, technological and institutional potentials as well as on adequate transportation and communication interconnections to other development poles in Europe. Secondly, the efforts are put for becoming a residential, economic and cultural center for the upper and middle Danube line. Thirdly, the region aims to become one of the development centers in Central Europe, which has gained importance after the accession of the four Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia). The fourth issue is to become an economic, cultural and information gateway to Austria and Slovakia and the last but not less important, there is the common effort to strengthen functional ties between the two capital cities and their less favoured suburban surroundings on the territory of the Slovak Republic, Austria and Hungary that is in the close neighbourhood. The accomplishment of these issues can make a model area for cross-border cooperation and for a good frame for common interest of two neighbourhood countries.

Cross-Border Cooperation Models at the Borders of the European Union*Slovenian-Croatian Border*

This cross-border area is an interesting one because both countries are existing as the break of Yugoslavia, also they had an opened cross-border cooperation that had to change later when Slovenia became member state of the EU in 2004 and of the Schengen area in the same year. Soon the situation will be marked with new changes when Croatia will become member state too in 2013. The economic cooperation between the two countries in the cross-border area depends on the cross-border trade and the visits from a country to other for consumption goods purchasing. In 1999 it was ratified a free trade agreement between the two countries that contributed significantly to the economic cooperation between the two states but the perception in the two countries was different in what concerns

¹ Matej Jaško, *Cross-border cooperation challenges: Positioning the Vienna-Bratislava region in* (Leibenath, Korcell-Olejniczak, & Knippschild, 2008, pp. 88-100)

² *Ibidem.*

the trade development.¹ As well there was a general perception that the political reality described above cumulated with the change in the status of the Slovenian-Croatian border from internal in international is burdening the relationship in the cross-border area.² The government representatives considered that the exports from Croatia to Slovenia declined following the border rules change. It seems that even if this border has a long and peaceful tradition the above mentioned changes in status affected the economic relationships³. At the actual moment both countries receive financial assistance from EU through Slovenia-Croatia IPA Cross-border Programme⁴, component of the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance that follows an INTERREG Community Initiative for the period 2000-2006 aiming to promote cross-border cooperation. By now there are running at least cross 45 border cooperation projects in fields of economic and social development and sustainable management of the natural resources⁴.

*Hungarian-Croatian Border*⁵

Hungary-Croatia cross-border area was subject of various historic events, some of them event tragic. The cross-border collaboration was determined by the relationship between the two countries and by the international interests, lives of the people from the region being influenced primarily by the disadvantages of location in the border area and less by the advantages. Due to the Yugoslavian war in 1991 and in parallel the internal changes in Hungary in political, economic and social life, after 1990 the border crossing started to decline, Croatian market became risky for Ukrainian entrepreneurs, the only growing trade relations being the ones about gasoline and gun running. Further the development of the two countries was different – Hungarian economy turned westward and the trade relationships with former Yugoslavia declined more. Few years later the small border traffic started to develop Croatian people crossing the frontier in order to buy consumer goods and as long as the Croatian state started to reconstruct itself the Hungarian Chambers of Commerce and Industry along the border had initiatives of opening representation agency in Croatia. Because of Serbian military involvement some border sectors between the Hungary and Croatia were completely closed making the cross-border cooperation more difficult. On the other side at the national level there is desire of cooperation and potential for good cross-

¹ Ana Barbič, *Perceptions of New Realities along the Slovenian-Croatian Border* in (Pavlovich-Kochi, Morehouse, & Eastl-Walter, 2006, pp. 216-235)

² Vera Pavlakovich-Kochi, Zoran Stiperski, *The Croatian-Slovanian Border: Thee Local Experience* in (Pavlovich-Kochi, Morehouse, & Eastl-Walter, 2006, pp. 238-250)

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Operational Programme IPA Slovenia-Croatia 007-2013, <http://www.si-hr.eu>

⁵ Zoltan Hajdu, *Renewal of Crossborder Cooperation along the Hungarian-Croatian Border* in (Pavlovich-Kochi, Morehouse, & Eastl-Walter, 2006).

border cooperation. There are three main issues on national level to focus on the cooperation of the two countries: transportation infrastructure, utilization of Adria oil pipeline and the management of the Drava River. At the local level the counties, cities and communities from both sides of the border reestablished all of them contacts with each other. The European funds play a good role in the enhancement of the cross-border cooperation between Hungary and Croatia through the IPA Cross-border Co-operation Programme, 35.6 Mil. Euro are available for projects on joint cooperation in fields of tourism, environment, cooperative economy and intercommunity human resource development.

Hungary and the Eastern neighbours

The case of Eastern borders of Hungary is specific due to the cross-border cooperation approach through Euroregions. The Eastern border of Hungary that overlap the Eastern border of EU is a short one along the Hungarian-Ukrainian border also is more significant to consider the cooperation in the Carpathian basin that includes Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine mostly in the context of geopolitical situation of historical fragmentation and the peripheral situation of the borders that in case of Ukraine border is twice bordered. In this case the Euroregions are considered to play an important role due to flexibility in matters of territorial or regional governance¹. The Carpathian Euroregion was the first of its kind in Central or Eastern Europe (1993) and it was established along what were the EU's borders with former socialist states. Moreover, it corresponds to a macroregion with peripheral status regarding all the states involved and the EU territoriality, meaning an assembly of socioeconomic peripheries². Even if the ability to promote cooperation activities is not at the same level as in the Western of EU in the last years the status of the territories that form this Euroregion was reinforced. In order to strengthen the structure and to allow access to resources the partner countries decided to give judicial form to the Euroregion as Carpathian Foundation International which has as mission the regional presence and cross-border role for itself by strengthening its regional level programming, organizational capacity and achieving financial sustainability. They target two areas, the first one is promoting innovative initiatives and cross-border exchanges in community development and community resource mobilization and the second is about strengthening participative democracy and community organizing throughout the region³. In order to accomplish their goals they attract financial resources that further grant it to local administrations or non-governmental organizations from the Carpathian Region.

¹ Béla Branyi, *Euroregions along the Eastern Borders of Hungary: A Question of Scale?* in (Scott, 2006, pp. 150-161)

² Ibidem.

³ Carpathian Foundation International, carpathianfoundation.eu.

Poland and Ukraine

A decade ago Ukraine was the second largest trade partner of Poland in the Eastern Europe after Russia and the change was based on industrial centers in central Poland and eastern Ukraine.¹ In the two sides cooperation it appeared that Ukraine is on the path that Poland was fifteen years ago, the similarities, mainly in socioeconomic and administrative area, being a starting point for cooperation and knowledge transfer. Even if few years after the Poland accession to European Union the cross-border cooperation was disappointing as far as concern the impact in the regional development, the existence of European funds give an impulse through the projects financed by Joint Operational Programme having as priorities increasing competitiveness of the border area and improving the quality of life². The location of European and international companies in western Ukraine can improve the management culture and the raise of management standards.³ A good opportunity for cross-border cooperation between Poland and Ukraine was the organization of the final tournament UEFA 2012 that put together resources in the aim of economic development of the countries.

Acknowledgment

This paper has been financially supported within the project entitled „**Doctorate: an Attractive Research Career**”, contract number POSDRU/107/1.5/S/77946, co-financed by European Social Fund through Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007-2013. **Investing in people!**”

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¹ Katarzyna Krok, Maciej Smętkowski, *Local and Regional Cross-Border Cooperation between Poland and Ukraine* in (Scott, 2006, pp. 177-191).

² Cross-border Cooperation Programme Poland - Belarus - Ukraine 2007 2013, <http://www.pl-by-ua.eu>.

³ Olga Mrisnka, *The Impact of EU Enlargement on the External and Internal Bordes of the New Neighbours: The Case of Ukraine* in (Scott, 2006, pp. 82-93).

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