

Cross-Border Cooperation; *Transforming Borders*



Over-coming Obstacles

by
Sonya Gerfert

Studentno.: 0134732

Date: August 2009

Table of content

1. Introduction	3
2. Theory and Methodology	8
2.1. Introduction	8
2.2. Definition of CBC	9
2.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodological Choices	10
3. Typology of Cross-Border Cooperation	15
3.1. Steps towards a Typology for CBC	15
3.2. List of the Characteristics of the Typology for Public CBC	20
4. Typology versus Practice	21
4.1. Introduction	21
4.2. Euregio	21
4.3. Reducing Biodiversity Loss at Cross-Border Sites (East-Africa)	22
4.4. Hungary-Croatia IPA	23
4.5. U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission (BNC)	25
4.6. France-Vaud-Geneva Conurbation	26
4.7. Norway-Chile Cooperation	28
4.8. NATO Cooperation with Australia	29
4.9. China-Africa Cooperation Forum	30
4.10. Conclusion	31
4.11. Table 1: Typology of CBC	30
5. Conclusion	35

1. Introduction

In the last decades European societies and especially their politics have developed from an exclusive, self-interested and protectionist steered tactic of co-operation (including the provision of international “aid” towards developing countries), towards a more open, peaceful and ‘useful’ or beneficial co-operation. This development is however, not only occurring within Europe but also on many other continents of the world. In other words we see a change in focus towards co-operation in general. “The emphasis is now placed on a relationship between “partners” or associates who cooperate for their mutual benefit”.¹ It is therefore hardly surprising that we also see an increase of general cross-border co-operation (CBC).

This development could be explained through historical experiences of countries after WWI and II. Upcoming ‘deadlock’ situations destroyed good chances for the successful development of many economic areas and in general for the successful development of economic initiatives for whole countries. Perhaps if countries would have agreed on common interests and worked together after WWI instead of in their own interests and ‘against’ each other, a second world war might have never happened. Besides such historical suggestions we can also point out effects connected to a kind of shift in policy and military perceptions on co-operation and its benefits and / or reasons for it. The times after WWII were firstly dominated by the so called Keynesian Welfare State but were then soon challenged by economic principles. This ‘political’ movement (later said to be neo-liberalism), was lead by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher (U.S. and UK) who were strong supporters and promoters of market principles. These principles could be increasingly found in more (public) areas and they partly also spilled over to public entities.²

¹ O’Farrill et al. (1999), Economic Cooperation, http://www.agci.cl/docs/biblioteca/documentos_agci/documento_de_trabajo_cooperacion_economica_ingles.pdf, p. 10.

² M.Ariff and T.K.K. Iyer, (Dec 1995), *Privatization, Public Sector Reforms And Development Strategies Of Developing Countries*, Asian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 17, No.2, pp.323-325;

In the last decade this shift is further supported by a ‘driving force’, namely globalization. Globalization and the with it developed and developing institutions deepen the idea of an increased liberalization of economic markets around the globe, which logically leads to increased interdependencies of countries, and thus also in part stabilizes co-operation structures and limits the possibilities of war.³

However, we still are co-operating over existing borders. Borders have in part preserved their historical functioning of safeguarding the sovereignty of the state, even though such a functioning is becoming less meaningful in the sphere of economic free market principles and global market liberalization efforts. Besides the traditional physical and visible ‘borders’ affecting cross-border co-operation, there are also differences in e.g. institutional set-ups which can create ‘borders’ or rather obstacles for cross-border co-operation (CBC). Despite these obstacles with regards to economic functioning we have already established many co-operation ‘areas’, e.g. the European Union (EU) in which common goals are formulated and tackled with combined efforts and where legal bases are created or particular conditions harmonized in order to limit obstacles to cross-border co-operation.

In general we can see that co-operation, or to be more precise, cross-border co-operation (CBC), which will be the focus of this paper, seems to be part of creating a flowing economic market on a global scale. It seems thus that not only the functioning of an area or interest is the main target of a CBC but also the creation or improvement of necessary linkages between involved actors, markets and politics and necessary institutional and legal bases. These linkages are knots of a network, so to say. CBC is in part thus also the creation of networks including and using the space of border areas. Because of this one can look at CBC from a functional approach. However, with regards to Europe and CBC

J.Louhglin (2009), *Regional and Local Governance in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities*, Cardiff University, Keynote Speech for Conference in Enschede: *Innovation for Good Local and Regional Governance*, A European Challenge, (May 2009), p.4.

³ Oneal, J. R., Oneal, F. H., Maoz, Z. & Russett, B. (1996), *The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict*. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 33, pp.11-28.

it might be more suitable to use neo-functionalism as an approach. I will go deeper into the theoretical framework for this paper in chapter two.

The European Union is interested in promoting CBC to support the capacities it could create for increased integration throughout Europe and over its borders. As known, the EU created an internal market. In other words the EU tried and is trying to get rid of all obstacles to a free market economy throughout the European countries. Border areas present a space in which economic functioning can be increased through for example the combining of innovative forces, stimulated by competitiveness and regional development strategies with ambitions for further harmonization and integration.⁴ In this respect I think CBC concepts can be seen as a tool to deepen the ongoing integration processes on many different levels and in both private and public sectors.

In general CBC seems to not only bring integration forward, step by step, but it also provides grounds for deepening integration and thus even diminishing the effects of borders, hence the title Cross-border Cooperation; Transforming Borders. One thing we cannot dismiss though, even though CBC seems to be a great help in pushing the integration process forward, is that it does not do this in one special form, but rather in many different ones. The ongoing cross-border co-operations are as mentioned concerned with many different fields of interest, actors, different state systems and legal bases and different underlying approaches.

All in all it is a chaos of linkages across borders, some practical and others functional. Some initiatives increase chances and others stay superficial in their functioning being merely a visualization of political and economical efforts to stimulate inter-territorial co-operation. In order to understand better what forms or differences among them exist I attempt to create a typology for CBC within this paper. This will provide more insight into the coming into being and functioning of CBC and its potential benefits. It will also help create some order in the chaos that exists.

⁴ Council Decision (2006), Community Strategic Guidelines on Cohesion (2006/702/EC), http://interreg4a-2mers.eu/UK/Call02/KeyInfo_CrossCoop_UK.pdf, ABER's electronic newsletter (March 2005), <http://www.aebr.net/publikationen/pdfs/newsletter/MarchFinalGB.pdf>

A typology can include CBC in both the public and private sector. The focus of this paper, however, will be placed on public forms of cross-border co-operation, because although one has to keep in mind that the public sector has gone through different developmental steps in the last decades with the tendency towards more privatization, the inclusion of the private sector would go beyond the scope of this paper.

However, a typology for public CBC still helps tremendously to map what exists within Europe and throughout the whole globe even. In order to do so I will focus in this paper on CBC from a European perspective. However, I will involve characteristics for the typology which can also mirror CBC in general. I think European approaches and experiences can bring us closer to an understanding for CBC in general and increase the visualization of its different forms. This is especially due to Europe's leading role in institutionalized cross-border co-operation, the many frameworks and existing schemes (which support the development of transfrontier areas in order to lead a path towards increased micro-integration and thus EU integration in general.)⁵

This paper will thus make an attempt to create a typology with which to categorize existing types of public cross-border co-operation within and outside the EU. Thus the main research question is *what would be a typology for existing public CBCs that can crystallize some main differences?* In order to answer this question I will first have a look at existing theories and perceptions on CBC in general and on the role of governments and their interests. I will also define CBC because in order to find different types of cross-border cooperation, and the criteria on which to determine specific types of cross-border co-operation, one needs to first define CBC. Thus some important sub-questions to be answered are: What is a cross-border co-operation? What is a suitable definition for CBC? And what could be suitable characteristics to arrange the different forms of CBC?

In the course of chapter two already some characteristics of CBC will come forward as I discuss what CBC's are and present the theoretical framework for this paper. I will build on the characteristics from chapter two in chapter three and create a typology of CBC. In chapter four I will put forward real examples of CBC and use the typology of

⁵ Ricq, Charles (2006), *Handbook of Transfrontier Co-operation*, University of Geneva, Part III, pp.122-133

chapter three to provide insight into these concrete forms of CBC. This will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of these forms of CBC and simultaneously allow us to test the typology. In chapter five I will present a summary of the findings, suggest adjustments to the typology if necessary and make some recommendations, for example on further research.

2. Theory and Methodology

2.1. Introduction

After World War II, tactics of co-operation changed, especially in the so called ‘western world’. The idea of states interacting as ‘partners’ on matters of common interests was introduced to more areas and connected to the creation of stability, peace and economic functioning simultaneously leading to interdependencies. This shift in functioning gave new room for cooperation across borders.

Borders have been a dividing line, a defensive line, separating who is included and who is not. At the same time a border was and is also a ‘filter-point’ representing the end and the beginning of different state or regional systems in which different legislations and powers govern.⁶ Due to the above-mentioned shift in focus borders reduced their function as an obstacle and were transformed into ‘openness’ for people, goods and services as in for example Europe. However, with regard to non-European aspects, e.g. immigrants, borders of nation states inside the EU are suddenly functioning again as a dividing line, a no-cross zone. In fact, “the borders between Western countries and less rich countries have become fortified and increasingly sophisticated tools are used to achieve stronger border controls”.⁷ So we can say that even within Europe borders maintain their functioning as obstacles with regard to certain products and ‘people’ e.g. soft drugs and immigrants. Even within one state e.g. Germany, regional borders can transform into an impermeable space for non-EU citizens.

In their functioning, borders thus seem to vary with regard to the circumstances and their momentary role. It therefore might be better to get away from the idea that a static concept for borders is applicable. Borders should be understood in their dynamic nature, which depends on various aspects like its past, its temporary functioning and its

⁶ Remigio Ratti, Shalom Reichman (Eds), *Theory and Practice of Transnational Cooperation, the classification of the Border Effects and the Strategies of Economic Development of Border Regions*, p.250

⁷ Pécoud, A. and P. de Guchteneire (2005), “Migration without borders: an investigation into the free movement of people”, in: *Global Migration Perspectives*, vol. 27, p. 2.

possible future presentation and of course its public label.¹⁰ It makes sense to thus look at borders as being a dynamic concept which can change according to its understanding. Different perceptions lead to different understanding and actions. However, even though the concept of borders is not a static one, its protecting and dividing purpose remains not only in the heads of those that lived through times of war, but also remains part of the states' understanding as a tool to visualize and protect their sovereignty.

In this day and age, in a time of increasing globalization and liberalization, it is no longer suitable nor profitable to stay within one's borders. Cooperation across borders can increase a country's stance on the global market and it can push regions to creative innovative chances for their region thus contributing to a general increase in prosperity for Europe's regions.⁸ On a global scope we already see that obstacles to trade and economic functioning are being reduced and opportunities are created for cross-border cooperation.

2.2. Definition of CBC

In our society today we see a tendency towards liberalization of markets and opening of borders on the one hand, and protectionism of some areas and borders on the other. Furthermore, we see different forms of cooperation on multiple levels. Not all of these forms are forms of cross-border cooperation. Because there are many ways of viewing cross-border cooperation we first need to settle on a definition. Cooperation is the process of working or acting together for a common purpose or benefit.⁹ Cross-border cooperation is thus cooperation across borders by two or more countries or regions. The European Commission makes a distinction between direct (or transnational) CBC. Direct CBC is a form of collaboration of different countries, regions sharing the same border intended to yield benefits and reach common goals, and indirect CBC is a form of

⁸ Steven Blockmans, Adam Lazowski (2006), *The European Union and its Neighbours: A Legal Appraisal of the EU's Policies of Stabilization, Partnership and Integration*, ch.6 , pp. 273-274;

http://www.europaforum.or.at/data/media/med_binary/original/1073901820.pdf

⁹ <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/cooperation>

collaboration of different countries, regions across borders that are not necessarily shared borders. In this paper therefore the following definition of CBC will be employed:

Cross-border cooperation is a form of international cooperation exercised bilaterally or multilaterally between countries or regions across shared and non-shared borders to yield benefits or reach common goals.

In practice we witness that CBCs are aimed at reaching common goals, for example increased economic benefits or the sustainable development of regions, or are aimed at the promotion of cooperation between entities from different countries. Because of this the goal or interest of CBCs will be included in the typology. Furthermore, we witness that there are many direct and indirect forms of CBC among nations and/or regions.

2.3. Theoretical Framework and Methodological Choices

As already pointed out in the introduction the states' perspective on it-self, its borders and CBC in general can determine the existence of CBCs. The development of co-operation across-borders, between nation states, can show that the interest of states seems to have shifted from an only self-interest view (realists) *connected to the states' territory* towards an increased focus towards more common interests and needs shared by states and also non-state actors. Such shifts influence the existing forms of CBC. In order to gain a better understanding of the background of how we perceive CBC and its forms we can look to several different theoretical frameworks. In this paper I choose to look at CBCs firstly from a functionalist point of view.

Functionalism is a theory of international relations. It arose after the Second World War when consensus started to take place that the self-interest of the state cannot be the motivating factor in a time of global integration. Authority lost its linkage with territory. Functionalism instead suggested that authority be linked to functions and needs. This approach connects (among other aspects) the development of states towards more

common interests and needs to the increased influence of knowledge and science.¹⁰ Thus states' interdependence will increase in certain areas, such as technical and economic areas where there are benefits to interconnectedness and integration. Through this shift in focus and approach scientists and experts gained influence on the policy-making process. This shift in focus of states on common interests and needs was (further) stimulated by globalization and an ongoing integration processes.¹¹

The process of integration between states was further developed in the neo-functional theory that focused on the process of integration namely regional integration. It postulated that states will in part integrate in functional or economic areas. This partial integration will yield benefits and spur further attempts of integration in related areas. This is known as the concept of spill-over. Spill-over are the 'forces' keeping integration spreading and including an ever wider range of fields.

Spill-over exist in two different main types, namely political and functional. Functional spill-over are mainly linked to functional issues like transportation or linked to interconnected economic issues to increase their functioning e.g. across a border. This means that integration in one policy area will spill over into other policy or issue areas. Political spill-over take place when the integration or interconnectedness between states (on a functional basis) leads to the creation of supranational governance models, such as the European Union or the United Nations. In other words, functional spill-over can be linked to practical issues being integrated over the border, like e.g. in the field of transportation. Political spill-over would then be if such integration efforts in transportation would spill over into the political or "governing" sector.

Intergovernmentalism as a theory rejects the idea of spillovers as put forward by neo-functional thought. In intergovernmentalist theory it is argued that integration is controlled by national governments and these latter will be lead by the economic and political issues in their nation states. States are the primary actors in the integration

¹⁰ John Mc Cormick (2005), *Understanding the European Union*, 3rd Edition, pp. 13-17;
Ben Rosamond (2004), *Theories of European Integration*, pp. 31-41

¹¹ Integration is a process which can be seen in relation to politics and economics. States have different forms and methods to deal with issues which are interlinked with other states and their methods. To integrate a sector can save time, effort and money if harmonized to function across e.g. a border without obstacles.

process.¹² In this paper I will see if the theory of functionalism and neo-functionalism can be applied to the study of (the formation of) CBC's. By determining how they have come into being using the typology and characteristics that will be created in the next chapter (e.g. bottom-up or top-down, actors involved, etc.) one could determine the role of the national governments or the lack thereof and see if first of all functionalism and neo-functionalism can be used to analyze CBC's and secondly if the concept of spillovers applies to CBC's and what recommendations could be drawn from this.

While studying CBC it is of importance to recognize the border regions' role besides the states' role. Border regions are mostly less dense developed than the rest of a state and can thus also be called periphery areas. The economic state of a region impacts the overall competitiveness of the whole economic space. As the saying goes, the whole chain is as strong as its weakest link, which in our case could describe states and their regions. The weakest regions of a state can limit the strength and growth of the whole economic area. Thus it is promising to improve the conditions of such periphery areas in order to spread political and economical development and their benefits to more areas of nation states (also towards the border regions and across). This can be said to be one of CBC's basic goals, to support and increase the strength of periphery areas to increase the overall usage and functioning of the economic space.¹³

Considering *Dependency Theory* as a third theory might impact this former understanding of CBC. We have already seen that CBC suits a functional approach. It became a tool with which to combine strength, knowledge and capacities of involved cooperation partners (e.g. states, regions). The co-operating towards a common goal can increase efficiency, while risks and costs are being shared. The common goals are basically of functional character to increase the momentary situation, to gain competitiveness and thus increase chances for the development of regions and states within the process of globalization.

¹² Neill Nugent (2003), *The Government And Politics Of The European Union*, 5th Edition, pp. 475-484;
Ben Rosamond (2004), *Theories of European Integration*, pp. 75-80

¹³ Steven Blockmans, Adam Lazowski (2006), *The European Union and its Neighbours: A Legal Appraisal of the EU's Policies of Stabilization, Partnership and Integration*, ch.6 , pp. 273-274;
http://www.europaforum.or.at/data/media/med_binary/original/1073901820.pdf

Dependency theory claims that as poor states are integrated into the supranational system, such as the European Union, resources will flow from the poor states to the rich states, making the latter richer at the expense of the former. Because of this assertion there is debate on how poor countries can best be developed. CBC might be seen as a tool to increase such efforts, however, might also support the over all benefits of richer regions to a higher degree, thus underlining the claim of dependency theory that richer partners would benefit of the resources of poorer partners.¹⁴ By looking at certain characteristics of CBC's such as states involved, funding and interests it might be possible to determine if such CBC's benefit the poorer states (and thus refute dependency theory) or are to the detriment of poorer states (thus validating dependency theory).

We can see that a functional approach and its following strategy of neo-functionalism are both approaches which create a good theoretical background for CBC. The concept of spill-over is interesting to apply on CBC, first of all due to its functional approach and secondly because of the involved policy areas. Both ideas will be incorporated within the creation of a typology for CBC. Besides the practical and functional interest or goals there can also be structural interests involved. Further on, the involved goals can vary in regard to general subjects or fields like for example the environment. Towards the end of this paper this might give us an idea in how far the concept of spill-over applies to CBC. Additionally to this we might be able to conclude on an idea in how far CBC can be a tool to support poorer regions and their development. This would be going against the assumptions of the dependency theory and would show a possibility of co-operation in the interest of poorer regions. Whether this is the case or not for CBC will not be easy to determine, however, maybe speculations can be derived from the typology and its implications.

After having introduced the theoretical framework for this paper it is time to shortly describe some of the main methodological choices.

¹⁴ Dependency Theory, <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/depend.htm>

This study is an attempt to create a new typology and is thus more than only descriptive research it is a descriptive study but in parts also an empirical study. In science there are deduction and induction, the first means to go from general to specific and the latter from specific to general. In order to establish a typology for CBC I will use deductive logic, in other words, use existing theory and real-life examples as background to extend the understanding of CBC.¹⁵ In order to research this I will conduct a literature study of books, including papers of scholars, agreements, official letters and programs. I will focus on some main theoretical approaches, namely, functionalism, neo-functionalism and dependence theory. With our definition of CBC, and the theoretical and methodological background for this paper and topic we can move on to the next paragraph in which we can finally create the typology for CBC.

¹⁵ Earl Babbie, (2004), *The practice of Social Research*, 10th Edition, pp. 24-57

3. Typology of Cross-Border Cooperation

3.1. Steps towards a Typology for CBC

A typology will be useful, as I already mentioned in the introduction, to provide more insight into the coming into being and functioning of CBC and its potential benefits. This insight can then help distinguish areas of improvement that will be beneficial for the quality of CBCs. In the previous paragraphs we have already established some characteristics that need to be included in a typology. Other characteristics have already been established by others. These will be included in my typology but are not sufficient. Therefore I will introduce several additional criteria.

First of all, one significant characteristic of CBCs can be discerned from the definition of CBC. In chapter two we saw that CBC can be direct or indirect. A direct CBC is ‘a form of collaboration of different countries, regions sharing the same border intended to yield benefits, in other words, common goals, benefits’. An indirect CBC is ‘a form of collaboration of different countries, across borders (does not need to be shared) intended to yield common goals, benefits’. A direct CBC will operate differently than an indirect CBC because a direct CBC will be undertaken for different goals, communication and relations will be easier established and more regular, and the fields of cooperation will be more practically interlinked. This latter will become more clear when we discuss the characteristics established by Ricq and Soeters. The first characteristic of the typology is therefore the form of the CBC: direct or indirect.

A second characteristic of CBCs is the strategy of CBC. A CBC can develop from two sides. The initiative for a CBC can be given from above (top-down), but can also evolve from a local or regional level (bottom-up). A top-down strategy for CBC will look at the overall picture, and then will narrow it down to those regions, areas or actors that can contribute in achieving the primary goal. A bottom-up strategy will look at the regions, areas or actors and the benefits that can be achieved there from cooperation without taking into consideration the (effect on the) overall picture. In other words, a top-

down strategy will in general involve higher-level actors perceiving benefits to cooperation among lower-level actors. Thus they will stimulate the latter to employ their strategies and thus achieve their goals. In cases of bottom-up CBC lower-level actors will perceive a regional problem, circumstance or interest and will choose to cooperate in order to deal with said problem, circumstance or interest and thus find strategies that are suitable to their particular situation.

This distinction between bottom-up and top-down could explain how certain forms of CBC's come about from security or prevention efforts against possible crises, and can politically be linked to international stability and security interests. These are then the top-down CBC's. Bottom-up initiatives will in general be connected to more practical and functional issues. However, practical or functional issues can permeate to higher levels when they become issues in the overall picture, as is the case with environmental concerns. CBC's were firstly formed bottom-up with regards to environmental issues, but steadily more and more top-down strategies include environmental concerns and problems.¹⁶

We thus see that interests are a main element of CBCs. They can be linked to whether a CBC will be top-down or bottom-up. Interest will also give insight into commitment for and reason behind CBC. Our third characteristic is therefore interest or rather goal because interest will be translated into goals in order to create initiative. We have already seen that goals can be functional or practical, but they can also be more strategic and focused on security or stability interests. Goals will thus first be divided into practical or strategic goals. Then one can divide further into political, social, military, economic and environmental goals. Of course this is by no means an exhaustive list and after confrontation with practice (in chapter 4) amendments might be made to these distinctions.

Interests are also linked to the level of the actor. For example, military interests will not take place on a regional level but on a national or supranational level. Economic interests can, however, take place at regional, national and supranational levels. Because

¹⁶ Balthazar, H. (1993), "Benelux-grensregio's: Van de Periferie naar het Centrum", In: Benelux Dossier 93/1: Grensoverschrijdende Ruimtelijke Ordening, p.48, (translated)

the various concepts of top-down and bottom-up, interests and levels of actors are interlinked it will be arduous to examine which leads to what. However, inclusion of these characteristics in the typology can provide some insight and clarity. A CBC focused on functional matters in which gains for the various actors are clear, will present fewer obstacles than a political, value-based cooperation in which partners are attempting to cooperate for the greater good, peace or due to international pressure.

Besides these characteristics which can be taken from common sense and the meaning of or behind CBCs, there are characteristics that have been established by other authors attempting to create a typology. Charles Ricq, for example, uses a typology for CBCs in his handbook of transfrontier cooperation (edition 2006). He uses a typology which divides CBC into seven different fields in which it can take place: environment; spatial planning and sustainable development; transport and communication; economy, employment and tourism; education and culture; frontier population; and research and innovation. In addition to these fields he categorizes five different stages in which CBC can take place: information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization and integration.¹⁷

Ricq's categorization in fields corresponds with my second-level goals. At this point I would like to remark that his categorization obscures more than it clarifies, because it doesn't clearly distinguish between goals, fields and methods. For example, education and environment are both fields, but spatial planning and sustainable development are methods and goals within the field of research and development. Transport belongs to the field of logistic and or infrastructure which are linked to economic goals. Communication is rather a method than a goal. Furthermore there are fields which are not included in his categorization such as policing and security which belong to military or political goals. Therefore, I choose to use as a characteristic second-level goals as described above, namely political, social, military, economic and environmental goals, and add to this the goal of innovation which includes CBCs aimed at research and development.

The five stages described by Ricq are incredibly useful but not yet exhaustive. For example Soeters indicates as stages expression, information-exchange, joint production

¹⁷ Ricq, Charles (2006), *Handbook of Transfrontier Co-operation*, University of Geneva, Part III, pp.107-122

of goods and services, and (re)distribution of power, resources, influence and competencies.¹⁸ The stages describe the form a CBC can take. I will employ Ricq's stages information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization and integration and add to this facilitation because many forms of CBC will involve for example legislation or regulation aimed at facilitating cooperation. One could thus see facilitation as the stage that comes before information. Soeters' stages can all be incorporated in this list. After testing the typology with certain practical examples, we will be able to see if the list I provide is suitable or not.

Finally, there are characteristics that need to be included in a typology that have not been discussed yet. The first of these is the institutional set-up. Cooperation also depends on the legal bases involved which are linked to the strength and depth of CBC. The legal base used to establish and enable a CBC is connected to the countries' or regions' institutional set-up which can differ strongly with the involved partners. Some institutional set-ups might support the fast introduction of new CBCs and their functioning across borders, while others might hinder the spreading of a CBC across the border of European regions, nation states, Europe itself and other countries and continents.

In order to create a legal base for CBC one has to use existing supranational and national frameworks and/or create new bi- or trilateral agreements. Supranational frameworks could for example be connected to existing EU frameworks for CBC if EU countries or regions or their neighbors are involved. This underlines the importance of understanding the EU frameworks for CBC and the differences of institutional set-ups of states in general. It can provide us with insight as to what forms of legal bases are necessary for the successful functioning of a CBC, or the limitations that will be posed on a 'stimulated' CBC by the existing legal bases.

Another characteristic is funding. In order to establish a CBC connections and relationships need to be made, structures need to be created and in general funding will give actors the incentive to cooperate with one another. Funding can take place by

¹⁸ Soeters J.M.L.M., "Grensoverschrijdende Samenwerking vanuit Bestuurskundig Perspectief", In: Spoormans H.C.G., Reichenbach E.A. & Korsten A.F.A., *Grenzen Over: Aspecten van Grensoverschrijdende Samenwerking*, Coutinho, Bussum, 1999, pp. 47-48

regional, national and supranational institutions and by actors themselves. How a CBC is funded will impact on its strength and deepness. A CBC for example will be able to sustain itself and develop further if there is commitment from the actors involved. If a CBC is strictly funded by a supranational institution, actors could experience less incentive to operate efficiently and might be less aware of innovations and opportunities. A CBC will most likely be more efficient if actors receive a stimulus and need to contribute themselves financially to the CBC. The chances of a CBC being long-term successful will be dependent on this and also on the requirement of actors to be able to structurally finance this CBC after a financial stimulus. Moreover, their commitment will be greater. Funding is also dependent on the goals of the CBC. Actors will be more willing to invest themselves if the benefits are visible. Thus one could argue that CBCs with strategic first-level goals will be beneficent for most (if not all) actors involved, but the benefits might not be visible. Therefore actors will be reluctant to invest and funding might be primarily supranational.

A final characteristic is the type of actor involved. In this paper we will focus on the public sector which means that the actors involved will be public entities. However, these public entities can undertake measures aimed at private entities. Furthermore, the number of countries involved is of significance because the more actors involved, the more difficult it is to establish common goals, proper forms of communication and feedback, making clear decisions and reaching solutions.

In conclusion, we can state that there are several characteristics that need to be incorporated in a typology. The first characteristic is direct or indirect, which describes whether a CBC takes place between partners sharing a same border or not. Secondly I include the strategy of CBC, which can be either top-down or bottom-up. As a third characteristic I incorporate the involved goals of CBC. This characteristic is split in first and second level goals. First level goals can be strategic and practical. Second level goals are political, social, economic, military, innovation and environmental goals.

With regards to the involved actors I will consider as characteristics the level of the actors and the number of actors. These are my fourth and fifth characteristics for the

typology of public CBC. Furthermore I will include the different stages as a sixth characteristic of CBC. These are facilitation, information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization and integration. As the last two characteristics I will include the institutional set-up of the CBC and its funding. To make all nine characteristics easily visible I hereunder add a list of them.

3.1. List of the Characteristics of the Typology for Public CBC

- Indirect / direct
- Strategy: Top-down / bottom-up
- First level goals: practical / strategic
- Second level goals: political, social, economic, military, innovation and environmental goals
- Number of countries
- Level of actors
- Stages: facilitation, information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization, integration
- Institutional set-up: federal central
- Funds

In the next chapter we will look at some practical examples and categorize them according to these characteristics. This will allow us to see if the created typology is sufficient in its application.

4. Typology versus Practice

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter we have listed the main characteristics of the developed typology in order to crystallize the understanding of the different CBC forms that exist. On hand of these characteristics we can now compare different CBC forms. This can show us in how far the characteristics of the developed typology are applicable to real world examples of CBC.

In order to choose examples for such comparisons one can use different methods. However, to create a list of all existing CBC would expand the scope of this paper, thus for this paper it seems best to focus on a smaller sample, which, however, could be easily expended by follow-up research. In the following paragraphs I will shortly describe the content of the chosen CBC samples. I will do this as much as it is possible according to the characteristics of the above created typology.

4.2. Euregio

Euregio is one of the oldest CBC within Europe and is often mentioned as the example of a functioning CBC. It was established after WWII, in 1958 between Dutch and German municipalities sharing a common border.¹⁹ Its purpose was especially to increase the functioning of the involved regions, to increase chances of prosperity and also the prospect towards increased peaceful relations of the border regions.

Because this CBC is taking place over a shared border it is a direct form of CBC. It resolved out of a regional and / or municipal interest to increase economic benefits for the border regions which as periphery areas gain less from over-all benefits of their nations. Thus this CBC's strategy is a bottom-up one. The goals tackled are mainly practical, of an economic nature and is focused on the facilitation of CBC in general. The

¹⁹ <http://www.euregio.nl/cms/publish/content/showpage.asp?themeid=41>

level of the involved actors is regional. The actors involved are especially public entities which cooperate on common goals. Through that the regions can increase their capacities to tackle their common goals and furthermore increase their influence on EU policies nowadays.²⁰ Besides the involvement of the public sector, however, Euregio also creates networks with which to support private entities to support the process of integration over the border between Germany and the Netherlands.

The institutional set-up of the Euregio seems to be rather federal than central. The Euregio's funding comes today mainly from EU programs and initiatives. However, a smaller percentage is also covered by national and regional funds. This creates a diversity of financial aid. Mostly funds come from top-down, however here we see that responsibility is also put on lower levels. As mentioned before, this can increase the initiative to create a functional CBC also in the long-run.

4.3. Reducing Biodiversity Loss at Cross-Border Sites (East-Africa)

East Africa has a substantial and globally important biodiversity. It has a great amount of biotic resources and endemic species in the forest communities. In order to preserve this biodiversity the governments of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have over the years transformed big pieces of land into national parks and other protected areas. However, there is still a reduction in biodiversity because of population pressures and exploitation of natural resources. If this continues then many future benefits will be lost. This realization and the fact that many biological resources lie or move across borders stimulated these governments to cooperate with one another.²¹

Many of these resources are found on a local or regional level. The countries in question lack the economic and institutional capacity to reach all areas.²² Therefore this project is funded by the United Nations Development Programme through the Global

²⁰ Two regions supporting a common interest have more chance to be heard and taken seriously and into consideration on EU level than does one region alone.

²¹ http://www.gefweb.org/Outreach/outreach-Publications/Project_factsheet/Africa-redu-10-bd-undp-eng-ld.pdf

²² http://capacity.undp.org/gef/documents/writeups_doc/bio/EastAfricaCrossBorders_notes_BD1.doc

Environmental Facility (GEF) which is a financial mechanism that gives funds to developing countries to protect the global environment.²³

This form of CBC is a direct form of CBC because the participating countries share borders. The strategy of this initiative has been bottom-up. Because of practical reasons (first-level goal) these countries chose to work with one another. The second-level goals of this CBC are social and environmental. Because of the lack of the appropriate institutional structure this CBC works with communities and district-level policy makers and engages a lot of NGO's and civil society organizations. The stages of CBC are information, consultation and cooperation. Funding takes place through the GEF (12.9 million U.S. Dollar) and the governments of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (5.53 million U.S. Dollar).²⁴ The institutional set-up of this CBC is unclear.

4.4. Hungary-Croatia IPA²⁵

IPA is an EU financial instrument for candidates and potential candidates of EU membership. The goal is to stimulate their development towards higher standards and to increase social cohesion and stability over EU borders. IPA consists of five components of which one is aimed at cross-border cooperation.²⁶ One example of CBC resulting from this instrument is the Hungary-Croatia IPA cross-border co-operation.

This CBC was initiated by local actors of the border regions and started as a small project fund within the framework of the Hungarian national Phare program in 2002. The goal of this CBC is the support of non-profit CBC plus the preparation of potential candidates for future INTERREG funding opportunities. However, in 2004 the situation changed because Hungary became member of the EU. With the neighborhood program new opportunities for financial support came up. With the IPA instrument in 2006 the

²³ http://www.gefweb.org/Outreach/outreach-Publications/Project_factsheet/Africa-redu-10-bd-undp-eng-ld.pdf

²⁴ http://capacity.undp.org/gef/documents/writeups_doc/bio/EastAfricaCrossBorders_notes_BD1.doc

²⁵ As possible addition to sources:

http://www.europaforum.or.at/data/media/med_binary/original/1146057081.pdf

<http://www.safu.hr/en/tenders/view/207/annual-work-programme-for-ipa-cbc-grants-of-cfca>

²⁶ <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50020.htm>

CBC between Hungary and Croatia was able to take a next step. In the period 2007-2013 this CBC is financed from both external EU funds in which Croatian projects are financed through the IPA instrument and internal EU funds in which Hungarian projects are financially supported through European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).²⁷ Both national governments co-finance the projects.²⁸

The Hungary-Croatia IPA Cross-border Cooperation Program 2007-2013 promotes cross-border cooperation and territorial development between Hungary and Croatia. This CBC is thus a direct form of CBC. The priorities of the program include the improvement of key conditions of joint sustainable development, as well as the strengthening of social and economic cohesion in the program area. Further main priorities are e.g. sustainable environment and tourism and cooperative economy and intercommunity human resource development.²⁹ The first-level goals of this CBC are both practical (to promote certain social, economic and environmental goals) and strategic (to prepare candidates for EU membership). The second-level goals are social, economic, environmental and political.

We thus see that practical and strategic goals are interlinked. The IPA is a top-down initiative aimed at stimulating cooperation between candidates for EU membership. This form of CBC however came into being before the IPA program through the initiatives of local actors based on practical goals thus showing us that this CBC is a bottom-up initiative further stimulated and sustained by a top-down initiative.

The level of actors involved and potential applicants are mostly local and regional governments and their institutions, but also organizations with certain public targets (for example, water management, public road management, NGOs, Universities and many more). The stage of cooperation in this CBC is facilitation by the inclusion of this program in IPA. However, the form of cooperation that takes place in projects funded through this CBC is in general all of the stages listed in our typology with integration being the final goal.

²⁷ <http://www.hu-hr-ipa.com/en/information-about-the-programme>, For further information on ERDF: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/funds/prord/prord_en.htm

²⁸ <http://www.nfu.hu/content/2996>

²⁹ <http://www.hu-hr-ipa.com/en/information-about-the-programme>

Clarifying the institutional set-up of this CBC is rather complicated. We can see that this CBC was initially based on bilateral agreements between Hungary and Croatia. This form of cooperation evolved and was then funded by EU funds making it subject to a supranational framework.

Funding, as explained in the beginning of this paragraph, comes from different levels and different existing funding instruments. Projects are co-financed by both nation states involved, while Croatia receives financial support through external EU funds (CARDS/PHARE, now part of IPA) and Hungary through the ERDF. The EU supports this CBC with 19.3 million Euro which is supplemented by ca. 5 million Euro of national funding from both participating countries.³⁰

4.5. U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission (BNC)

The national U.S.-Mexico Binational Commission (BNC) dates back to 1981, the Reagan times. This commission was started in order to coordinate relations between the U.S. and Mexico. With the establishment of this direct cross-border co-operation a forum for cabinet-level exchanges was created. In such times such a committee was a revolutionary development for the relations between these two countries. However, nowadays such meetings are common and taking place regularly twice a year.³¹

The BNC gives both countries ('s consulates along the border) the chance to exchange on a wide range of issues critical to U.S.-Mexico relations. The meetings provide with a chance for government officials to propose solutions to e.g. law enforcement problems, transportation and the environment. This CBC's goal is to improve the standards of living, especially within the border regions. Besides being a direct form of CBC its strategy comes from top-down efforts. This, however, can also be

³⁰<http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/09/116&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>

³¹<http://content.healthaffairs.org/cgi/content/full/21/4/271;>
[http://www.state.gov/p/wha/ci/mx/c10787.htm;](http://www.state.gov/p/wha/ci/mx/c10787.htm)
http://mexico.usembassy.gov/eng/Ambassador/eA060323BNC_Reforma.html

a mixture of top-down and bottom-up if considering the various stimulated CBC initiatives and projects which follow such BNC meetings.

The exchange of views and interests are connected to many different goals. The BNC is a co-operation with first-level goals to practically and strategically increase e.g. the functioning of transportation and persecution of criminals (e.g. immigrants and drug trafficking) across the border. However, the fields of co-operation also include transportation, environmental protection, health and education. Furthermore this CBC form incorporates second-level goals from economic to social and from political to military. It also concerns it-self with environmental and innovative goals to increase overall economic functioning and the safety and health of citizens on both sides of the border.³²

BNC in specific is dealt with by national actors. The levels of involved actors can however differ and involve also national, state, regional and local level. Different working groups have been established to tackle conjoint problems in different fields and on different stages. This means that there are committees which bring together the government officials of both states, but also e.g. the regional specialists and officials of one specific political sector. The BNC thus provides with a big and flexible platform for information exchange and consultation. Furthermore it creates opportunity to facilitate other evolving CBCs with e.g. funds but also practical solutions prepared by specialized working groups. Therefore there is also co-operation, harmonization and sometimes integration taking place, stimulated by the BNC.³³

The institutional set-up is not really to determine. The funding in this matter seems not to be of much relevance. The place and the time necessary for meetings for consultation and information exchange don't require a big amount of funding. Furthermore the funding of initiatives resolving from such meetings can vary from project to project.

4.6. The France-Vaud-Geneva Conurbation

³² http://mexico.usembassy.gov/eng/eborder_mechs.html#6

³³ For more information on other stimulated CBC initiatives, e.g. in the health care sector, look at: <http://www.fas.usda.gov/itp/bnc/us-mexico/usmexico.html>; <http://content.healthaffairs.org/cgi/content/full/21/4/271>

This direct cross-border cooperation between France and Swiss has a history of around 30 years. However, it did not start out as what it is today. The regional France-Geneva Committee (RFGC) was created in 1973. Its main tasks were the recognition of a common job market, the creation of financial compensation mechanisms for cross-border commuters and additionally co-operation in the management of neighborhood problems. This was a step towards increased cooperation within this border region. In 1987 this Committee was supported with the creation of the Lake Geneva Council and ten years later through the RFGC Charter, which is till today used as a reference for the planning documents and which identified ten strategic cross-border projects. This can be labeled as a bottom-up strategy, which incorporates federal mechanisms to cooperate across a border but facilitated to a degree in which it is similar to cooperation within one region. The different established committees are mixed according their nationalities and are empowered to strategically and practically co-operate in their border area within their collection of interests.³⁴ In 2003 a Charter for the Development of Regional Public Transport (DRPT) was established. Its main task is to develop the infrastructure on a metropolitan area scale and manage the cross-border public transportation which is also linked to the creation of a Local Cross-Border Cooperation Group (LCBCG). The France-Vaud-Geneva conurbation project was launched in 2004 with a desire of increased operational commitment.³⁵ Areas of interest or goals are to improve transportation, housing, jobs, urban development and environmental protection. The focus for the Conurbation project is on the coordination and the future development of urbanization and transport infrastructures.³⁶ Main tasks are to improve the infrastructure and the public transportation across the border for especially daily commuters (72% of border crossings during the week are related to work/training and business trips.)³⁷ Thus goals are social, political, economical and environmental. The stages of this CBC are

³⁴ <http://www.projet-agglo.org/articles/59,62-organisation.html>

³⁵ Project d'agglo, Franco-Valdo-Genevois, Impacts European Conference, June 2009, Berlin, p.10, http://www.impacts.org/intercontconference/berlin2009/day3/03_Bessat_Iglasias_090505ProjetPresentation_IMPACTS_GB_vanlAIS.pdf

³⁶ <http://www.projet-agglo.org/>

³⁷ Project d'agglo, Franco-Valdo-Genevois, Impacts European Conference, June 2009, Berlin, p.4, http://www.impacts.org/intercontconference/berlin2009/day3/03_Bessat_Iglasias_090505ProjetPresentation_IMPACTS_GB_vanlAIS.pdf

facilitation, information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization and integration in some parts e.g. public transportation.

This cooperation is financially supported through a federal infrastructure fund and the INTERREG IV 2007-2013 programme as a Franco-Swiss cooperation area. The EU is funding this cross-border cooperation through the ERDF with 55 million Euros and the Swiss confederation's New Regional Policy (NRP) is supporting with 6 million Euros. Additionally it is also supported by the Rhone-Alpes Region (France).

4.7. Norway-Chile cooperation³⁸

When searching for examples of indirect cross-border cooperation one inevitably runs into the problem of determining what cross-border cooperation is and what isn't. Cooperation in this thesis has been defined as something to 'yield benefits or reach common goals'. In the case of indirect CBC there are many examples of countries engaging in cooperation. However, it is often unclear what can or cannot be categorized as CBC and what should be categorized as diplomatic relations or plainly development aid. Take for instance the cooperation between China and the Cook Islands. Although this cooperation is thought to be continually improving and expanding upon close examination one will discover that this cooperation in half consists of felicitations and messages of congratulations.³⁹ Of course there are also examples of indirect CBC that are more of a cooperative nature.

The cooperation between Norway and Chile is a good example of this. Although far removed from one another, these two countries share many characteristics such as topography, climate, vegetation, industry and infrastructure. Therefore these countries can learn from each other and aid each other in improving their countries. Norway cooperates with Chile in the area of transportation and both countries share solutions for new roads, tunnels, bridges, ferries and maintenance and traffic safety work. The CBC between Norway (mainly Norwegian Public Roads Administration) and Chile is indirect.

³⁸ <http://www.nordicroads.com/website/index.asp?pageID=185>

³⁹ <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3387/>

The strategy of this CBC is not easy to determine. It seems to be rather top-down but in parts could also be said to be bottom-up due to cooperation of specialists. In this case the information is not providing with enough information to determine the strategy clearly. The respective governments have recognized the benefits of cooperation as have other public and also private actors. It is unclear whether one strategy or the other was more dominant. The first-level goals of this CBC are practical. The second-level goals are in this particular case in the area of transportation and infrastructure and could thus be categorized as economic and innovation second-level goals. The stages in this CBC are information, consultation and cooperation. One could state that also facilitation is a stage because agreements drawn up between the actors facilitate (public/private) cooperation between the two countries. Actors in this CBC are very diverse. Some are from a national level and others are selected due to their expertise in a particular area such as energy, fish, trading and transportation. The Institutional set-up is very diverse and not really to determine, but due to the involvement of different levels it most likely incorporates federal and central set-ups. Funding of the projects in this CBC is not entirely clear but seems to take place by both partners considering the practical nature of the projects.

4.8. NATO Cooperation with Australia

If looking at indirect CBC one kind of looks at international relations. CBCs are then to be seen as one type of international relations. If this is the case it is for the next research to determine whether indirect CBCs should include cooperation focused on development aid and furthermore if cooperation involving international organizations like e.g. the EU, the NATO or UN are indeed types of CBCs.

The following example is one between Australia and the NATO. I will try whether my typology seems to be suitable for this example or not so much.

If this cooperation is indeed to be seen as a CBC it would then be of an indirect form of cooperation between an international organization with 28 members and Australia.⁴⁰ It is a top-down strategy initiated by national governments. The main focus is on practical cooperation plus political dialogue. Countries contribute with troops for the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).⁴¹ Training, exercises and other NATO activities can be seen as the practical part of cooperation. The goals to fight terrorism, non-proliferation and other military activities are dominantly political or military thus one can say that first level goals are however dominantly strategic. The different stages of this cooperation are information (e.g. agreements on classified information), consultation and cooperation. The different actors are coming from different levels, but are mainly from national level and all levels of the military. The institutional set-up is central due to the strong military approach of the NATO and the cooperation being focused on especially military cooperation with Australia. This CBC has a funding scheme which stays very unclear. The different national governments of the members contribute to their international organization, but in how far that money is also the supporter of this CBC did not become clear. Most likely however, it is also the Australian government providing with payment for e.g. training of their troops.

4.9. China-Africa Cooperation Forum

The first meeting in Beijing in 2000 reached a broad consensus about economic and trade cooperation. The Beijing Declaration led to the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, including ministers of 44 African countries and China to strengthen relations and build mutually beneficial new relations.⁴²

This form of cooperation is obviously of an indirect kind, because the countries cooperating are not sharing a common border. The strategy is a top-down one, between the ministers of the involved countries. Government officials and especially ministers are in charge, thus actors are coming from high political levels (national). The general goals

⁴⁰ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/nato_countries.htm

⁴¹ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-989F3FD0-4DDFEEF4/natolive/topics_48899.htm

⁴² <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/China-Africa/82189.htm>

are mainly practical goals, with second level goals being of economic nature. However, in regard to China's expansion into African countries one might say that every practical goal is somewhat connected to strategic goals. Goals are focused on economic interests and in specific trade interests but also innovation efforts and learning through e.g. training. This cooperation forum creates a place to exchange views and methods through especially ministerial level and high level meetings. Its stages involve thus information and innovation but mainly consultation. This cross-border cooperation's funding is irrelevant. Like in the U.S.-Mexico example, this forum it-self does not need own funds and its promoted projects depend on national politics and funding programs.

4.10. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can state that there are several characteristics that need to be incorporated in a typology. The first characteristic is direct or indirect, which describes whether a CBC takes place between partners sharing a same border or not. Secondly I include the strategy of CBC, which can be either top-down or bottom-up. As a third characteristic I incorporate the involved goals of CBC. This characteristic is split in first and second level goals. First level goals can be strategic and practical. Second level goals are political, social, economic, military, innovation and environmental goals.

With regards to the involved actors I will consider as characteristics the level of the actors and the number of actors. These are my fourth and fifth characteristics for the typology of public CBC. Furthermore I will include the different stages as a sixth characteristic of CBC. These are facilitation, information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization and integration. As the last two characteristics I will include the institutional set-up of the CBC and its funding.

Table 1. Typology of CBC

CBC form	Direct/ indirect	Strategy	First-level goals	Second-level goals	Level Actor	No.	Stages	Institutional set-up	Funding
Euregio	Direct	Bottom-up	Practical	Mainly Economic	Primarily regional	2	Facilitation	More federal	EU + national and regional funds
Reducing biodiversity loss at CB sites (east Africa)	Direct	Bottom-up	Practical	Environmental and social	Communities, district-level policy makers, international (NGO's), local (civil society organizations)	3	Information, consultation and co-operation	Unclear	UN development program through GEF + government of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda
Hungary-Croatia IPA CBC	Direct	Bottom-up initiative and than top-down strategy	Practical and strategic	Economic, social, environmental and political	Local and regional governments, local and national public organizations, plus international (NGO's)	2	Facilitation, (plus in individual programs information, consultation, co-operation, harmonization and integration)	First bi-lateral agreement, then subject to supra-national framework	National funds from both countries, plus EU IPA funds (Croatia) and ERDF (Hungary)

U.S.- Mexico BNC	Direct	Top-down, but individual programs bottom-up	Mainly strategic, but also many practical goals	Economic, political, military (security), (social, environmental and innovative)	Primarily national*, state, but also regional and local	2	Information, Consultation, Facilitation (and in individual programs co- operation, harmonization and in parts integration)	Bi-lateral	Funding not as relevant, different initiated programs can have different financial sources
France- Vaud- Geneva conurbation	Direct	Bottom-up	Practical and strategic	Political, social, economical and environmental	National* and regional	2	Facilitation, information, consultation, cooperation, harmonization and in parts integration	Federal	Federal infrastructure fund, INTERREG IV, (EU) ERDF, (Swiss) NRP, (France) Rhone- Alps Region
Norway- Chile	Indirect	Not very clear	Practical	Economical and innovation	Different levels (national* and regional)	2	Facilitation, information, consultation, cooperation	Unclear	Not clear
NATO- Australia	Indirect	Top-down	Practical and strategic	Military and political	National level* and military	28+1	Information, consultation, cooperation	Central	Not clear (funding mechanisms from NATO and general funds from Australia)

China-Africa	Direct	Top-down	Practical and strategic	Economical, innovation	National level*	44+1	Information, consultation	Central	Funding not as relevant, different initiated programs can have different financial sources
--------------	--------	----------	-------------------------	------------------------	-----------------	------	---------------------------	---------	--

* National level=state level (high governmental level)

5. Conclusion

[We have reached the last chapter of this paper. Within this part I will summarize the most important findings and link theory with the established typology and the implications chapter 4 (Typology versus Practice) brings with it. This will most likely show us some implications and interconnections between characteristics of the typology and their distribution. This might further on underline before suggested interdependencies between them.]

As established in the beginning there has been a change of method in regard to CBC in the last decades. Common interests and needs became the focus of co-operation, while scientific knowledge, expertise and economic principles gained impact on policy-making. Globalization has been pointed out as one of the driving forces for increased global integration efforts. Besides other effects this led to an increased establishment of supra-national institutions supporting the liberalization of markets around the globe, such as the WTO, UN, the EU and many more. These increased interconnections among states surely created more interdependencies among whole continents, countries and regions. This diminished chances for yet another world war, while at the same time increasing the established structures for co-operation. We also found that numbers of CBC increased and are still increasing.

Borders are functioning as obstacles to CBC, thus some established institutions like e.g. the EU are trying to reduce such obstacles within a certain territory or economic area and its neighbors. Such a process is not always easy. What became clear is that border regions are most likely less dense areas and thus present us with an economic space which is not used sufficiently. Thus border areas present a space in which economic functioning can be increased. CBC is seen as a possible tool to increase economic functioning and innovation within such regions. Further on CBC can be seen as a tool to deepen integration on different levels both private and public. Seeing CBC as a tool to increase overall prosperity brings with it that CBC's are being stimulated by governments through subsidies and funds.

In order to lift the fog that seems to surround CBC's in this paper I determined several characteristics of CBC's and incorporated these in a typology to better understand and analyze the different forms of CBC's. The established typology includes several characteristics that have been established as necessary in chapter two and three. The first characteristic is direct or indirect, which describes whether a CBC takes place between partners sharing a same border or not. Due to a limited scope this paper concentrated on direct CBC only. However, in the course of studying practical examples of CBC I came across many indirect forms of CBC which only strengthened my conviction that the first characteristic is a valuable characteristic. Thus I have included some examples which are indirect. This can help to determine if the typology can incorporate also such co-operations. This was a rather interesting task, challenging the understanding of CBC. What is a CBC and what is not? Are we incorporating all types of international relations into CBCs? Or are CBCs a type of international relations? The problem here is that international relations are often related to development aid and other diplomatic relations and concerns. Furthermore indirect cross-border co-operations also exist between countries and international organizations like e.g. the EU, UN or NATO. It seems that these international institutions are themselves kind of a facilitator for indirect CBC. This is however input for a whole new study which could contribute to order the entangled network of CBCs around the globe.

The second characteristic is the strategy, being either bottom-up or top-down. This distinction between bottom-up and top-down explains how certain forms of CBC's come about from security or prevention efforts against possible crises, and can politically be linked to international stability and security interests. These are then the top-down CBC's. Bottom-up initiatives are in general connected to more practical and functional issues. Table 1 shows that two examples, namely, Euregio, Reducing Biodiversity at CB sites in East Africa and the France-Vaud_Geneva conurbation are all three bottom-up initiatives. We also can see that the IPA CBC between Hungary and Croatia started with a bottom-up strategy, however, turned into a top-down one. The Norway-Chile example does not provide with enough information to determine whether it is a bottom-up or top-down strategy or even a combination of both. Further on it has no real strategic goals but

is rather of practical nature. The U.S.-Mexico BNC is a top-down strategy, however, supporting also regional bottom-up programs. We thus see that practical or functional issues can permeate to higher levels when they become issues in the overall picture, as is the case with environmental concerns. CBC's were firstly formed bottom-up with regards to environmental issues, but steadily more and more top-down strategies include environmental concerns and problems.

When now looking at the third characteristic, the first level goals, we can see that there is a relation to the used strategy. The first two examples of CBC are the clearest examples of this. They both have (mainly) practical goals, and both follow a bottom-up strategy. The third example although more obscure also confirms the link between strategy and interest. Although it combines both strategic and practical first level goals, and includes both a bottom-up and a top-down strategy, we can see that its first goal was practical of nature and started from a bottom-up initiative. Its 'institutionalization' in the actual form of IPA was then top-down initiative which incorporates more different goals which are to a great extent strategic. Also with the fourth example we witness the link between strategy and goals. The U.S./Mexico CBC followed a top-down strategy with mainly strategic goals that evolved to include also many practical goals. The example of France-Vaud-Geneva, however, shows that a bottom-up strategy can also include strategic goals. The Norway-Chile cooperation is both top-down and bottom-up but is only focused on practical goals. The last two examples, NATO-Australia and China-Africa both are following a top-down strategy while being concerned about practical and strategic goals. However, the prevalence of practical goals in all examples seems to confirm that functionalist theory can be applied to the study of CBC's. Also in the case of strategic goals we see that the increased awareness of interdependence stimulates cooperation because there is also more awareness of common interests and needs.

As the fourth characteristic we have second level goals. These are as mentioned in the typology part, connected to first level goals. For example, political and military interests are strategic goals. Economic goals, also a second-level goal, are practical goals. But also second-level goals are connected to strategy. This of course follows directly from the previous conclusion that first-level goals are connected to strategies (top-down

and bottom-up). What is interesting is that bottom-up initiatives seem to involve fewer interests than top-down initiatives. When departing from a practical purpose parties focus on specific interests, and perhaps rightly so because such an approach simply makes more sense due to among other things limited capacities. This can be drawn from the first two examples. As soon as an initiative is top-down or develops from bottom-up to top-down, such as is the case with the third and fourth example, we see an increase in the range of interests. Also this makes sense. When initiatives are developed in a top-down manner more actors and institutions become involved and institutional capacity increases also allowing for the inclusion for more interests. The U.S. example clearly shows that a top-down strategy is able to support a greater variety of interests and goals which is also due to institutional reach. Looking at the last three examples in the table shows us however that this is not always the case. Indirect cross-border cooperation coming from a top-down strategy can also be focused on only one or two areas of interest to maximize benefits. This difference could be linked to the characteristics direct and indirect. That would mean that direct CBCs are more likely to extend in their range of goals if transforming towards a top-down strategy. However, indirect CBCs do not necessarily have such a tendency. This could for example be the case due to different relationships between involved countries. In these cases it might be of bigger importance to safeguard the own states' sovereignty to a certain degree instead of deepening cooperation among each other with cooperating on more issues it might be just enough to keep cooperating in that one or two specific areas. A direct CBC though is in close contact with its partner(s), thus also more interested in deepening CBC.

The phenomenon that direct CBCs with bottom-up initiatives turning towards top-down initiatives will then include more interests can clearly be linked to the concept of spill-over that is derived from neofunctionalist theory. In the theoretical chapter we discussed that there are two types of spill-over. The first is political spill-over which can be translated into practical cooperation leads to the creation of (political) institutions. Both the third and fourth example are clear examples of political spill-over. Cooperation was initiated with a practical purpose and then formalized in the form an IPA and a BNC. The second type of spill-over is functional. This means that cooperation in one area will

spill-over into other areas. This can be clearly seen in the first two examples. Initially, practical (or functional) purposes were limited but slowly interests and goals broadened. What is interesting though is that this functional spill-over seems to occur more strongly or rapidly when supported by a top-down initiative. This seems to support the intergovernmentalist theory which attributes a large role to nation states in the issue of integration. In that case both neofunctionalist and intergovernmentalist theory would be correct. However, I would like to here remind the reader that the political process is a complex process. It is quite possible that actors attempt to achieve certain practical goals by repacking them into strategic goals and visa versa. If this is the case then the political spill-over still occurs. After all, institutions are formed. However, this is not always the case and it is not necessarily the role of the nation states that is dominant in this process but it might be truly the role of the spill-over effect. In regard to international organizations and/or institutions one has to point out though that their reach and goals can be determined within their rules and thus being an attempt of limiting the spread of spillovers.

The next characteristic is about the levels involved. We can see that the regional level is involved in almost all examples to some extent. We asserted previously that regional levels play a greater role in the case of practical goals. Considering our above discussion on practical and strategic goals, it makes sense that the regional levels are included in all examples. However, example one is the only one being primary on regional level, while the U.S., France and the Norway examples are primarily on national and state levels. The example of Africa involves also communities, district-level policy makers and international organizations. So although the main role for national actors does not seem to correspond with the practical goals of this CBC, it is absolutely paramount that regional actors play a role to ensure the successful implementation of such a CBC. The cooperation of China-Africa and the NATO with Australia are both concentrated on the national level. This can maybe be a hint that indirect CBC implies a different importance of national actors. This makes sense if thinking about indirect CBC we see that it has to be established through national actors, even if being an idea of one region, it would still imply that for indirect CBC there is bigger distance and international relations

regulations and methods are to be involved. This implies that states have to get involved to arrange the CBC. Here we see that if dealing with indirect CBCs the role of national actors is more important than are regional actors.

The example of the CBC in Africa shows that not everywhere is enough money and / or are clear state forms, which co-operate, which is why it is the communities solving their issues by their rules and own paste. The Hungary-Croatia example also shows the inclusion of national, regional and local level, plus additional inclusion of international organizations (NGO's). Here one can see a link to the development state of a co-operating state and / or region. The dependency theory stated that as poor states are integrated into the supranational system, such as the European Union, resources will flow from the poor states to the rich states, making the latter richer at the expense of the former. In our examples we see that CBC's were funded not only by national or regional actors but also by supranational funds. It is thus clear that resources flow from the supranational system (including the rich states which in general contribute more to the supranational system than poor states) to the so-called poorer states or regions. Like e.g. in a Germany-Ecuador cooperation.⁴³ This cooperation is rather a development aid program to support the development of Ecuador, not the one of Germany. Thus, it is the case that richer countries also contribute to the development of poorer counties. However, dependency theory does seem to be correct when it states that rich states will benefit. This is not the case because resources flow from poorer states to richer states, but because the performance of these poorer states increases thus increasing the overall performance. One could say that CBC is basically within the interest of nation states by increasing their overall economic functioning and not to forget their diplomatic stance and thus their position on the globe. As the saying goes, the bridge is just as strong as its weakest part, thus u have to make the whole bridge strong. This is one of the benefits of CBC's for the more developed nation states and regions and can thus be used as a tool. Another benefit of CBC's is that it can create a network structure which improves the

⁴³ This CBC is not added to the examples, however, more information about it can be found on: <http://www.bmz.de/en/countries/partnercountries/ecuador/Cooperation.html>

exchange of knowledge and the general interaction among neighboring states which has positive results for both richer and poorer states.

We can thus conclude that not only are goals and strategy linked, but levels and goals are also linked. Military interests will not take place on a regional level but on a national or supranational level. Economic interests can, however, take place at regional, national and supranational levels. Because the various concepts of top-down and bottom-up, interests and levels of actors are interlinked it will be arduous to examine which leads to what.

The next characteristic is the number of states involved. This however, is linked to the first characteristic (direct/indirect). A direct CBC directly implies a lower number of partners, because all countries / regions have to share a common border. Within our examples we have one direct CBC with three countries involved. In how far the difference of two or three involved countries impact the quality of CBC has to be studied separately and in regard to the state of development of the involved countries. If looking at indirect CBC we can see that numbers can vary from 2 to as many as there are. The China-Africa cooperation includes 44 African countries and China. Such high numbers of involved countries can of course influence the quality of a CBC, but can at the same time also demonstrate strength.

The seventh characteristic describes the stages a CBC can include. In the first example we can see that this bottom-up CBC is focused on the facilitation stage. It creates a practical and functional link between the regions to facilitate co-operation over the border with especially economic interests. The second example includes information, consultation and co-operation as stages functioning in the interest of environmental and social concerns. The IPA example is focused on facilitation like the Euregio. However, among the programs supported by IPA one can also find consultation, co-operation, harmonization and integration. Within the U.S./Mexico CBC we find the stages, information, consultation and facilitation. Also here individual programs initiated and/or supported by the BNC include co-operation, harmonization and in parts integration. The France-Vaud_Geneva cooperation incorporates all stages to a certain degree. This CBC comes close to demonstrating a by two countries shared government structure to connive for their shared conurbation. The Norway-Chile example includes facilitation,

information, consultation and cooperation as stages. In the NATO-Australian example it's the stages of information, consultation and cooperation. And in the last example about the China-Africa cooperation only two stages are involved, namely information and consultation. We can see that the stages are related to the relations between the countries and that the more stages are incorporated within one CBC the closer the relationship between partners is. Thus such a CBC might be expected to show higher quality in the cooperation. Maybe this can also be linked to the number of countries involved within one CBC. The more countries involved and the farther away from each other (geographical and cultural), the lower the trust and thus the higher the need to protect the own sovereignty, thus fewer stages will be involved.

It seems that top-down or bottom-up strategies of CBC can both include one stage, in these examples, facilitation (Euregio and IPA), while they can also include more stages, like for example the African and the France (bottom-up) and U.S./Mexico and China/Africa (top-down) examples show. This suggests that these two characteristics do not influence each other strongly or even at all. Although there does not seem to be a connection between these characteristics or with the other characteristics of the typology, it the stages can tell us something about the deepness of co-operation. Stages such as harmonization and integration require or result in a higher level of deepness than stages such as facilitation, information and consultation. CBC's that involve stages that are testament to lower-level deepness can evolve to include other stages which can then deepen the form of CBC. The first example of Euregio is an excellent example of this because the stage of this CBC is facilitation. Euregio as described in the typology is strictly limited to facilitation, but the CBC's that resulted from Euregio are much deeper and involve even coordination and harmonization.⁴⁴ CBC's thus evolve and are dynamic as asserted earlier. How CBC's develop regarding deepness and speed will be dependent on common interests and the relationships and trust between the states co-operating.

⁴⁴ In the typology the CBC Euregio has been described in itself. This CBC however has led to other forms of CBC's. The description of these other forms has not been included because the focus has been on the CBC Euregio. For information about the other forms of CBC see www.euregio.nl. Although the CBC Hungary/Croatia seems to be quite similar in this regard, it is still distinct. The goal of this CBC was specifically to enhance cross-border cooperation and translated into five objectives, whereas the goal of Euregio was increasing economic benefits in general through facilitating regions' cross-border cooperation.

The next characteristic is institutional set-up. It proved to be difficult to determine the institutional set-ups involved in the examples and consequently make statements of the effect of the institutional set-up on the CBC. Therefore, this characteristic offers little to no value in a typology of CBC's without further research. It is possible that the legal framework is a more valuable characteristic. One could examine the legal framework of CBC's (supranational, bi-lateral, multi-lateral) and analyze if a supranational framework enhances CBC's because it for example can induce commitment from partners that are not involved in the CBC but are involved in its funding, or if a bi-lateral or multi-lateral agreement has more value regarding deepness and strength of a CBC because it requires more commitment from its partners than in the case of a supranational framework. Further research and analysis would be necessary to examine legal framework as a characteristic of a typology for CBC's.

As the last characteristic of the established typology we are confronted with the funding of the CBC. Funding is to be an incentive for CBC. The examples showed us that funding occurs in a combination of different sources. The involvement of actors in sharing part of the costs increases the chances of a successful long-run, because there is more incentive to make it work. This is a sign that indeed a mixture of funding has to occur to make a CBC function. These different funding sources come from different levels and support CBC with a different amount and under different conditions. Especially supra-national funds have clear requirements like e.g. the inclusion of sustainable environmental and social goals.

The amount of involved funding sources of one CBC might be also linked to the funding levels and the CBC's interests. We asserted that the visibility of goals could stimulate funding possibilities. Furthermore it was pointed out that strategic goals could fall under the category of more invisible goals, thus being primarily supported by supra-national and national funds. The examples indicate that this applies to Euregio. However, the African example speaks against it at first glance. Euregio is being funded by all different levels, whereas the Africa CBC is funded primarily by international and national funds even though it initiated from practical (and thus visible) goals. If looking closer, however, one can discover that there is a basic difference between these two examples

which might impact the existence of different levels of funding. In the Africa case we can say that regions do not have resources and capacities as do regions in the EU, thus they might be less likely to be able to afford such an investment.

The Hungary/Croatia CBC showed the development from practical to also strategic goals. In its funding it has grown from primarily national funds to a combination with supra-national funds. This does somewhat support the assertion made about funding earlier. One should keep in mind though that this development as mentioned before took place with including also a wider range of goals. To what extent such a 'wider' range of goals is merely the 'package' to get supra-national funds while actually using them for rather practical 'own' goals has not been studied in this paper but could benefit from further research. The main hypothesis that co-funding by involved actors increases commitment does seem to be supported by the involved parties because in most examples (with the exception of the U.S./Mexico case and the China/Africa example which involve little to no funding, plus the NATO/Australia and Norway/Chile cases which did not give clear information about their financing schemes) CBCs are funded by various sources including the involved states or regions.

In regard to indirect CBCs it becomes more important to study the different international organizations and institutions, because they are increasingly involved as direct partners in indirect CBC forms. Further on one would have to decide if development aid programs are to be involved in the definition of CBC or not. We saw that indirect CBC is an even more complex topic than direct CBC. It clearly needs more study in order to be better understood. And the here established typology might be able to be improved by adding characteristics which give more insight about indirect CBC forms. This would be a necessary and interesting follow-up study.

In conclusion, we can firstly state that the functional approach is suitable. Functionalism, neo-functionalism and the concept of spill-over provide insights for the understanding of CBC. The applicability of the concept of spill-over shows that CBC's are dynamic and therefore their initiation does not need to cover many interests or areas because in time these will increase thus widening and deepening CBC's. This seems to be a natural result and part of the evolution of CBC's. The suitability of intergovernmentalist

theory is questionable. It can be applied to a certain extent because the overall benefit of CBC (leading to an increase in overall performance) could always be considered to be in the interest of the nation state.

Secondly, the in this paper created typology proves to be a valuable tool in understanding public CBCs. However, there is a difference between direct and indirect CBCs which make generalizations more difficult. It became clear that the typology can provide insight in regard to direct CBC more than it does in regard to indirect CBC. I introduced nine characteristics as elements of this typology. Of these nine characteristics seven proved to be of value in not only describing CBC's but also determining their nature and structure. The typology also was able to make clear interlinkages between various characteristics leading to a deeper understanding of at least direct CBCs. The characteristic institutional set-up turned out to be problematic because it is not easy to evaluate the different state-systems. As stated earlier, legal framework could give more insight. However, determining its real additional value will require further research. This is an important recommendation for the further development of this typology. In the mean time from my point of view, the created typology makes a valuable contribution to the literature on CBC's and the analysis of these. The typology could also include CBC's with a private sector component, but in order to do so it might have to include additional characteristics, for example the legal form of the private actors involved and the type of agreements between private and public actors.