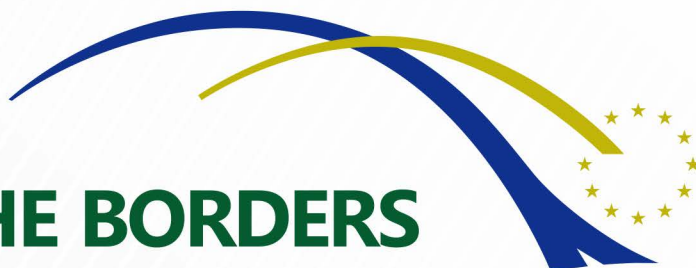


Central European Service for Cross-Border Initiatives
European Institute of Cross-Border Studies



CROSSING THE BORDERS

Studies on cross-border cooperation within the Danube Region

A classification of the cross-border
cooperation initiatives
of the Danube Region

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1. Introduction

In this present chapter we aim at providing a possibly comprehensive overview on the institutionalised cross-border cooperation initiatives of the Danube Region. This overview is expected to shed light upon the macroregional inequalities of cross-border cooperation both in quantity and in quality. Furthermore, this investigation may reveal some unique characteristics of cross-border economic and social ties.

Similarly to the chapter of case studies, existing cross-border cooperation bodies are to be evaluated and, at the same time, classified according to the institutionalisation of the cooperation initiatives, the intensity of cooperation, the ethnic/linguistic ties and historical unity/shared landscape across the border, the fields of cross-border cooperation, the duration of cross-border cooperation and the number of countries involved in the cross-border cooperation initiatives. However, unlike the analyses, these investigations will not target to offer an in-depth analysis on the history, operation, institutional structure and experiences of these initiatives, but they rather target a horizontal overview on the large number and multiplicity of institutionalised cross-border relations. Due to this large number of initiatives (around 200 ones are listed), a detailed analysis, similar to those of the case study areas would certainly not be reasonable, therefore we opted for the use of basic information instead. This may eventually lead to the exclusion of many aspects which would otherwise contribute to a better established analysis, but it will hopefully result in a more compact and straightforward study.

The scope of this research was largely restricted by the availability of information as well as by the finite capacity for information gathering, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Information gathering was carried out basically by targeting on-line available sites and documents, published predominantly in English, therefore cooperation initiatives with slight on-line presence and/or the preference of using national language(s) rather than English were poorly concerned. Though, we are aware of the dangers of such an asymmetric evaluation, we assume, based on our experiences from the borderlands around Hungary, that successful cross-border partnerships are generally visible for the international audience, therefore we suggest that the available information in English on cross-border initiatives is one of the reliable indicators for their overall performance.

In the followings, we are making a review on the cross-border cooperation initiatives of the Danube Region through a multiple categorisation of these initiatives, taking into account the institutional forms, work intensity, linguistic and historical ties, their thematic scope, their duration and their membership. Based on these factors, we intend to make an assessment on these initiatives, therewith aiming at the drawing of different development patterns. Though a prioritisation between the distinct categories is not always immune from subjective aspects, we are trying to provide a more or less standardised evaluation on the initiatives, based on the entirety of the factors taken into consideration, allowing some general conclusions.

2. The institutionalisation of the cooperation initiatives

When evaluating cooperation initiatives, the first and most profound question is what the organisational structure enables for the cooperating partners. This is largely determined by the institutional form of cooperation, the thematic field(s) targeted at the establishment and last but not least the legal embeddedness of the institutional body itself within the relevant legislation (i.e. owned competences). In the forthcoming we are providing a short introduction on the most prevalent forms of cross-border cooperation in the current European context. This introduction structures the most frequented cooperational forms primarily on the basis of the legal environments in which they are embedded; these are: international law, first and foremost the legal frames given by the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (the so-called Madrid Outline Convention) and European Community Law. Moreover, this listing also offers an overview on the evolution of cross-border cooperation initiatives from less toward more institutionalised models.

2.1 Cooperation based on international law

Partnership

The most simple and less institutionalised form of cross-border cooperation is the development of partnership agreements among the local and regional level economic, civil and administrative spheres of the neighbouring regions of the border. Such initiatives can manifest in twin city, regional as well as macroregional partnerships.

Twin city agreements are the most prevalent form of cross-border cooperation in Europe. The reason for this is the relative simplicity of this form. There is no cross-border body at all in this case, but a bilateral cooperation agreement is signed between two municipalities on the joint implementation of projects and investments in which both partners are interested. The common work is based on the more or less regular consultation between the relevant offices of the two municipalities. More recently, in many cases newly established non-profit urban development companies are charged with such tasks. Such a company is usually fully owned by the municipality which outsources some of its development, investment and management activities to the company, thus benefitting from the more adequate and flexible structure of such a corporate form. Usually, the more the twin cities are close to each other, the more the cooperation is active. Quite often, twin towns are also neighbours in the geographic sense, like the twin-towns of Esztergom (HU) and Štúrovo (SK), Komárom (HU) and Komárno (SK), Cieszyn (PL) and Český Těšín (CZ), Giurgiu (RO) and Ruse (BG), Bad Radkersburg (AT) and Gornja Radgona (SI) or Vidin (BG) and Calafat (RO) within the area of the Danube Region.

Another form of the first model is development partnership, which results in network-like non-institutional cooperation. The partnership itself is of consultative nature and usually contributes to the harmonisation of the members' development goals. Fine examples are the Bodrogközi¹ and the Abaúji² Development Partnerships at the Hungary-Slovakia border, both of which are coordinated by the Miskolc-based Vitea Foundation, charged with mentoring and management duties at the same time. (In both cases, the financially weak and less populated local municipalities established EGTC for intensifying their cooperation.)

Partnerships may also be established on macroregional level. Such an initiative is the territorial framework of this current study, the European Union's Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR)³. Here too, no new institutions have been established, the cooperation of the Member States occurs at a consultative level.

The advantage of development partnerships is that no new institutions are required which later must be „fed” both in financial and in functional terms. Thus, the development of the targeted region may involve all interested parties without charging them with unnecessary additional administrative burdens, requirements and responsibility. At the same time, the parties cannot manage their developments jointly which makes the financing of the projects complicated. Accordingly, this model is usually used in the early stages of cooperation activities.

Euroregion

Following the model of the EuRegio established in 1957, it was mostly from the 1970s that euroregions became the most widespread quasi-institutional cross-border cooperation forms throughout Europe. A common feature of these bodies is that they do not establish own joint legal personality but in most cases they include a double coordination model built on parallel structures on both sides of the border. Sometimes, euroregions create an own legal body which is registered on one side but does not have legal capacity on the other. The form was very popular in the 70s along the German borders and from the 90s onwards within the former communist block. Nevertheless, this growth in quantity was in general not coupled with quality therefore the most of the euroregions within the Danube Region are not in operation anymore. Some of them were transformed into EGTCs and few others (the best functioning ones) are still in operation.

In general, the main reason of the weakening of the euroregion model is that this form can at best be understood as a geographic category, a strategic cooperation of borderland municipal and regional authorities, without any legal personality. Therefore, euroregions cannot be considered as independent bodies, in many times, the euroregional form does not open new

¹ http://www.bodrogkoziek.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=149&Itemid=190

² <http://www.abauj.info/>

³ <http://www.danube-region.eu/>

gateways for financing and common management of territorial assets, they are rather quasi-institutional organisations which are enabled to dynamise cross-border cooperation through occasional agreements.

2.2 Initiatives based on the Madrid Convention

The European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, also called as the Madrid Convention was launched by the Council of Europe (CoE) in 1980. The document was supposed to answer the demand on the establishment of institutional forms that, unlike euroregions, may be effective on both sides of the border. The Convention created a new framework within international law for the institutionalisation of cross-border initiatives and provided with useful institutional samples for those wishing to deepen cooperation activities. The Madrid Convention inspired several bilateral or multilateral treaties, such as the Treaty of Bayonne (1995) and the Karlsruhe Agreement (1996) and new models of cross-border institutionalised cooperation.

Working communities

Working communities are usually established for the coordination of large extent cooperation initiatives. The first such body, the Working Community of the Alpine States (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpenländer) was founded in 1972. The Alps-Adriatic Working Community, founded in 1978, has played an important role in the strengthening of the relations between former Western and Eastern Bloc countries, however it lost much of its former significance to our days.

In respect of the Danube basin, the most significant initiative of this kind is the Danube Working Community (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer, ARGEDONAU) which was established in 1990 in Wachau. The working community has 40 members, mainly regional municipalities located near the river from Germany to Ukraine but also states like Serbia and Moldova take part in the activities.

The ArgeDonau aims at enhancing the spirit of cooperation within the territory of the Danube valley, closing the stakeholders along the river to each other and implementing projects to facilitate the achievement of these aims.

The presidency is rotating among the members following a geographic principle. The province of Lower-Austria plays the role of administrative centre.

Eurodistricts

Another institutional form created in the aftermath of the Madrid Convention is eurodistrict. Originally referring to the cross-border hinterland of larger, attractive cities and towns located at the border, this form holds a legal personality which fit into the legal structures of all the

participating countries. Due to this legal embeddedness many of them were successful in transforming into EGTCs in the last of years. The best known example for eurodistricts is the Strasbourg-Ortenau Eurodistrict founded in 2005 and registered as EGTC since 2010.

Euroregional Cooperation Groupings (ECGs)

After the adoption of the Madrid Convention the Council of Europe elaborated three additional protocols based on the subsequent feedbacks, aiming thus to precise some specific issues. The first Additional Protocol (1995) aimed at supporting the establishment of cross-border cooperation areas with own decision-making authority. Protocol No. 2 (1998) laid the ground for the cooperation of non-adjacent larger (transnational) entities. Finally, Protocol No. 3 (2009) created the framework of Euroregional Cooperation Grouping (ECG) for the cross-border cooperation of territorial communities and authorities.

The ECG intends to answer the already mentioned challenge that euroregions had to face, namely that they had no legal embeddedness on the other side of the border, therefore cannot be considered as common institutions. ECG provides with the opportunity to establish common bodies with legal capacity on both sides of the border which can give a new impetus to the “euroregion project”. Nevertheless, no such institution has been established yet.

2.3 Institutional forms based on Community Law: the EGTCs

The legal form of EGTC (European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation) incorporated within the community law by the Regulation (EC) 1082/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council, and entered into force on 1 August 2007.⁴ Since then, Member States were committed to adopt the EGTC Regulation within their domestic legislation; as a result, the status of the EGTC form saw a consolidation in the last years throughout the EU. What is more that with the amendment of the EGTC Regulation in 2013 (Regulation (EU) No 1302/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 December 2013)⁵, partners from one Member State and one non-member country are also enabled to set up an EGTC (beforehand, participants from at least two Member States were necessary).

The novelty of this institutional form lies in the fact that it has an own legal personality acknowledged in all Member States (and in some third states) therefore it is enabled to hire own personnel, run business activities and provide with services. The EGTC law must be adopted by all EU Member States, and approval of such initiatives may only be rejected in specific cases. EGTCs automatically fulfil a wide range of prerequisites of the application for ETC

⁴ <https://portal.cor.europa.eu/egtc/about/Pages/What%20is%20the%20EGTC.aspx>

⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=5243

Programmes; therefore they were supposed to have a predominant role in the implementation of ETC-projects.

From 2007 onwards, four different types of EGTCs have been founded in the EU:

- Most numerous (82%) are classical cross-border regional development EGTCs, considered widely as the new generation of euroregions;
- Another significant type is network EGTC, based on a thematical rather than a territorial proximity;
- A third group is composed by project EGTCs, established for the implementation and the subsequent management of a certain investment. The only known project EGTC is the French-Spanish Cerdanya EGTC. In the Danube Region no such initiative has been launched so far;
- The fourth type is the programming EGTC with two existing examples: the Greater Region EGTC managing the cross-border cooperation programmes in the France-Germany-Belgium-Luxemburg border area and the ESPON EGTC.

The most important difference between EGTCs and euroregions is that this latter one is an entity of rather geographic nature whilst the former one is of legal nature, though the activities of an EGTC also target the support of cross-border cooperation within a well-defined geographic framework. Neither euroregions nor other forms of cooperation, provided by the Madrid Convention, had legal capacity on both sides of the border which could have facilitated the implementation of joint projects. In contrast, as the EGTC is adopted in all Members States, such initiatives have full legal capacity in all these countries, therefore it may provide with a stable legal background for a series of cooperation activities.

A wide range of cross-border cooperation initiatives are listed in *Annexe I*. As we can see, city twinnings are the most widespread forms of cooperation, even when focusing only at those partnerships which take place in the relative proximity of the borders. Moreover, the form of twin cities looks back at a history of almost seven decades. On the contrary, EGTCs are the youngest forms of cooperation, introduced in 2007. However, this short period already enabled them to gain importance and become the most popular cooperation form in recent years. 32 EGTCs have already been registered which involve actors from one or more countries from the Danube Region and several others are currently undergoing the registration process.⁶ The trends suggest an increasing growth in the number of these groupings for the following years; however, the advantages of the EGTC form could have only slightly been exploited until now.

⁶ <https://portal.cor.europa.eu/egtc/CoRAactivities/Pages/egtc-list.aspx>

3. The intensity of cooperation

After the categorisation of the cross-border cooperation initiatives according to their institutionalisation, we tried to assess the intensity of the distinct partnerships based on the information available on them. As mentioned in the introduction, our task was largely limited by a range of factors, mainly by capacities. Therefore, in the measuring of the intensity of the cooperation activities, our research concentrated on the on-line presence of the partnerships. As we suggested in the introduction, we are convinced, that the available on-line information in English on the distinct cross-border initiatives is a reliable indicator for their performance. In this respect, though we are aware of the weaknesses of such an approach, we base this present evaluation on the quality and quantity of on-line accessible information on each of the cooperation initiatives. *Annexe II.* represents the full listing.

The most intensive cross-border cooperation initiatives are mainly euroregions, on the hand, which often have long traditions of joint work, and EGTCs, on the other hand, which recently started their operation, often coupled with the investment of remarkable financial and human resources, and they are supported by a solid institutional, economic and social background. The most intensive cooperation initiatives are largely concentrated in the western part of the Danube Region, having their seats predominantly in the Czech Republic and Hungary. They usually have their own website regularly updated (approximately on a monthly base) and they have also remarkable experiences after having implemented a series of projects within the terms of the cross-border partnership they comprise. Their efficiency is usually enabled by a permanent professional staff which opens up the opportunity for the necessary tasks to be handled on a daily basis. Generally, the staffs have one to four employees working in full-time. Occasionally, some EGTCs may function with a larger staff, more than four associates, but in such cases, some of them, if not all, are employed on a part-time or project basis. Nevertheless, a significant share of the budget of EGTCs and euroregions are spent on wages, therefore the number of employees is in strong and direct connection with the actual financial conditions of the cooperation, and is largely dependent on the success in tender applications. Smaller cooperation bodies may only have one full-time employee, the director, who can only hire other colleagues for the terms of ongoing projects.

In the case of intensive, but thematically or timely limited cooperation initiatives, the situation is somewhat different. Thematically concentrated cross-border initiatives are often supported by institutional background, such as in the case of Novohrad-Nógrád Geopark (a geological park along the Hungary-Slovakia border targeting the preservation of geological values) is managed by the Novohrad-Nógrád EGTC. In other cases, such as the Raab-Őrség-Goričko Nature Park, the cooperation is managed by the already existing domestic national institutions of the three countries, thus it does not need the creation of new structures. In contrast to this, timely limited cooperation initiatives are largely institutionalised, mainly those based on EU-support. CBC programmes, such as IPA or INTERREG play an important role in the leverage of cross-border networking throughout the whole Danube Region and their role is especially important in the eastern part where initiatives of bottom-up nature are relatively weak.

A mixed level of intensity characterizes a wide number of cooperation initiatives which were initially launched with great enthusiasm and remarkable plans but subsequently lost their dynamism and operate now with low capacities. This category includes plenty of twin city partnerships which are usually stable, but not very dynamic cooperation forms. Stable in the sense that they are legally adopted; and not very dynamic as their capacities and financial resources are limited. Their visibility is also slight as they usually even do not have a distinct management structure and staff. Work is carried out by the staff of the town or city hall besides other daily tasks. Only larger cities can afford the maintenance of an office for external relations; however, they usually have no on-line appearance either. By all means, a basic characteristic feature of twin city partnerships is that the outcomes of the cooperation are not regularly posted on a single on-line platform but appear occasionally in the local public media.

Not only twin cities, but also twin regions appear on our list which usually try to cooperate with the aim of carrying out one or more greater projects (e.g. infrastructural developments); nevertheless, their competences are in general far not enough for the implementation of the project itself. Last but not least we can also find euroregions and EGTCs in this category which yet failed to build up a stable financial and institutional background and according to the few accessible information on their websites, their activities are characterised by significant ups and downs.

The least intensive cross-border regions and initiatives are the ones which have been launched with the total lack of appropriate financial, social and political support. Obviously, twin towns are the most numerous among them as the launch of such initiatives is not costly and there are no legal obligations either on the regularity of cooperation activities. Therefore, many of them are only frameworks with no real content. The same is true for several euroregions and some recently funded EGTCs which show no sign of active operation. In the case of the EGTCs, the inoperability is overshadowed by the suspect that these groupings were only funded to benefit from the financial support which EGTCs are granted from community and state funds though the number of these groupings is yet moderate. Among all these types of cooperation inactive initiatives can largely be found in the eastern part of the Danube Region, among other in eastern Hungary, eastern Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. These are the regions where the harsh economic and social conditions hardly enable the embedding within their region.

All in all, we can say that the intensity is largely dependent on the resources at disposal and the domain of financial resources is only one element of this game. Cooperation initiatives need to have enough human resources, economic and social ties; moreover they have to fit in the labour division of their own region, too. In other words, they must find the tasks and fields in which they have the competence to achieve progress and can generate real added value. Less active projects are often sidelined not only because of their economic weakness, but also because of their lack of ability to find their role within their own regions. This is however largely dependent on other given structures such as governmental, infrastructural and economic ones.

4. Ethnic/linguistic ties and historical unity/shared landscape

Current state borders are relatively new phenomena within the Danube Region and they only rarely fit to other societal borders such as linguistic, ethnic or confessional ones. The similarity of these factors on the neighbouring sides of the border, together with the presence of the common sense of historical and/or geographical unity, often mean some pre-existing connections on which cross-border initiatives can build on. Nevertheless, the contrary is also true: basic differences between the languages of the neighbouring states, the lack of the common historical heritage and a shared regional identity, the weakness of traditional social and economic ties and interactions among people from the distinct states often result in slightly efficient or even inoperative partnerships.

When taking a look at the geographic location of institutionalised cooperation initiatives, taking into consideration the above described work intensity, it is particularly noticeable that the most intensive partnerships are usually backed by linguistic factors. A demonstrative example for this, though barely visible from our data collection, that a very deep and daily level of cooperation is taking place on regional and local level between the respective entities at the German-Austrian border. However, we can find institutionalised bodies here such as the Euregio Inntal, the Inn-Salzach-Euregio or the EuRegio Salzburg - Berchtesgadener Land – Traunstein, local authorities and public service operators do also harmonise their daily work and involve the related tasks on the other side of the border within their activities. A fine example for this is the Transport Association of Salzburg (Salzburger Verkehrsverbund GmbH) which is not only concerned with the management of public transport within the Austrian federal state of Salzburg but also with that of the neighbouring German areas.

Similarly we can find numerous joint partnerships at the Czech Republic – Poland border where the basic similarities between the two languages enable the participating members to stay in contact on a regular and (optionally) on an informal base. A fine example for latter ones is the Tritia EGTC, based in the divided town of Cieszyn (PL) – Český Těšín (CZ) where this closeness in linguistic terms is further supported by the immediate geographic proximity of the Czech and Polish actors, involving partners from the nearby Slovakia as well.

Somewhat different linguistic closeness can be observed along the borders of Hungary. Though Hungarian language is completely different from all neighbouring ones, the significant number of native Hungarians living as minority on the external side of the borders, especially in Slovakia, Romania and Serbia, means an important link between the neighbouring sides. The most active zone is the Slovakia-Hungary border where a significant number of institutionalised partnerships were founded from the 1990s onwards, including 13 EGTCs, few of them have yet managed to make a breakthrough in creating a permanent working environment. Nevertheless, in the emergence of the high density of institutionalisation bilingual actors from Slovakia played an important role. Hungarian is mostly used as working language and this facilitates the daily contact and the more or less regular meetings of key actors, mostly mayors. A similar situation

can also be observed at the Hungary-Romania and Hungary-Serbia borders, however the density of cross-border cooperation bodies is much more moderate due to other sort of difficulties, predominantly administrative and financial ones. Nevertheless, we can find promising recent initiatives on both borders, such as the Gate to Europe EGTC between Hungary and Romania, and the DKMT Euroregion and the Banat Triplex Confinium EGTC at the Hungary-Romania-Serbia triborder area.

By all means, the remoteness of the neighbouring sides of the border in linguistic terms is of key importance concerning the relative sparse number of efficient institutional bodies at the borders along the Lower Danube. This is especially the case between Serbia and Romania as well as between Romania and Bulgaria. The only exception is the Romania-Moldova border which means no linguistic and ethnic fault line therefore they have the possibility to benefit from the common language. The relative intensity in cross-border projects, marked by the activities of the Euroregion Siret – Prut – Nistru, underpins the importance of the linguistic factor.

Not only the language issues but also the historical heritage is supposed to play an important role in the emergence of border crossing partnerships. Borders are and have always been in continuous change and, as a result, they may actually separate areas which formerly belonged together. This is quite often the case within the Danube Region where state borders went through a profound reconfiguration in the 20th century. Many historical regional and local entities were cut through by the newly emerging borders which often resulted in the decline of important economic and social ties between urban centres and their hinterlands.

It was only in the second half of the 20th century and mostly in the 1990s, marked by the entry into force of the Schengen Agreement, that the softening of border policies, together with other processes such as globalization and European integration, enabled a revival for many formerly existing ties. The dissolution of administrative borders within the Schengen Area further enhanced the chances for the actors of borderland regions to find their closest natural partners on the other side of the border. This rediscovery of relevant partners based on historical ties, reinforced by the common sense of community and its destiny, is often coupled with other cohesive forces such as the above presented linguistic/ethnic ties which can also be effective in themselves.

A wide range of historical regions and city districts can be found throughout the Danube Region which hold some kind of historical and geographical identity and remain faithful to it despite the presence of the border. Though, in many cases these borders are rather dividing lines in more instances for example in linguistic terms, the collective memories of always having lived together side by side, coupled with an intrinsic allegiance to the landscape they share (often referred to as *Landespatriotismus*) seem to restore the formerly existing living areas.

This is the case for example in the Baranya(HU)/Baranja(HR) region at the Hungary-Croatia border where ethnolinguistic patterns are rather separating factors, but the shared landscape and the common interests lay the ground for a great number of bottom-up initiatives, mostly

with the leading role of the two urban centres, Pécs and Osijek. Another similar area is the Neusiedler See (AT)/Fertő-tó (HU) district at the Austria-Hungary border where the landscape around the lake constitutes a common living area for the people of the two countries who basically do not speak the same language, though the number of Hungarians working and/or living at the Austrian side is in continuous growth. The natural environment constitutes the base for the most important cross-border body of the area, Neusiedler See – Seewinkel/Fertő–Hanság National Park, although true bottom-up initiatives are much less characteristic in this region.

Shared landscape is often a cohesive factor when the border is marked by a river. This may seem inappropriate, as border rivers are usually considered as natural barriers and in the Danube Region the relative scarcity in cross-border bridges (compared to Western Europe) does not support the daily connection of the riverbanks either. Nevertheless, real life experiences show that even among unfavourable infrastructural conditions the riverbanks tend to play a significant role in the daily life of the other side. This is certainly the case of urban centres which typically benefit from some kind of labour division between each other. As mentioned above, the Danube Region, especially its eastern part suffers from the relative low number of cross-border bridges. This is especially true for more rural areas while urban centres are somewhat better connected to each other therefore the connections between the two sides are often maintained through these centres which thus function as meeting points for the neighbouring people and symbolic places for cross-border regional identity which laid the ground for numerous existing cross-border initiatives.

This is largely the case in many of the above mentioned places such as in the Cieszyn – Český Těšín area (Tritia EGTC), the region of the Ister-Granum EGTC and in some instances the Baranya/Baranja region (emerging Pannon EGTC along the river Drava), though in this case urban centres are located farther from the border river. Other cases include the Inn and Salzach Rivers with multiple urban centers and cooperation initiatives at the Germany-Austria border (e.g. Euregio Inntal, the Inn-Salzach-Euregio), the Komárno-Komárom agglomeration at the Slovakia-Hungary border, centre of Pons Danubii EGTC, the Vidin-Calafat and Giurgiu-Ruse twin cities and their zones at the Romania-Bulgaria border, and the Prut River area, hosting Euroregion Siret – Prut – Nistru, at the Romania-Moldova border.

Similarly to rivers, mountainous areas may also constitute shared cultural landscapes as these physical geographic entities often mark state borders. Mountainous regions usually constitute a distinct category within their own countries, being considered as remote, isolated and less civilized areas and the inhabitants, the “highlanders”, are usually seen as people who are more confined to their traditions and their local livelihoods than others across the country. This has gradually become an important factor in the emergence of the distinct identity of mountainous areas and together with the revelation of the common interests and challenges concerning these regions, a common ground for cooperation came to be laid. Highland regions such as the Beskids or the High Tatras saw the emergence of cross-border initiatives (e.g. Euroregion

Beskydy or EGTC TATRY, respectively) targeting the most important issues of mountainous location, underpinned by a “highlander” identity.

Areas without distinct natural geographic features may also be seen as shared landscapes feeding a sort of distinct identity. Such a situation can be observed at the eastern and southern borders of Hungary where the Great Plain continues ceaselessly on the Romanian and Serbian sides of the border. Thus, the shared landscape is a generally flat topography which is basically structured by the hinterlands of regional centres, Debrecen (HU) and Oradea (RO) at the Hungary-Romania border, having laid the ground for the likes of Gate to Europe EGTC, and Szeged (HU) and Subotica (RS) at the Hungary-Serbia border, cooperating nowadays in the Euroregion DKMT and Banat-Triplex Confinium EGTC, respectively (even though these above mentioned cities themselves are not official members in these initiatives).

All in all, we can see that ethnic and linguistic ties, as well as historical unity and shared landscape, usually play a significant role in the emergence of partnerships within the Danube Region. No general rule can be found for the borderlands where these factors would likely contribute to the emergence of successful cross-border cooperation initiatives. Instead we made an attempt to point at some characteristic historical and geographical features which obviously had been of importance in the past development of currently existing cross-border bodies. Through this, we pointed at the fact once again that border regions could not be considered as a general category, but they had to be seen as a series of local spaces which had one characteristic in common, namely the presence of a state border, but otherwise they possessed their own historic legacy and geographic position from which they could benefit differently.

5. Fields of cross-border cooperation

In the process of classification the cross-border cooperation initiatives in the Danube Region we turn our attention towards the dimension of 'fields of cross-border cooperation'. We have identified 8 'fields/cluster-areas of cooperation' within the realm of cross-border interaction during our analysis of cross-border cooperation. These fields or cluster-areas were identified through qualitative research approach. Specifically, we scrutinised cross-border documents, plans, programmes, aims, objectives, targets and goals through desk research; subsequently, the result of analysis was a list of common denominators of cross-border cooperation, namely fields which are the most appropriate for cross-border interaction. Simply, we looked at the areas of cooperation, investigated those domains where cross-border cooperation frequently emerges and we constructed a categorisation of fields based on frequency of appearance.

These fields of cooperation may differ, thus some fields of cooperation gain higher attention and they occupy a more central role within cross-border cooperation, while some other fields of cooperation receive less attention and they remain on the periphery thereof. Subsequently, these cluster areas are divided into three categories.

Table 1: Fields of cross-border cooperation in the Danube Region

Source: authors' compilation

The most central fields of cross-border cooperation	Field of cross-border cooperation with rising tendency	The least central fields of cross-border cooperation
culture and human relationship, tourism, economic cooperation, nature, infrastructure	crisis management	cross-border research, health care

The field of '**cross-border culture and human relationship**' is among the most central fields of cross-border cooperation. Cross-border cultural cooperation aims to create an appropriate environment where different cultures and cultural traits can meet, they can enrich each other and perform cultural exchanges between people. Cultural cooperation involves also cooperation in the field of human relationships, like student exchange or summer youth camps (Euroregion Egrensis). In other words, culture and human relationships are fields with substantial capacity to generate toleration toward the neighbours. We can implicitly deduce that culture is a field where low money/resource input can generate visible results and achievements; consequently, of the term 'culture' as a possible field of cooperation can be explicitly found in every cross-border cooperation plan, strategy and description. This field of cooperation includes cultural cooperation, protection and preservation of cultural heritage, promotion of cultural diversity and colourfulness between regions and people; moreover, it supports music, dance and art performances, sport events and competitions, common picnics, cultural/art exhibitions, concerts, theatre festivals, cooperation among libraries and/or

interconnection of local TV channels in the cross-border areas. Simply, it is a field which mainly promotes neighbourhood.

The next investigated field is '**cross-border tourism**' which also lies at the central attention of cross-border regions with an emphasis on its cross-border character, like eco-tourism (e.g. Euroregion Šumava-Bayerischer Wald/Unterer Inn; Euroregion Pomoraví-Záhorie-Weinviertel), village-tourism, gastro-tourism, wine-tourism (e.g. Bratislava County and Burgenland; Haloze and Zagorje), ethno-tourism (Euroregion Nišava), cultural tourism, tourism and wilderness (Euroregion Šumava-Bayerischer Wald/Unterer Inn), development of web-based touristic informational portal with description of touristic centres and/or the establishment of Euroregional Information Centre (Danube-Kris-Mures-Tisza Euroregion). Moreover, it promotes the introduction of touristic licenses that authorise to travel within the defined cross-border area (Haloze-Zagorje). The issue of tourism has high priority within the domain of cross-border cooperation and it has its unquestionable place almost in all cross-border plan and strategy. Simply, cross-border tourism is a potential field of CBC which might stimulate either interpersonal, intercultural familiarisation with the neighbour, or economic activity and services which is often linked with the phenomenon of economic development.

The third field within the level of the most central ones of CBC is the domain of '**cross-border economic cooperation**' that underlines the importance of economic development, formulation of attractive cross-border economic areas based on entrepreneurship, innovation, and mitigation of the rate of unemployment. Cross-border cooperation within the economic field includes support for sustainable economic growth and economic cooperation/investments, support of competitiveness and for the small and medium sized enterprises. Furthermore, it involves activities like organisation of economic forums, linking of two stock exchanges (e.g. Ruse-Bucharest), job fairs (e.g. Tritia EGTC), work market (e.g. Pons Danubii EGTC), capital attraction into the border area (e.g. Euroregion Košice - Miskolc) and support for development of human resources. To put it in other words, economic field of cross-border cooperation aims to strengthen the economic and social cohesion on the cross-border territory; subsequently, every cross-border cooperation plan includes this field into its strategic priorities.

The next field under the first category is '**nature and cross-border environmental cooperation**'. Globalized world has generated a deep anthropogenic pressure on nature and living creatures. Facts like pollution, anthropocene mass extinction, deterioration of the health conditions of societies have had huge influence on environment and society, too. Consequently, a slight change can be seen toward a more nature-friendly behaviour with the aim to reduce environmental burden. This change has its fingerprint also on the realm of cross-border cooperation. It means that numerous projects and cooperation can be found in this field, like environmental protection/renewal of nature, management of natural resources, preservation of ecological balance in the Danube Valley (Arrabona EGTC), solution of environmental problems (Euroregion Drina-Sava-Majevisa), protection of natural habitat and the animal migration routes (Euroregion Pomoraví – Záhorie – Weinviertel), cooperation between natural

parks, monitoring of butterflies, preparation of butterfly atlas and protection/revitalization of old orchards (Órségi National Park and Goričko Nature Park); combating with the challenges of global warming and climate change (Bánát – Triplex Confinium EGTC); furthermore, promotion of sustainability and renewable energy together with waste management (Tritia EGTC) are among high topics within the realm of CBC. Moreover, the Geopark managed by Novohrad – Nógrad EGTC, is the first UNESCO labelled Geopark in the world which has a cross-border character from its beginning. It implements numerous cross-border activities in the area of the Geopark, like education, research, infrastructure, tourism, investment and/or business development. Besides nature protection, cross-border cooperation on several places underlines other important environmental topics, like eco-production and promotion of local products and their marketing across the borders (e.g. Ister-Granum EGTC) and energy issues, like use of agricultural by-products and their energetic utilisation (BTC EGTC). What is more, cross-border environmental cooperation across the Drina river, specifically disagreement of the local residents with the plans of international investors to utilise the hydropower of the Drina river, resulted in the formulation and establishment of the Drina Euroregion. Simply, the field of nature is a topic with substantial popularity and support, thus it can be easily found in CBC plans and strategies.

Further important domain of cross-border cooperation is the '**cross-border infrastructural cooperation and traffic management**' and its development along the borders, either as cooperation in the field of physical infrastructural projects, like (common) roads, railway, touristic routes, development of water supply/energy infrastructure, or as 'soft infrastructural cooperation' like traffic management along the borders. These projects are promoted with the aim to improve cross-border infrastructural cooperation, to increase transport safety and accessibility, support for low-emission/environmental friendly structure of transport and to increase the efficiency of public transport (Tritia EGTC). Moreover, cross-border cooperation between Ruse and Giurgiu triggered important infrastructural projects, like the project 'Rehabilitating and modernization of access infrastructure to the cross border area Giurgiu – Ruse'; 'Improvement of Pan-European Transport Corridor No 9'. Cross-border bicycle routes are also frequent topics in this domain, e.g. construction of a bicycle route as a result of inter-city planning between cities of Arad and Gyula; as a result of cross-border activity of cycle path network managed either between Subotica and Osijek or by the Pons Danubii EGTC. Besides, other infrastructural projects are also visible like waste treatment infrastructure (Malacky – Gänserndorf), railway development (e.g. Bregovo – Negotin) or better infrastructural conditions in the area of cooperation (Tatry EGTC) and/or harmonisation of ticket system and common bus schedule (Euroregion Šumava-Bayerischer Wald/Unterer Inn, Centrope region or the Euroregion Egrensis). Beyond the above mentioned cross-border cooperation, which underline the importance of transport, the Central European Transport Corridor EGTC was established in 2014, involving Poland, Hungary and Sweden with the aim to cooperate in the field of transport, its development and the accessibility along the north-south multimodal transport axis from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea, thus directly crossing the Danube Region.

What is more, new Danube bridge was built between Vidín (Bulgaria) and Calafat (Romania) in 2013, and two other bridges are planned to be built, namely between Silistra (Bulgaria) and Călărași (Romania); and between Svishtov (Bulgaria) and Zimnicea (Romania). In other words, cross-border cooperation in the field of infrastructure is profoundly important because it has a huge and substantial effect on the trans-border mobility.

The field of '**cross-border crisis management**', especially in times of natural disasters, is a field of cross-border cooperation which has a rising tendency. That means it is not a field explicitly expressed in every CBC plan and strategy, but its importance in the realm of CBC is clear. Alteration of global climate, global warming, intensification of the power of natural elements and their impacts on nature and/or human habitat, either in the form of droughts, thunderstorm, flood or blizzard, push relevant stakeholders to cooperate across the borders, specifically to elaborate strategic plans and to mitigate the losses and consequences. Several cross-border interactions may be identified within this field, like the common rescue exercise between Bratislava County and Burgenland; fire/emergency services and disaster management (Euroregion Krušnohoří – Erzgebirge; Carpathian Euroregion); cooperation in prevention, rescue service and elimination of disaster consequences (e.g. Euroregion Glacensis; Euroregion Nišava; Euroregion Drina-Sava-Majevisa; Sajó-Rima/Slaná-Rimava EGTC), protection and establishment of a common information system (Euroregion Danube-Drava-Sava, the water management institutions of Northern Hungary and Eastern Slovakia), mutual help in case of disasters (Euroregion Praděd – Pradziad), joint flood prevention, preparation of a rescue team with appropriate equipment with the ability to manage fast removal of population of the affected area (Euroregion Danube-Kris-Mures-Tisa) and/or common flood protection (Euroregion Šumava-Bayerischer Wald/Unterer Inn–Mühlviertel). Besides, cross-border cooperation between Ruse and Giurgiu triggered substantial cross-border projects, like 'Common Action for Prevention of Environmental Disasters' and 'Enhancing the operational technical capacities for emergency situations response in the Giurgiu-Ruse cross-border area'.

The first domain of cross-border cooperation within the category of the least central field is the '**cross-border research**'. It usually involves cross-border activities, like organisations of conferences (e.g. Euroregion Siret-Prut-Nistru), workshops and/or publications. The university cooperation is usually performed under the coverage of twin relationships, like dental hygienic cooperation between Alfatar and Baneasa; cross-border cooperation of medical universities and medical practices between Iași and Chișinău; inter-university European Center between Ruse and Bucharest; maintenance of relationships among schools and universities between Baia Mare and Ivano-Frankivsk and/or research cooperation under the coverage of Euroregions, like free university of Ipoly-Ipel' Euroregion; cooperation under the Euroregion Košice and Miskolc; cross-border cooperation with the aim to undertake common educational projects between schools of Tatry EGTC; education/training coordination across the border (Euroregion Danube-Kris-Mures-Tisa; Euroregion Drina-Sava-Majevisa); common dual cross-border vocational education in the field of machinery (Euroregion Šumava-Bayerischer Wald/Unterer Inn–Mühlviertel). What is more, a substantial research cooperation was

performed between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, namely '**Resources pilot centre for cross-border preservation of the aquatic biodiversity of Prut River**' which resulted in scientific investigation of the Prut River and in a subsequent publication activity of the cross-border research.

The final identified field of cross-border cooperation of the Danube Region is the field of '**cross-border health**'. Health policy is considered to be an important and unique policy of nation states which is managed and financed by state systems, thus their alteration and change is very complicated; subsequently, it is a domain of cross-border interaction which is rather limited and it occupies the least central field of CBC. This field contains cross-border cooperation among health and social institutions, like Euroregion Pomoraví – Záhorie – Weinviertel; integration of cross-border health care (Euroregion Danube-Kris-Mures-Tisa; the contract between the Slovak assurance company Dôvera and the Hungarian hospital in Esztergom) and/or common health care rescue training between Bratislava County and Burgenland. This field of cross-border cooperation is very rare, hence it occupies a peripheral position within CBC plans and strategies.

To summarise, the aim and purpose of cross-border cooperation is to establish a coherent space where borders are no longer function as obstacles, but rather they are turned into a possible resource generating development and cooperation. When starting cooperation, the stakeholders are seeking for relevant fields for working together; fields which connect them to each other because of their common or complementary characteristics. Within the Danube region cross-border interaction usually takes place in the above identified cluster fields.

6. Duration of cross-border cooperation within the Danube Region

The establishment of the first cross-border euroregion was a cooperation initiative in the German – Dutch border area (Scott, 2000), namely 'Euregio' in 1958, and it involved the following border areas: North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony from Germany, and Gelderland, Overijssel and Drenthe from the Netherlands. The official goal was to propose binational initiatives with the aim to promote solutions for specific economic, social, environmental and/or institutional problems of the region; to support cultural cooperation and communication across the border area, and to deconstruct negative images and stereotypes on both sides of the border (Scott, 2012).

Euregio was followed by the Øresund Committee cross-border cooperation between Denmark and Sweden in 1964. Nevertheless, the European breakthrough of cross-border interaction happened in the 70s. Subsequently, 'cross-border cooperation diffusion' happened and numerous euroregions were established in Western and Northern part of Europe. To be specific, 18 cases of cross-border cooperation were registered in the 1970s and 13 cross-border cooperation were founded in the 1980s. At the same time, strict border regimes in the former communist countries made cross-border interaction immensely limited, bureaucratic and unattractive; consequently, cross-border areas lived side by side without any substantial cross-border communication and/or interaction with each other.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the disintegration of the communist political system opened up new areas and possibilities for cross-border cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe, based on Western/Northern European CBC experiences. Subsequently, numerous euroregions were established in the 1990s, in line with the Madrid Convention and its path of eliminating obstacles to transfrontier co-operation. The first euroregions in the Danube Region and Central Europe were motivated by German involvement and mainly with the Czech and Polish co-membership. The following table contains the euroregional cross-border interactions in the Danube Region.

Table 2: Foundation of euroregions in the Danube Region (1990 – 2012)

Source: authors' compilation

Year of foundation	Name of Euroregion	Members
1990	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer	Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Moldavia, Serbia, Slovakia, Ukraine
1991	Euroregion Nisse-Nisa-Nysa	Germany, Czech Republic, Poland
1992	Danube Euroregion 21	Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria
1992	Euroregion Elbe-Labe	Germany, Czech Republic
1992	Euroregion Krušnohoří – Erzgebirge	Germany, Czech Republic
1992	Euroregion Nestos - Mesta	Greece, Bulgaria
1992	Spree-Nisse-Bober Euroregion	Germany, Poland

Crossing the borders. Studies on cross-border cooperation within the Danube Region

A classification of the cross-border cooperation initiatives of the Danube Region

Year of foundation	Name of Euroregion	Members
1993	Carpathian Euroregion	Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania
1993	Euroregion Egrensis	Germany, Czech Republic
1993	Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina	Germany, Poland
1993	Euroregion Šumava-Bayerischer Wald/Unterer Inn	Germany, Czech Republic, Austria
1994	Euroregion Tatry	Slovakia, Poland
1994	Europaregion Tirol-Südtirol/Alto Adige-Trentino	Austria, Italy
1994	Inn-Salzach-Euroregio	Austria, Germany
1995	EuRegio Salzburg-Berchtesgadener Land-Traunstein	Germany, Austria
1995	Regio TriRhena	Germany, France, Switzerland
1996	Euroregion Glacensis	Czech Republic, Poland
1997	Euroregion Danube-Kris-Mures-Tisza	Hungary, Serbia, Romania
1997	Euroregion Praděd – Pradziad	Czech Republic, Poland
1997	Euregio Via Salina	Germany, Austria
1998	Euroregion Cieszyn Silesia	Czech Republic, Poland
1998	Euroregion Danube-Drava-Sava	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Hungary
1998	Euregio Inntal	Germany, Austria
1998	Euroregion Silesia	Czech Republic, Poland
1998	Euregio Zugspitze/Wetterstein-Karwendel	Germany, Austria
1998	Superior Prut and Lower Danube Euroregion	Romania, Ukraine, Moldavia
1998	West/West Pannonia Euroregion	Austria, Hungary
1999	Euroregion Pomoraví-Záhorie-Weinviertel	Austria, Czech Republic, Slovakia
1999	Ipeľ-Ipoly Euroregion	Slovakia, Hungary
1999	Vah-Danube-Ipel Euroregion	Slovakia, Hungary
2000	Euroregion Beskydy	Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic
2000	Euroregion Neogradiensis	Hungary, Slovakia
2000	Upper Prut Euroregion	Romania, Ukraine, Moldavia
2000	White Carpathians Euroregion	Czech Republic, Slovakia
2001	Euroregion Evros-Meric-Maritsa	Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria
2001	Euroregion Danube-South	Romania, Bulgaria
2001	Euroregion Košice – Miskolc	Hungary, Slovakia
2001	Euroregion Kras	Slovakia, Hungary
2001	Euroregion Podunajský Trojspolok	Slovakia, Hungary
2001	Euroregion Rhodopi	Greece, Bulgaria

Year of foundation	Name of Euroregion	Members
2001	Euregio Steiermark-Nordost-Slowenien	Austria, Slovenia
2001	Dobrava Euroregion	Czech Republic, Poland
2001	Inferior Danube Euroregion	Bulgaria, Romania
2001	Rousse-Giurgiu Euroregion	Bulgaria, Romania
2002	ARGE Kärnten-Slowenien / Karawanken	Austria, Slovenia
2002	Euroregion Danubius	Romania, Bulgaria
2002	Euroregion Eurobalkans	Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia
2002	Euroregion Silva Nortica	Austria, Czech Republic
2002	Hajdú-Bihar-Bihar Euroregion	Hungary, Romania
2003	Belasica Euroregion	Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia
2003	Euroregion Drina-Sava-Majevisa	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia
2003	Euroregion Morava-Pcinija-Struma	Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia
2003	Euroregion Strymon-Strouma	Bulgaria, Greece
2003	Ister-Granum Euroregion	Hungary, Slovakia
2004	Euroregion Zemplén	Slovakia, Hungary
2004	Mura-Dráva Euroregion	Croatia, Hungary
2004	Muránia Euroregion	Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Slovenia
2005	Euroregion Middle Danube – Iron Gate	Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria
2005	Euroregion Nišava	Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia
2005	Euroregion Siret-Prut-Nistru	Romania, Moldavia
2006	Adriatic Ionian Euroregion	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Italy, Montenegro, Slovenia
2006	Stará Planina	Bulgaria, Romania
2007	Sajó-Rima Euroregion	Hungary, Slovakia
2008	Black Sea Euroregion	Bulgaria, Romania
2009	Lower Danube Euroregion	Ukraine, Romania, Moldavia
2012	Drina Euroregion	Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Euroregional cross-border cooperation has progressively proliferated cross-border interactions, thus frames and CBC structures were stretched into the whole Danube Region. Graph No. 1 illustrates the number of established euroregions in every year from 1990 till 2012 and it shows the tendency of foundation of euroregions and its fluctuation based on years. It is visible from the graph that there was a rise and fall in establishment of euroregions until 2001 when the peak happened, and after 2001 a relative decline and stagnation is visible. The stagnation can be explained by the new cross-border cooperation tool that was introduced in 2006; subsequently, establishment of euroregions profoundly faded and only three further euroregions were established, specifically the Black Sea Euroregion in 2008, the Lower Danube Euroregion in 2009 and the Drina Euroregion in 2012.

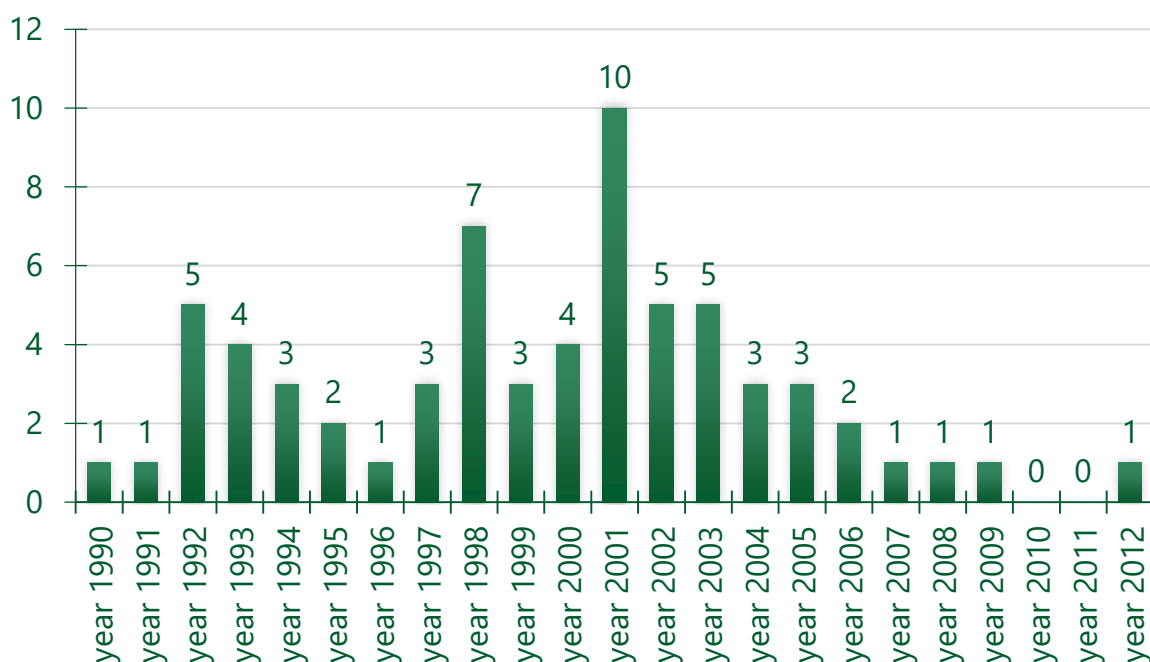


Figure 1: Foundation of euroregions in the Danube Region (1990-2012)

Source: authors' compilation

The next profound step in cross-border cooperation was taken in 2007 when the 'European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation' was launched/introduced with the aim to promote more sophisticated and effective cross-border territorial cooperation in the European Union. This new cross-border framework altered the path of CBC and euroregions were mostly substituted by EGTCs. The first EGTC in the European Union was established in 2008, namely Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai; nevertheless, foundation of the Ister-Granum EGTC in 2008, between Hungary and Slovakia, was the second registered EGTC in the EU and the first registered EGTC in the Danube Region. Subsequently, an 'EGTC boom' has happened in the Danube Region since 2008: numerous EGTCs have been established and a rising tendency is still visible there.

Table 3: Foundation of EGTCs in the Danube Region (2008 – 2015)

Source: authors' compilation

Year of Establishment	Name of EGTCs	Member of EGTCs
2008	Ister-Granum EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2009	Ung-Tisza-Túr-Sajó (Hernád-Bódva-Szinva)	Hungary, Slovakia
2009	Karst-Bodva EGTC	Slovakia, Hungary
2010	Abaúj-Abaújban EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2010	Pons Danubii EGTC	Slovakia, Hungary
2011	Bánát-Triplex Confinium EGTC	Hungary, Romania
2011	Arrabona EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2011	Rába-Duna-Vág EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia

Year of Establishment	Name of EGTCs	Member of EGTCs
2011	Novohrad-Nógád EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2012	EGTC Gate to Europe	Hungary, Romania
2012	Bodrogközi EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2012	Pannon EGTC	Hungary, Slovenia
2012	European Common Future Building EGTC	Hungary, Romania
2013	Tritia EGTC	Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia
2013	Sajó-Rima/Slaná-Rimava EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2013	Via Carpatia EGTC	Slovakia, Hungary
2013	Tatry EGTC	Poland, Slovakia
2013	EGTC Spoločný region limited	Slovakia, Czech Republic
2013	Torysa EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2013	Svinka EGTC	Hungary, Slovakia
2014	European Border Cities EGTC	Hungary, Romania
2015	Mura Region EGTC	Hungary, Romania
2015	MASH EGTC	Hungary, Slovenia
2015	Tisza EGTC	Hungary, Ukraine

At this point, we can separate two kinds of EGTCs in the Danube Region. One kind of EGTCs are embodied by those institutionalised cross-border structures which are fully situated in the geographic space of the Danube Region. Table 3 contains this kind of EGTCs. Second type of EGTCs, which is included in the Table 4, are represented by cross-border frames which are only partly situated in the geographic space of the Danube Region.

*Table 4: Foundation of EGTCs partly in/outside of the Danube Region (2008 – 2015)
Source: authors' compilation*

Year of Establishment	Name of EGTCs	Member of EGTCs
2010	GECT Eurodistrict Strasbourg – Ortenau	France, Germany
2011	GECT Euregio Tirolo - Alto Adige – Trentino	Italy, Austria
2011	Gruppo Europeo di Cooperazione Territoriale (GECT) denominato "Territorio dei comuni: Comune di Gorizia (I), Mestna občina Nova Gorica (SLO) e Občina Šempeter-Vrtojba (SLO)	Italy, Slovenia
2012	EGTC EFXINI POLI - Network of European Cities for Sustainable Development	Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria
2012	European Urban Knowledge Network EGTC	Netherlands, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic,

Year of Establishment	Name of EGTCs	Member of EGTCs
		France, Germany, Hungary, Luxemburg, Romania
2012	GECT Euregio Senza Confini r.l. - Euregio Ohne Grenzen mbH	Italy, Austria
2014	Agrupación Europea de Cooperación Territorial Ciudades de la Cerámica, AECT limitada	Spain, France, Italy, Romania
2014	Central European Transport Corridor EGTC	Poland, Hungary, Sweden

In other words, 57 EGTCs were founded in the EU between 2008 and 2015, and we can explicitly state that the Danube Region is very active in this area: the established EGTCs in the Danube Region represent a substantial share within the EU with 24 EGTCs. Furthermore, eight additional EGTCs are partly situated in and partly outside of the Danube Region.

- EGTCs fully outside of the Danube Region
- EGTCs in the Danube Region
- EGTCs partly in/outside of the Danube Region

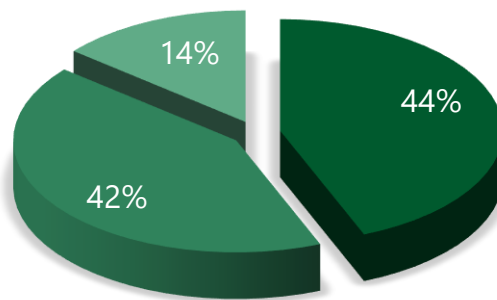


Figure 2: EGTCs in the European Union (2015, December)

Source: authors' compilation

The following graphs visualize the tendency and fluctuation of establishment of EGTCs. It is visible that EGTC have become permanent structure of cross-border cooperation in the European Union: new EGTCs have been initiated every year since its promotion. To be specific, a steady rise of founded EGTCs is visible during the first years; and the highest number of EGTCs in the geographic area of the Danube Region was the year 2013 which was followed by a decrease; nevertheless, the year 2015 once again shows a rising tendency

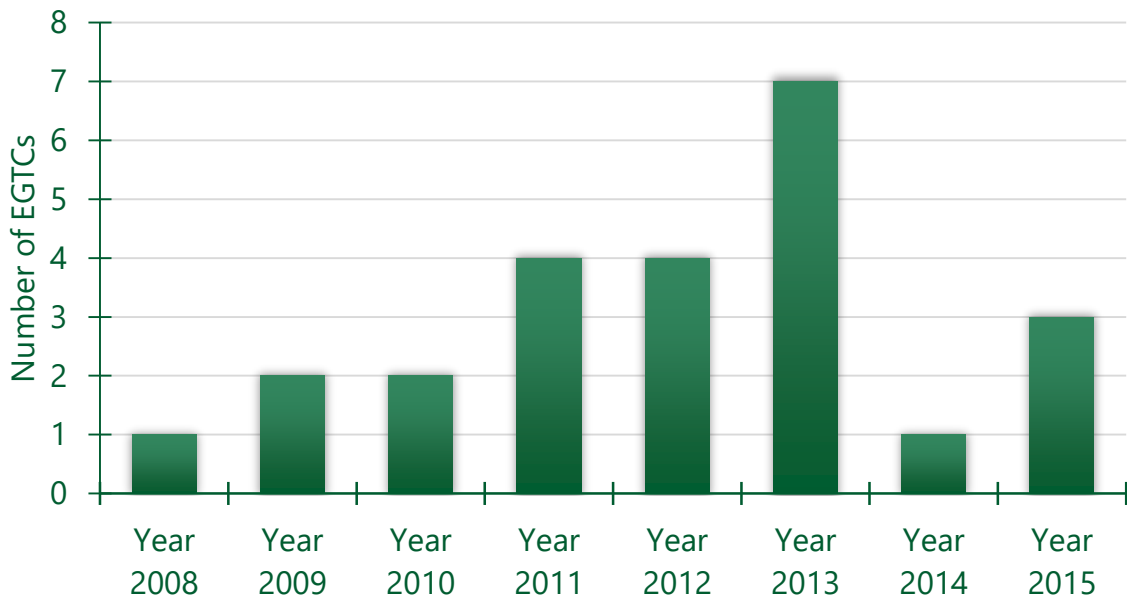


Figure 3: Tendency of establishment of EGTCs in the Danube Region (2008 – 2015)

Source: authors' compilation

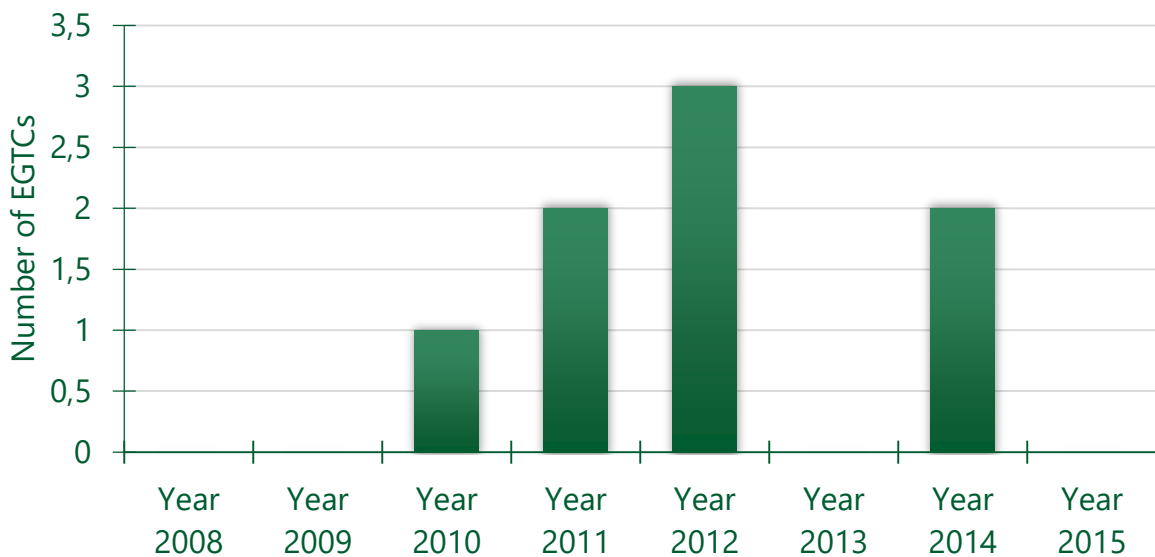


Figure 4: Tendency of establishment of EGTCs which are partly in/outside of the Danube Region (2008 – 2015)

Source: authors' compilation

One can divide two periods of cross-border cooperation within the Danube Region. The first period went through after the transition phase, when cross-border interaction took place mainly within the legal framework of euroregions. This period lasted from 1991 till 2007. The second phase of CBC was triggered by the introduction of a new legal framework, the EGTC in 2007; subsequently, the application of EGTC has become the primary tool in the management of cross-border cooperation within the Danube Region.

7. Number of countries involved in cross-border cooperation initiatives within the Danube Region

When we look at the number of countries involved in cross-border cooperation bodies, it is obvious that the majority of cross-border partnerships are set up as a platform between two/three cross-border regions/states. Sometimes, structures can also be found with five/six or even more involved countries, but it is rather an exceptional case than a rule. The following table lists the established euroregions and it indicates the number of involved countries in the cooperation within the Danube Region, from the beginnings in 1990 when cross-border cooperation was triggered, until 2012 when the new CBC tool was already in action.

Table 5: Number of countries involved in cross-border cooperation through structures of euroregions in the Danube Region (1990-2012)

Source: authors' compilation

Euroregions with 2 members	Euroregions with 3 members	Euroregions with more than 3 members
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ARGE Kärnten-Slowenien / Karawanken; • Black Sea; • Cieszyn Silesia; • Danube-South; • Danubius Euroregion; • Dobrava; • Elbe-Labe Euroregion; • Egrensis; • Europaregion Tirol-Südtirol/Alto Adige-Trentino; • EuRegio Salzburg-Berchtesgadener Land - Traunstein; • EuRegio Steiermark – Nordost - Slowenien; • Euregio Zugspitze / Wetterstein - Karwendel; • Glacensis; • Hajdú - Bihar – Bihar; • Košice - Miskolc; • Kras; • Krušnohoří-Erzgebirge; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bayerischer Wald – • Böhmerwald - Unterer Inn; • Belasica; • Beskydy Mountains; • Danube-Kris-Mures-Tisza; • Danube Euroregion 21; • Danube Euroregion; • Danube-Drava-Sava; • Drina-Sava-Majevisa; • Eurobalkans; • Evros-Meric-Maritsa; • Middle Danube-Iron Gate; • Morava-Pcinija-Struma; • Neisse-Nisa-Nysa; • Nišava; • Pomoraví-Záhorie - Weinviertel; • ReGio TriRhena; • Superior Prut and Lower Danube; • Lower Danube; • Upper Prut Euroregion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adriatic Ionian Euroregion; • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer; • Carpathian Euroregion; • Drina; • Muránia

Euroregions with 2 members	Euroregions with 3 members	Euroregions with more than 3 members
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inferior Danube; • Inntal; • Inn-Salzach; • Ipeľ -Ipoly; • Ister-Granum; • Mura-Dráva; • Neogradiensis; • Nestos - Mesta; • Podunajský Trojopolok; • Praděd-Pradziad; • Pro-Europe Viadrina; • Rhodopi; • Rousse - Giurgiu; • Sajó – Rima Euroregion; • Silesia; • Silva Nortica Euroregion; • Siret-Prut-Nistru; • Spree-Neisse-Bober; • Stará Planina; • Strymon - Strouma; • Tatry; • Vah-Danube-Ipel; • Via Salina; • West/West Pannonia; • White Carpathians; • Zemplén 		

Hence, it is clear from the Table 5 that euroregions within the Danube Region are dominated by two state structure; although, a large number of euroregions were founded with three states and 5 euroregions were established with more than three states, namely Adriatic Ionian Euroregion, including Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Italy, Montenegro and Slovenia; Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer, including Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Moldavia, Serbia, Slovakia, Ukraine; Carpathian Euroregion, including Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine; Drina Euroregion with Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosna and Herzegovina; and finally Muránia Euroregion with cooperation between Austria, Croatia, Hungary and Slovenia. Subsequently, graph No 5 demonstrates a visual differentiation of euroregions based on the number of involved states.

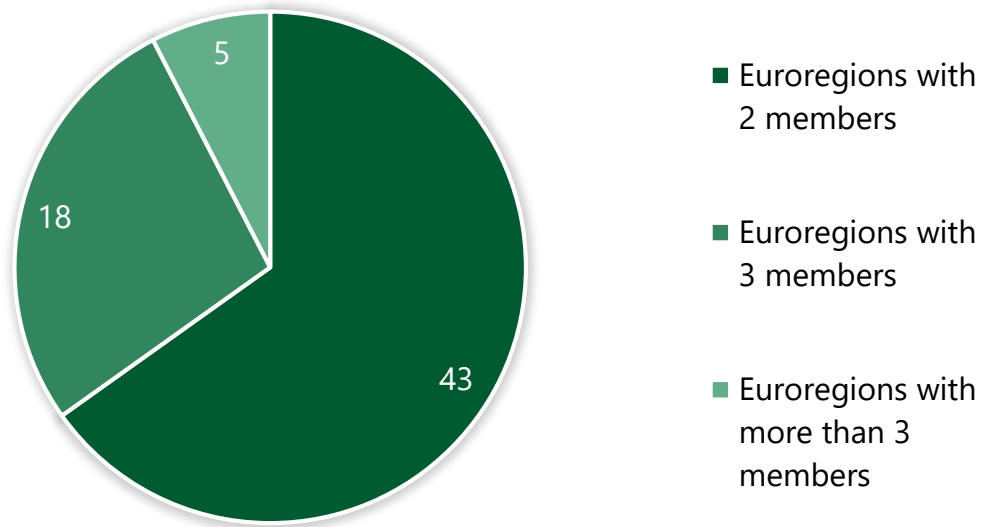


Figure 5: Number of countries involved in the frames of euroregions in the Danube Region (1990-2012)

Source: authors' compilation

When we look at the EGTC structures within the Danube Region, it is immediately clear that they are mainly cross-border groupings with involvement of two states. Specifically, 23 EGTCs out of 24 involve two states, while only one specific EGTC involves three states, namely, Tritia EGTC.

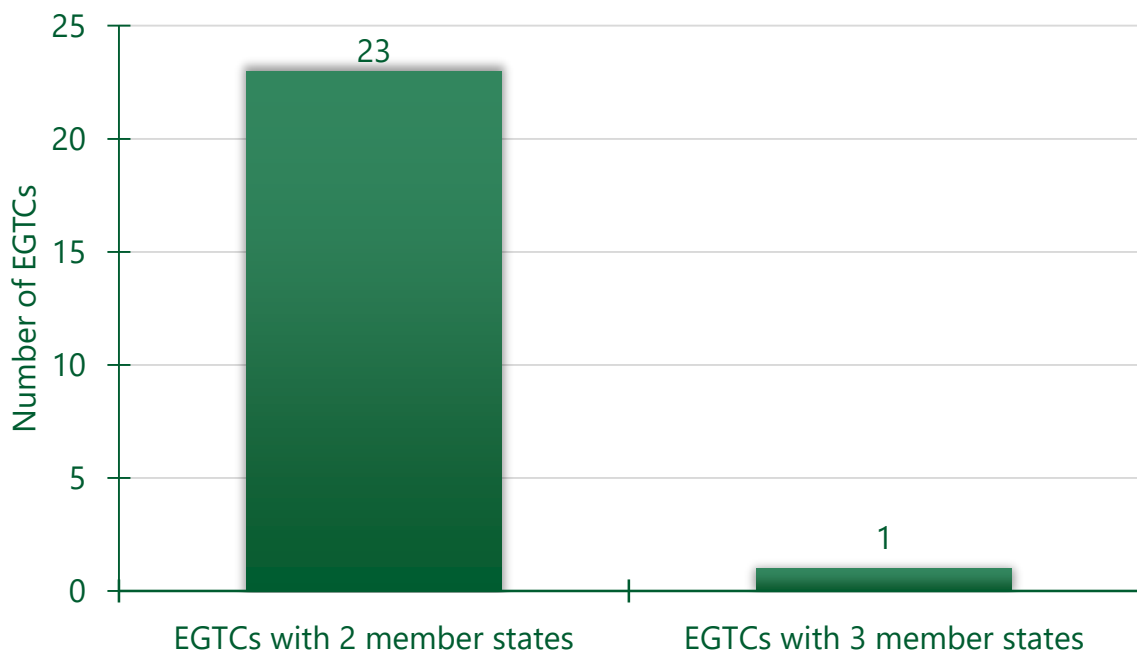


Figure 6: EGTCs and number of involved states in the Danube Region (2015, December)

Source: authors' compilation

If we look at the structure of those EGTCs which are partly in/outside of the Danube Region, the picture is slightly different since half of them include two states, but half of them involve more than two states.



Figure 7: EGTCs partly in/outside of the Danube region and number of involved states (2015, December)

Source: authors' compilation

Finally, when we look at deeper structures and the involvement of individual states, we can immediately see that Hungarian membership is dominant within the structures of EGTCs. To be exact, out of 24 EGTCs of the Danube Region, Hungarian members participate in 21. Moreover, if we add the other two EGTCs with Hungarian membership, namely European Urban Knowledge Network EGTC and Central European Transport Corridor EGTC, the total number of EGTCs with Hungarian participation reaches the number of 23. Subsequently, Hungary plays a leader role within the EGTC structure because it is the country which is involved in most EGTC structures, followed by France, with 19 involvement, and Spain with 14 involvement.

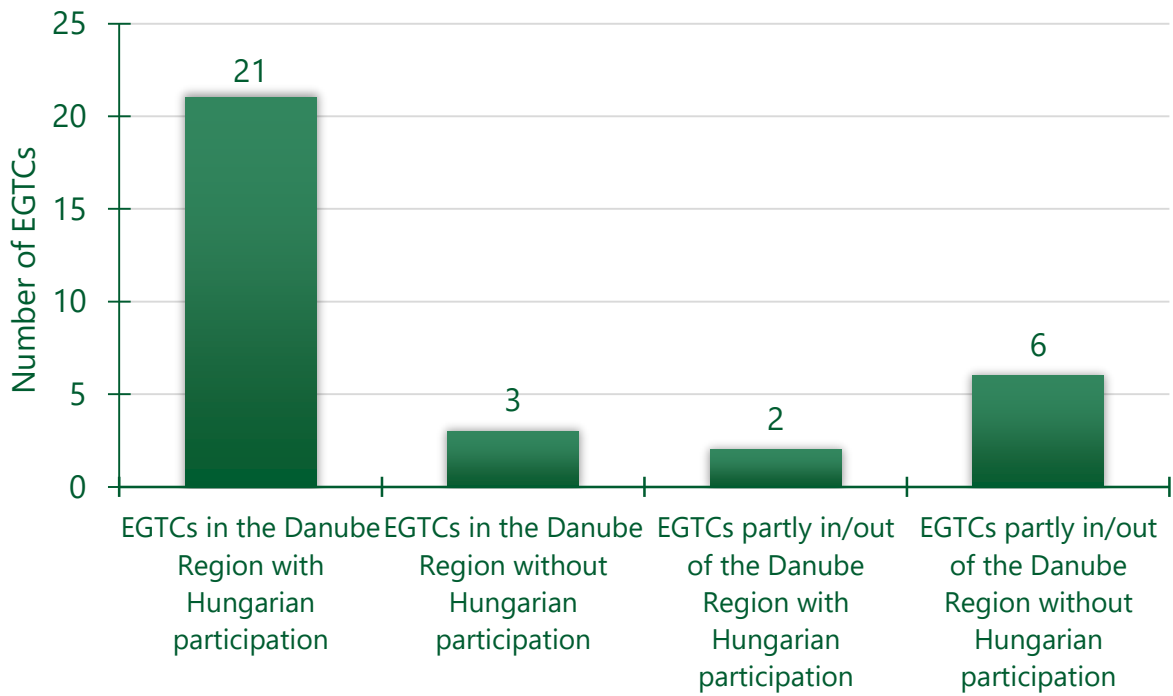


Figure 8: EGTCs with and without participation of Hungary (2015, December)

Source: authors' compilation

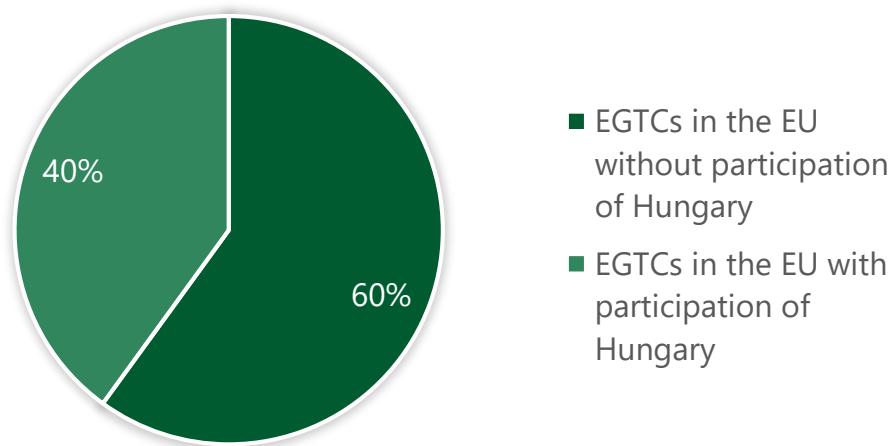


Figure 9: EGTCs in the EU with and without participation of Hungary (2015, December)

Source: authors' compilation

To summarise, we can state that cross-border cooperation in the Danube Region is primarily driven by involvement of two states, either in the structures of euroregions or within the frames of EGTCs. Cross-border cooperation with more states may be found, but the tendency is clear and unquestionable. Moreover, this part of the paper underlines that Hungary plays a major role in the frames of EGTC because 40 percent of all EGTCs in the EU involve Hungarian members.

8. Conclusion – a classification of the cross-border initiatives of the Danube Region

During our research, we reflected not only the actual and active cross-border partnerships, but we included also those ones which no longer perform substantial cross-border activities because otherwise we could not give an overall picture about the cross-border cooperation.

This chapter tried to classify cross-border activities from several points of view and criteria. The first criterion was the domain of institutionalisation, which showed that more and more intensive forms of CBC have emerged in recent decades. In the followings, partnerships were categorised by the intensity of cooperation, revealing the fact that in this respect the Danube Region has a certain duality in territorial terms. Ethnic and linguistic ties together with historical unity/shared landscape were also taken into consideration, as important factors in the establishment of cross-border partnerships. The multiplicity of such ties usually contributes in different ways to the success of partnerships. The fifth investigated issue was the 'field of cooperation'. At this point, we identified 8 'cluster-areas of cooperation' which primarily and generally resonate in the field of cross-border cooperation in the Danube Region. The most central fields of CBC are the following ones: culture and human relationship, tourism, cross-border economic cooperation, nature protection and infrastructural cooperation. The field of crisis management has a rising tendency, compared to research and health which play a peripheral role in cross-border cooperation within the region. The next reflected domain of cross-border interaction was the 'duration/year of establishment of CBC' within the Danube Region. CBC in the Danube Region was substantially triggered after the geopolitical earthquake in 1989. A large number of cross-border initiatives have been released under the form of 'euroregion' in the 90s. The peak of foundations of euroregions was in 2001, but after it the tendency slowed down. The foundation of euroregions significantly dropped since 2005, and in 2007 a new cross-border legal framework was introduced by the European Union which once again inspired and ignited the light of CBC in the Danube Region. The last classification of CBC initiatives in the Danube Region was made according to the 'number of countries' involved in the distinct CBC initiatives. It seems that CBC is primarily driven by euroregional cooperation between two or three involved states. More than three states in such structures is rather an exceptional case. This is also true in the case of EGTCs.

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Annexes

Annexe I. List of cross-border initiatives in the Danube Region according to cooperation form

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European Common Future Building • Gate to Europe • Interregional Alliance for the Rhine-Alpine Corridor • Ister - Granum • Karst - Bodva • MASH • Mestna Občina Nova Gorica e Občina Šempeter-Vrtojba • Novohrad - Nógrád • Pannon • Pons Danubii • Rába - Duna - Vág • Sajó - Rima / Slaná - Rimava • Spoločný region • Svinka • TATRY Torysa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adriatic Euroregion • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpen-Adria • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpenländer • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer • ARGE Kärnten - Slowenien • Biharia Euroregion • Black Sea Euroregion • Carpatian Euroregion • Drina Euroregion • Danube Euroregion • EUREGIO Bayerischer Wald - Šumava - Mühlviertel • Euregio Egrensis • Euregio Inntal • Euregio Krušnohoří – Erzgebirge • Euregio Labe-Elbe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alfatar (BG) – Baneasa(RO) • Arad (RO) – Hódmezővásárhely (HU) • Arad (RO) – Gyula (HU) • Baia Mare (RO) - Ivano-Frankivsk (UA) • Balchik (BG) – Mangalia (RO) • Banskobystrický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye (HU) • Banskobystrický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Heves megye (HU) • Banskobystrický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Nógrád megye (HU) • Belene (BG) – Popești-Leordeni (RO) • Belogradchik (BG) – Knjaževac (RS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prut River Pilot Centre • Raab-Őrség-Goričko Nature Park • Tourism zone Haloze – Zagorje

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TRITIA • Ung - Tisza - Túr - Sajó UTTS • Via Carpatia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Euregio Neisse-Nysa-Nisa • EuRegio Salzburg - Berchtesgadener Land - Traunstein • Euregio Steiermark - Nordost-Slowenien • Euregio Šumava-Böhmerwald • EUREGIO Via Salina • EUREGIO Zugspitze/Wetterstein - Karwendel • Euregion Neogradiensis • Europaregion Tirol - Südtirol/Alto Adige - Trentino • Euroregion Belasica • Euroregion Beskydy • Euroregion Bílé/Biele Karpaty • Euroregion Danube - South • Euroregion Danube 21 • Euroregion Danube-Drava-Sava • Euroregion Danubius Association • Euroregion Delta - Rhodopi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berkovitsa (BG) – Băilești (RO) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Dimitrovgrad (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Knjaževac (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Merošina (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Pirot (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Zaječar (RS) • Borovo (BG) – Vedeja Municipality (RS) • Bratislava (SK) – Vienna (AT) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Burgenland (AT) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Győr-Moson-Sopron megye (HU) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Juhomoravský kraj (CZ) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Niederösterreich (AT) • Bregovo (BG) – Negotin (RS) • Bytča (SK) – Karolinka (CZ) 	

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duna-Körös-Maros-Tisza • Euroregion Drina-Sava-Majevisa • Euroregion Eurobalkans • Euroregion Evros - Meric - Maritsa • Euroregion Glacensis • Euroregion Košice - Miskolc / Zemplén • Euroregion Kras • Euroregion Middle Danube - Iron Gates • Euroregion Morava-Pcinija-Struma • Euroregion Nestos - Mesta • Euroregion Nisava • Euroregion Podunajský Trojspolok • Euroregion Pomoraví-Weinviertel • Euroregion Praděd-Pradziad • Euroregion Silesia • Euroregion Silva Nortica • Euroregion Siret – Prut – Nistru 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Čadca (SK) – Valašské Meziříčí (CZ) • Čadca (SK) – Żywiec (PL) • Cetinje (ME) – Dubrovnik (HR) • Cetinje (ME) – Shkodër (AL) • Dobrich (BG) – Constanța (RO) • Dobšiná (SK) – Sajószentpéter (HU) • Dragoman (BG) – Dimtrovgrad (RS) • Drobeta Turnu Severin (RO) – Kladovo (RS) • Dunajská Streda (SK) – Győr (HU) • Dve Mogili (BG) - Bucșani (RO) • Dve Mogili (BG) – Calarasi (RO) • General Toshevo (BG) - Mangalia (RO) • Gulyantsi (BG) – Corabia (RO) • Iași (RO) – Chișinău (MD) 	

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Euroregion Stara Planina • Euroregion Strymon-Strouma • Euroregion Tatry • Euroregion Tesin Silesia • Euroregion Vagus - Danubius – Ipolia • Euroregion Weinviertel - Jižní Morava - Záhorie • Hajdú-Bihar - Bihar Euroregion • Hochrheinkommission • Inferior Danube Euroregion • Inn - Salzach-Euregio • Internationale Bodenseekonferenz • Ipeľ - Ipoly Euregion • Ister-Granum Euroregion • Lower Danube Euroregion • Mura-Dráva Euroregion • Muránia Euroregion • West Pannon Euroregion • Oberrheinkonferenz • Regio PAMINA • Regio TriRhena 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ivanovo (BG) – Chimpati (RO) • Ivanovo (BG) – Brănești (RO) • Ivanovo (BG) – Bucșani (RO) • Ivanovo (BG) – Sabareni (RO) • Kavarna (BG) – Babadag (RO) • Kavarna (BG) – Navodari (RO) • Knjaževac (RS) - Belogradčik (BG) • Kolašin (ME) – Prijepolje (RS) • Košický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye (HU) • Košický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Nógrád megye (HU) • Košický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zakarpatská oblasť (UA) • Kovin (RS) - Moldova Nouă (RO) • Kovin (RS) - Recaș (RO) • Kula (BG) – Boljevac (RS) • Kula (BG) – Zajecar (RS) • Kyustendil (BG) – Leskovac (RS) 	

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rouse-Giurgiu Euroregion • Sajó-Rima Euroregion • Slovenian-Hungarian Crossborder Development Council • Upper Prut Euroregion • Zemplén Euroregion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lom (BG) – Băilești (RO) • Lom (BG) – City of Niš (RS) • Lom (BG) – Panteley (RS) • Lučenec (SK) – Salgótarján (HU) • Malacky (SK) – Gänserndorf (AT) • Malacky (SK) – Marchegg (AT) • Malacky (SK) – Veselí nad Moravou (CZ) • Michalovce (SK) – Sátoraljaújhely (HU) • Michalovce (SK) – Užhorod (UA) • Mizia (BG) – City of Craiova (RO) • Moldava nad Bodvou (SK) – Edelény (HU) • Moldava nad Bodvou (SK) – Encs (HU) • Montana (BG) – Caracal (RO) • Nevestino (BG) – Delchevo (MK) • Nikšić (ME) – Bileća (BiH) 	

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nikšić (ME) – Foča (BiH) • Nikšić (ME) – Gacko (BiH) • Nikšić (ME) – Nevesinje (BiH) • Nikšić (ME) – Trebinje (BiH) • Nitriansky samosprávny kraj (SK) – Komárom-Esztergom megye (HU) • Novo selo (BG) – City of Negotin (RS) • Osijek (HR) – Subotica (RS) • Pécs (HU) – Osijek (HR) • Pezinok (SK) - Mosonmagyaróvár (HU) • Pezinok (SK) - Neusiedl am See (AT) • Piešťany (SK) – Luhačovice (CZ) • Pirot (RS) - Montana (BG) • Považská Bystrica (SK) – Holešov (CZ) • Považská Bystrica (SK) – Rožnov pod Radhoštěm (CZ) • Považská Bystrica (SK) – Zubří (CZ) 	

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prešovský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zakarpatská oblasť (UA) • Revúca (SK) – Kazinbarcika (HU) • Rimavská Sobota (SK) – Ózd (HU) • Ruse (BG) – Bucharest (RO) • Satu Mare (RO) – Nyíregyháza (HU) • Satu Mare (RO) – Berehove (UA) • Senec (SK) – Mosonmagyaróvár (HU) • Senec (SK) – Parndorf (AT) • Senica (SK) - Velké Pavlovice (CZ) • Senta (RS) - Hódmezővásárhely (HU) • Sighetu Marmăției (RO) – Solotvine (UA) • Silistra (BG) – Călărași (RO) • Sitovo (BG) – Mânăstirea (RO) • Skalica (SK) – Strážnice (CZ) 	

EGTC	Euroregion	Twin-cities	Other
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skalica (SK) – Uherské Hradiště (CZ) • Snina (SK) – Lesko (PL) • Svishtov (BG) – Alexandria (RO) • Svishtov (BG) – Zimnicea (RO) • Tran (BG) – Surdulica (RS) • Trenčiansky samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zlínský kraj (CZ) • Trenčín (SK) – Uherské Hradiště (CZ) • Trenčín (SK) – Zlín (CZ) • Tutrakan (BG) – Oltenița (RO) • Veliko Gradište (RS) - Baile Herculane (RO) • Vetovo (BG) – Calugareni (RO) • Vidin (BG) – Calafat (RO) • Vidin (BG) – Zaječar (RS) • Žilinský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Moravskosliezsky kraj (CZ) • Žilinský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zlínský kraj (CZ) 	

Annexe II. List of cross-border cooperation initiatives in the Danube Region according to the intensity of cooperation

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpen-Adria • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpenländer • Banat Triplex Confinium EGTC • EGTC TATRY • EUREGIO Bayerischer Wald - Šumava - Mühlviertel • Euregio Egrensis • Euregio Inntal • Euregio Krušnohoří – Erzgebirge • Euregio Labe-Elbe • Euregio Neiise-Nysa-Nisa • EuRegio Salzburg - Berchtesgadener Land - Traunstein • Euregio Steiermark - Nordost-Slowenien • Euregio Šumava-Böhmerwald • EUREGIO Via Salina 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Novohrad-Nógrád EGTC • Prut River Pilot Centre • Raab-Őrség-Goričko Nature Park • Tourism zone Haloze – Zagorje • Veliko Gradište (SRB) - Baile Herculane (RO) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adriatic Euroregion • Alfatar (BG) – Baneasa(RO) • Arad (RO) – Hódmezővásárhely (HU) • Arad (RO) – Gyula (HU) • Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer (Argedonau) • Arrabona EGTC • Baia Mare (RO) - Ivano-Frankivsk (UA) • Balchik (BG) – Mangalia (RO) • Banskobystrický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye (HU) • Banskobystrický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Heves megye (HU) • Banskobystrický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Nógrád megye (HU) • Belogradchik (BG) – Knjaževac (RS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abaúj-Abaújban EGTC • ARGE Kärnten - Slowenien • Belene (BG) – Popești-Leordeni (RO) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Dimitrovgrad (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Knjaževac (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Merošina (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Pirot (RS) • Berkovitsa (BG) – Zaječar(RS) • Biharia Euroregion • Borovo (BG) – Vedeia Municipality (RS) • Danube Euroregion • Drina Euroregion • Dve Mogili (BG) - Bucșani (RO) • Európai Közös Jövő Építő (Europe - Building a Common Future) EGTC

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EUREGIO Zugspitze/Wetterstein - Karwendel • Europa Kapu (Europe Gate) EGTC • Europaregion Tirol - Südtirol/Alto Adige - Trentino • Euroregion Beskydy • Euroregion Bílé/Biele Karpaty • Euroregion Danubius Association • Euroregion DKMT • Euroregion Glacensis • Euroregion Pomoraví-Weinviertel • Euroregion Praděd-Pradziad • Euroregion Silesia • Euroregion Silva Nortica • Euroregion Siret – Prut – Nistru • Euroregion Tatry • Euroregion Tesin Silesia • Hochrheinkommission • Inn - Salzach-Euregio 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berkovitsa (BG) – Băilești (RO) • Black Sea Euroregion • Bodrogközi EGTC • Bratislava (SK) – Vienna (AT) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Burgenland (AT) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Győr-Moson-Sopron megye (HU) • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Juhomoravský kraj (CZ), • Bratislavský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Niederösterreich (AT) • Bregovo (BG) – Negotin (RS) • Bytča (SK) – Karolinka (CZ) • Čadca (SK) – Valašské Meziříčí (CZ) • Čadca (SK) – Żywiec (PL) • Carpathian Euroregion • Cetinje (ME) – Dubrovnik (HR) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Euroregion Danube - South • Euroregion Danube 21 • Euroregion Danube-Drava-Sava • Euroregion Delta - Rhodopi • Euroregion Drina-Sava-Majevisa • Euroregion Evros - Meric - Maritsa • Euroregion Košice - Miskolc / Zemplén • Euroregion Kras • Euroregion Middle Danube - Iron Gates • Euroregion Morava-Pcinija-Struma • Euroregion Nestos - Mesta • Euroregion Stara Planina • Euroregion Strymon-Strouma • Gulyantsi (BG) – Corabia (RO) • Inferior Danube Euroregion • Ivanovo (BG) – Chimpati (RO) • Ivanovo (BG) – Brănești (RO)

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internationale Bodenseekonferenz • Ister-Granum EGTC • Ister-Granum Euroregion • Oberrheinkonferenz • Pons Danubii EGTC • Regio PAMINA • Regio TriRhena • TRITIA EGTC 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cetinje (ME) – Shkodër (AL) • Dobrich (BG) – Constanța (RO) • Dobšiná (SK) – Sajószentpéter (HU) • Dragoman (BG) – Dimitrovgrad (RS) • Dunajská Streda (SK) – Győr (HU) • Dve Mogili (BG) – Calarasi (RO) • Euregio Šumava-Böhmerwald • Euroregion Belasica • Euroregion Eurobalkans • Euroregion Nisava • Euroregion Podunajský Trojopolok • Euroregion Weinviertel - Jižní Morava - Záhorie • General Toshevo (BG) - Mangalia (RO) • Hajdú-Bihar - Bihar Euroregion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ivanovo (BG) – Sabareni (RO) • Karszt-Bódva EGTC • Lom (BG) – Panteley (RS) • Mura-Dráva Euroregion • Neogradiensis Euroregion • Nevestino (BG) – Delchevo (MK) • Nikšić (ME) – Foča (BiH) • Novo selo (BG) – City of Negotin (RS) • NOVUM EGTC • Osijek (HR) – Subotica (RS) • Sajó-Rima Euroregion • Sitovo (BG) – Mânăstirea (RO) • Slovenian-Hungarian Crossborder Development Council • Tutrakan (BG) – Oltenița (RO) • Ung-Tisza-Sajó (Hernád-Bódva-Szinva) EGTC • Vag-Danube-Ipel Euroregion • Vetovo (BG) – Calugareni (RO)

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iași (RO) – Chișinău (MD) • Ipeľ - Ipoly Euroregion • Ivanovo (BG) – Bucșani (RO) • Kavarna (BG) – Babadag (RO) • Kavarna (BG) – Navodari (RO) • Knjaževac (RS) - Belogradčik (BG) • Kolašin (ME) – Prijepolje (RS) • Košický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye (HU) • Košický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Nógrád megye (HU) • Košický samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zakarpatská oblasť (UA) • Kovin (RS) - Recaș (RO) • Kovin (SRB) - Moldova Nouă (RO) • Kula (BG) – Boljevac (RS) • Kula (BG) – Zajecar (RS) • Kyustendil (BG) – Leskovac (RS) • Lom (BG) – Băilești (RO) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zemplén Euroregion

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lom (BG) – City of Niš (RS) • Lower Danube Euroregion • Lučenec (SK) – Salgótarján (HU) • Malacky (SK) – Gänserndorf (AT) • Malacky (SK) – Marchegg (AT) • Malacky (SK) – Veselí nad Moravou (CZ) • Michalovce (SK) – Sátoraljaújhely (HU) • Michalovce (SK) – Užhorod (UA) • Mizia (BG) – City of Craiova (RO) • Moldava nad Bodvou (SK) – Edelény (HU) • Moldava nad Bodvou (SK) – Encs (HU) • Montana (BG) – Caracal (RO) • Muránia Euroregion • Nikšić (ME) – Bileća (BiH) • Nikšić (ME) – Gacko (BiH) 	

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nikšić (ME) – Nevesinje (BiH) • Nikšić (ME) – Trebinje (BiH) • Nitriansky samosprávny kraj (SK) – Komárom-Esztergom megye (HU) • Pécs (HU) – Osijek (HR) • Pezinok (SK) – Mosonmagyaróvár (HU) • Pezinok (SK) – Neusiedl am See (AT) • Piešťany (SK) – Luhačovice (CZ) • Pirot (RS) - Montana (BG) • Považská Bystrica (SK) – Holešov (CZ) • Považská Bystrica (SK) – Rožnov pod Radhoštěm (CZ) • Považská Bystrica (SK) – Zubří (CZ) • Prešovský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zakarpatská oblasť (UA) • Rába-Duna-Vág EGTC • Revúca (SK) – Kazinbarcika (HU) 	

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rimavská Sobota (SK) – Ózd (HU) • Rousse-Giurgiu Euroregion • Ruse (BG) – Bucharest (RO) • Ruse (BG) – Giurgiu (RO) • Sajó-Rima / Slaná-Rimava EGTC • Satu Mare (RO) – Nyíregyháza (HU) • Satu Mare (RO) – Berehove (UA) • Senec (SK) – Mosonmagyaróvár (HU) • Senec (SK) – Pandorf (AT) • Senica (SK) – Velké Pavlovice (CZ) • Senta (RS) - Hódmezővásárhely (HU) • Sighetu Marmăției (RO) – Solotvine (UA) • Silistra (BG) – Călărași (RO) • Skalica (SK) – Strážnice (CZ) • Snina (SK) – Lesko (PL) 	

The most intensive CBRs	Intensive but limited to specific fields or by time	A mixed level of intensity	The least intensive CBRs
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Svishtov (BG) – Alexandria (RO) • Svishtov (BG) – Zimnicea (RO) • Tran (BG) – Surdulica (RS) • Trenčiansky samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zlínský kraj (CZ) • Trenčín (SK) – Uherské Hradiště (CZ) • Trenčín (SK) – Zlín (CZ) • Via Carpatia (EGTC) • Vidin (BG) – Calafat (RO) • Vidin (BG) – Zaječar (RS) • Vidin (BG) – Zaječar (RS) • West Pannon Euroregion • Žilinský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Moravskosliezsky kraj (CZ) • Žilinský samosprávny kraj (SK) – Zlínský kraj (CZ) 	

Crossing the borders

Studies on cross-border cooperation within the Danube Region

2016

ISBN 978-963-12-4756-5

Published by
Central European Service for Cross-Border Initiatives
H-1067 Budapest, Teréz krt. 13.



MINISTRY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
AND JUSTICE

**The Research was supported by the
Hungarian Ministry of
Public Administration and Justice**