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Master's Thesis

*Breaking Down Barriers: Euroregional Cooperation of the
Czech Republic*

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Subject: IEPS

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Declaration of Authorship

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, based on the sources and literature listed in the appended bibliography. The thesis as submitted is 130,962 keystrokes long including spaces, i.e. 51 manuscript pages excluding the initial pages, the list of references and appendices.

Prague, 14.05.2014

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Abstract: Cooperation between people of different nations has existed throughout Europe for centuries on an informal basis as borders have shifted and power has found its way into different hands. During the European integration process of the 1950s, this cooperation was formalized with the creation of the Euroregions, or cross-border regions. These regions were formed to promote common interests and cooperation to counteract barriers and benefit the people residing in the area. The Czech Republic is currently a member of 13 different Euroregions either exclusively or with multiple neighboring countries: Poland (7), Austria (3), Germany (4), and Slovakia (2). Of these 13 regions, four – Silva Nortica (Czech-Austrian, 2002), Bílé-Biele Karpaty (Czech-Slovak, 2000), Silesia (Czech-Polish, 1998), and Egrensis (Czech-German, 1993) – have been chosen to further evaluate how the creation of Euroregions has facilitated regional development. This thesis aims to analyze the level of regional development in the programming periods before and after the accession of the Czech Republic to the European Union in these four Euroregions through the application of the theory of learning regions. Then, by applying the three criteria of theory of learning regions to the four chosen Euroregions, it will determine how the creation of the Euroregions has facilitated regional development.

Keywords: regional development, cross-border cooperation, theory of learning regions, Euroregion, Silva Nortica, Bílé-Biele Karpaty, Silesia, Egrensis, Czech Republic



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Topic Characteristics: Cooperation between people of different nations has existed throughout Europe for centuries on an informal basis as borders have shifted and power has found its way into different hands. During the European integration of 1950s, this cooperation was formalized with the creation of the Euroregions, or cross-border regions. These regions were formed to promote common interests and cooperation to counteract barriers and benefit the people residing in the area. The Czech Republic is currently a member of 13 different Euroregions either exclusively or with multiple neighboring countries: Poland (7), Austria (3), Germany (4), and Slovakia (2). Of these 13 regions, four – Silva Nortica (Czech-Austrian, 2002), Bílé-Biele Karpaty (Czech-Slovak, 2000), Silesia (Czech-Polish, 1998), and Egrensis (Czech-German, 1993) – have been chosen to further assess how the creation of Euroregions has facilitated regional development.

Working hypothesis: 1. The intensity of regional development post-2004 is greater in the older, “established” Euroregions than in the more recently established Euroregions
2. Czech accession to the EU had a greater impact on regions cooperating with a new member state than with an old member state.

Methodology: Historical analysis and comparative analysis based on the research criteria

1. Regional development will be defined and the key variables to be analyzed will be set forth.
2. The historical sociopolitical relations between the Czech Republic and each of the four other countries will be analyzed to set a foundation for the modern relations.
3. The reasoning behind the choice of these four specific Euroregions (Silva Nortica, Bílé-Biele Karpaty, Silesia, and Egrensis) will be explained.
4. The 3 criteria will be examined in each of the four Euroregions between the years 2000 and 2008 to provide a foundation for the determining the level of regional development before and after Czech accession to the European Union.
5. An analysis of each of the criteria is performed to determine the individual impact on the level of regional development in each of the regions.

Outline:

- I. Introduction, Review of the Literature.
- II. Research framework:
 - a. Methodology: structure and logic. What approach/language was used in past literature? What is my contribution?
 - i. What is a region, Euroregion? What is regional development? What perspective will these be looked at from?
 - b. Theories/theoretical background:
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- III. Case studies: 3 factors of Theory of Learning Regions
 1. Criterion 1: Environment
 2. Criterion 2: Institutional thickness
 3. Criterion 3: Areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange
- IV. Analysis of the criteria
- V. Conclusion
- VI. Bibliography

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List of abbreviations

- AEBR** Association of European Border Regions
AEČR Associations of Euroregions in the Czech Republic
CBC Cross-Border Cooperation
CBR Cross-Border Region
CIP Community Initiative Program
COR Committee of Regions
EC European Commission
EP European Parliament
EPPW Europa Plattform Pro Waldviertel
ER BBK Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty
ERSN Euroregion Silva Nortica
EU European Union
FDI Foreign Direct Investment
GDP Gross Domestic Product
GIZ cross-border pulse centers
INTERREG IIIA Initiative to encourage cross-border cooperation in the European Union
JČSN Jihočeská Silva Nortica (Association of South Bohemia Silva Nortica)
JPD Joint programming document
LACE (TAP) Linkage, Assistance, and Cooperation for the European Border Regions (Technical Assistance and the Promotion of Cross-Border Cooperation)
N+2 EU funds must be requested or spent within 2 years after the money is allocated
NUTS III *Nomenclature des unités territoriales statistiques*. Subdivision of the country for statistical purposes. In the Czech Republic, these correspond with the 14 regions.
OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PHARE Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies
SME Small-Medium Size Enterprise
SMOJK Sdružení měst a obcí Jihočeského kraje (Association of Towns and Municipalities of the South Bohemian Region)

Introduction

In the 1990s, Europe was often described as “a Europe of the regions,” with a greater emphasis placed on a smaller political unit than that of the nation state. There are numerous political, ethnic, and cultural identities found within the formal boundaries of each of the European nations; in some instances, these identities may differ greatly from the larger national identity. According to John Sallnow (1989, p.9), the European continent as a whole is “very much a continent of regional identities.” Formal boundaries within the continent have shifted over the centuries with the rise and fall of empires and nation states. In recent history, the Czech Republic has been a part of the Hapsburg Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the first Czechoslovak Republic, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the second Czechoslovak Republic, finally taking its current form only in 1993. Other nations have experienced similar, although not necessarily as dramatic, power shifts.

Despite the changing borders, the location of cities has remained constant. This is important because they are the center of economic activity, and regardless of the location of national borders, areas located far away from cities tend to be less advanced as they provided fewer economic opportunities and had fewer inhabitants. Western Europe addressed these disparities through the work of the European Communities. The end of World War II and the beginning of an era of relative stability allowed for governments and institutions to establish new priorities, such as how to promote peace and cooperation among nations while eradicating economic and social barriers. These changes occurred gradually over a number of decades.

Eastern Europe was excluded from the work of the European Community due to the Iron Curtain. The ideological battle between East and West revealed itself through strong economic and standard of living disparities. The West became more prosperous as it integrated, but the East was excluded and fell significantly behind its Western counterparts. The collapse of the Soviet Union once again allowed for a free Europe in which citizens were not limited by barriers could move and associate freely with one another. Change in Central and Eastern Europe occurred more rapidly than it did in the West, as countries sought to imitate the actions of the West and immediately instituted economic, political, and social reforms to make up for the lack of development during the Communist era.

These reforms also incorporated integration measures into greater Europe through the European Community. While border regions located along the Iron Curtain

had previously participated in cross-border cooperation, it had been put on hold for decades. The objectives of the European Community encouraged people to adapt to the changing circumstances and reestablish relations with their neighboring areas in order to establish a unified Europe. This included the revival of regional associations and identities to address economic disparities.

Regions became increasingly important as subnational actors unified by a common identity and purpose coordinated their efforts for greater effectiveness. Cross-border cooperation schemes became increasingly prevalent throughout all of Europe as a means to overcome barriers and encourage development in less prosperous areas. The Czech Republic participates in 13 cross-border cooperation schemes with its neighboring countries of Germany, Poland, Slovakia, and Austria. The first of these regions, Nisa, was established in 1991 between the Czech Republic, Germany, and Poland. 12 more were established with the last in 2002, Silva Nortica. Four of these Euroregions have been selected as the focus of this thesis; they are Silva Nortica (Czech Republic-Austria), Bílé-Biele Karpaty (Czech Republic-Slovakia), Silesia (Czech Republic-Poland), and Egrensis (Czech Republic-Germany). Four bilateral cooperation schemes, two with old members states and two with new member states, were chosen to ensure a consistent foundation for analysis, yet still employ a multi-perspective approach. The period 2000-2008 was to fully encompass the pre-accession programming period in 2000-2003 as well as the post-accession programming period in 2004-2006.

This thesis aims to determine the impact that the creation of Euroregions had on regional development through the application of the theory of learning regions. It is divided into three sections: first, the research framework is presented; second, the comparative analysis of the four Euroregions based on the research criteria of the theory of learning regions is carried out; third, an analysis of these criteria is performed to determine which criteria had the greatest impact on regional development.

Review of the Literature

There have been numerous studies conducted on all aspects of regions, with a growing number since the introduction of new regionalism in the 1980s. The European Union, specifically the Committee of the Regions which provides the perspective of local and regional authorities, has published studies and reports ranging from discussions on the most fundamental aspects of regions to studies on specific issues affecting the local and regional level, such as education and social issues. National

governments and academics have contributed to the repository. Numerous conferences focused on regionalism and regional development have been held throughout Europe, providing an arena for discussion and developing new insights.

A majority of the literature is focused on Western Europe, specifically the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands; however, more information pertaining specifically to the countries of the fourth and fifth enlargement waves, including the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia, has recently emerged. This imbalance can be attributed to the fact that the position of the region in relation to the European Union has had more time to develop in the older member states. In the case of the United Kingdom, the regions have become stronger due to the devolution process, in which the parliament of the United Kingdom divested specific powers to the parliaments of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. This has given the countries within the United Kingdom more autonomy and the ability to pursue their own agenda, such as the upcoming Scottish independence referendum in September 2014. Germany is characterized by a strong federal state in which the sixteen *länder* (states) retain a great deal of power. In the Netherlands, the national government has granted the regions independence in the sense that they have been classified as independent entities, which are responsible for themselves, instead of being treated as subjects of the national government. Each region is accountable for its development in the national and European sphere.

The main sources of this thesis include research conducted by Marcus Perkmann, Richard Florida, Kevin Morgan, Michael Keating, and Ron Martin and Peter Sunley. Markus Perkmann, of the Imperial College of London, has focused mainly on cross-border cooperation and the governance structures of these regions in his works, including *Cross-Border Regions in Europe: Significance and Drivers of Regional Cross-Border Cooperation*, *Building Governance Institutions Across European Borders*, *Construction of New Territorial Scales: A Framework and Case-Study of the EUREGIO Cross-Border Region*, and *The Rise of the Euroregion: A Bird's Eye Perspective on European Cross-Border Cooperation*. His work is invaluable to this thesis as its comprehensive nature provides a solid overview of all aspects of cross-border cooperation that can be applied universally to all instances of cross-border regions.

Michael Keating's works *The New Regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial Restructuring and Political Change* and *Territorial Politics and the New Regionalism*

strongly support the notion of “a Europe of regions.” They focus on the reemergence of the region, rather than the nation state, as the unit of analysis within the European context. These works provide a comprehensive study of regionalism and regional development and present specific case studies within Western Europe.

Ron Martin and Peter Sunley’s work *Slow Convergence? The New Endogenous Growth Theory and Regional Development* argues that endogenous growth theory, which states that technological change and human capital are essential components of regional development, can be applied to explain regional development, but it must be complimented by other theories as well to take geographical scope into account. In addition, it discusses the impact of institutional thickness and form in shaping regional development. Andy Pike, Andres Rodruiguez-Pose, and John Tomaney’s work *What Kind of Local and Regional Development and for Whom?* discusses the reasons behind the different definitions of development based on the historical, geographical, and cultural context. They argue that each nation, region, and locality is entitled to establishing its own definition of development to reflect their particular circumstance and it should not be held accountable to any other definition than the one it created.

Overall, little research has been conducted on cross-border cooperation and regional development within the Czech Republic compared to other European countries. Jiří Blažek, a professor of geography at the Faculty of Science at Charles University in Prague, is one of the leading experts on regional development in the Czech Republic. He has published numerous articles including *The West-East gradient and regional development: the case of the Czech Republic*, which focuses on the effect of geographical location on regional development, *Types and Systems of Actors in Regional Development: Their Performance and Regulatory Potential*, which describes the key actors and their role in regional development with specific focus on the Czech Republic, and *Emerging regional innovation strategies in Central Europe: institutions and regional leadership in generating strategic outcome* which focuses on the different types of innovation in three specific regions of the Czech Republic. His work provides both general characteristics that can be applied to all regions as well as more specific case studies on the Czech Republic.

The theoretical aspect of this thesis is based on the research of the authors stated above. In addition, it draws from conference proceedings on learning regions, cross-border cooperation, and regional development, as well as European Union documents. The comparative case studies are conducted in the framework of the theory

of learning regions as introduced by Richard Florida and elaborated upon by Kevin Morgan. However, this research is unique in its nature; only a negligible amount of research pertaining to regional development has been conducted upon the four Euroregions chosen. It systematically applies the theory of learning regions to identify the sources accountable for the varying intensities of regional development over an eight year time span. It provides new insights into why some regions have experienced greater amounts of development than others, with the ultimate aim of helping the regions identify and overcome their past weakness to achieve greater levels of development in the future.

1. Research framework

1.1 Perspectives of Regional Cooperation

Regional cooperation is not a new phenomena, but has become an increasingly popular subject matter as the world becomes more globalized since “regionalization and globalization are intimately intertwined” (Hettne and Söderbaum, 2006). Many global problems can be best dealt with on a more intimate and specific level. The region has closer contact with its residents, and can often times address an issue, whether it is a local or global challenge, more effectively than on the national or international level.

It is important to establish an answer to the following question: what is a region? The region forms the basis of this analysis, and therefore merits an explanation. There are numerous definitions with various levels of complexity found throughout the literature, but to begin, the most simplistic definition in terms of geography will suffice. The region, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2004), is defined as “an administrative area, or district, or division; a part of the country, of the world, etc. that is different or separate from other parts in some way.” It can exist in any area and is not limited by the functional borders of a nation state. Furthermore, it can be defined from a sociological aspect: it is an entity perceived as a “social or sociopolitical community” which includes institutions separate and distinct from other levels of organization (Gustavsen, 2001). The nation state is divided into separate regions, but it is important to note that a region does not necessarily correspond with boundaries of the nation state. A sociopolitical identity can extend beyond the formal borders; the geographical boundaries of the region are not dependent upon institutional political boundaries, but rather upon a shared identity and common interest.

Regional cooperation can be viewed from a variety of social science perspectives, including from an international relations, international economy, and regional development view, each of which produces a unique definition of the region. The international relations perspective identifies the region as an actor on a global level, such as in paradiplomacy. The region can be defined by varying geographical scopes; on the largest level, an entire continent or a region within the continent, then becoming more specific, such as an individual nation state, and finally on the subnational level, such as a region within a country or a region located amongst multiple countries. International diplomacy can be conducted at a subnational level,

with regional and local actors promoting their own interests abroad. For example, subnational actors are granted a degree of autonomy in which they can conclude treaties with foreign powers. Twin towns or sister-cities, an agreement to promote cultural and commercial relationships, are also included in this category. The international economy perspective focuses on the region as an independent, sub-state actor who interacts and conducts business, such as in the areas of trade and finance, with foreign entities. For example, a region can promote its unique economic strengths in the world market. The regional development perspective focuses on eliminating disparities and promoting growth on the subnational level. The region in this case is any area, without regard to the formal boundaries of a nation state, with a shared sociopolitical identity. It encourages local actors to focus on their commonalities and work together towards a common purpose. The region has proved its capability to coordinate, plan, and problem-solve is more attune to the general needs of its population than the nation state. It has a smaller geographical focus area, and therefore is able to devote a greater amount of time to each issue than bodies that are responsible for larger areas. This thesis defines the region according to the regional development perspective.

1.2 New Regionalism and Regional Development

The regional development perspective of regional cooperation and the theory of new regionalism are intimately intertwined. New regionalism refers to the result of the second wave of regional integration beginning in the 1980s after the Mediterranean enlargement. The region as a unit of analysis became increasingly important. Michael Keating (2002) refers to the region as a “new system of social regulation and collective action, below the state, and in some degree, beyond it.” The traditional Westphalian system has devolved; the region has essentially replaced the nation state as the basic unit of social, political, and economic analysis. The theory of new regionalism focuses on three vital aspects – first, economic restructuring, second, new social and political movements, and third, institutional change – in an attempt to comprehend why and how regions have become so influential in the global economy.

New regionalism is heavily influenced by the post-Cold War order, in which regional identities develop from within the region, rather than imposed from the outside. It is linked to globalization, where as old regionalism was protectionist in nature. New regionalism varies from old regionalism in that it includes actors from all spheres, including the state, civil society, and market, not just the state, to address

comprehensive and multidimensional objectives, including the areas of politics, economics, culture, and security, rather than narrow objectives such as trade and security (Hettne and Söderbaum, 2006).

As previously stated, the region, an area with a shared sociopolitical identity which has proven its capability to cooperate, plan, and problem-solve for the benefit of its citizens, has become the new focal point. The regional identity stems from within, strengthening the bonds between regional actors from all sectors of society as they strive to implement policies that contribute to the development of the region. This is formally known as the Advocacy Coalition Framework, where groups of actors who are connected by shared beliefs join together to fulfill shared goals (Potůček, 2012).

According to Pike, Rodriguez-Pose, and Tomanev (2007), “no singularly agreed, homogeneous understanding of development of or for localities and regions exists.” The definition of development has evolved over time to reflect the current understanding of what is developed. For example, the notion of “developed” in the 18th century varies greatly from today’s notion of developed. Development also varies from location to location. Northern Europeans will obviously have a different conception of “development” than those living in Sub-Saharan Africa due to the gap between their societies, but those living in the western area of a country may have considerably different views from their fellow countrymen living in the east. A consensus has been reached that development is an inclusive term; the previous focus solely on economic development has been expanded to include social, political, and cultural aspects. The most widely accepted definition of development today touches on all of these aspects; it incorporates “reducing social inequality, promoting environmental sustainability, encouraging inclusive government and governance and recognizing cultural diversity” to ensure an equilibrium among all spheres (Pike, Rodriguez-Pose, and Tomanev, 2007). Each region and locality will develop its own specific definition of development based off of its “evolving histories, legacies, institutions, and other distinctive characteristics that impart path dependencies and shape – inter alia – its economic assets and trajectories, social outlooks, environmental concerns, and politics and culture,” but all definitions, regardless of the cultural context, will likely include these aspects (Pike, Rodriguez-Pose, and Tomanev, 2007).

Development can be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively. The more traditional view of development focuses economic growth and employs mainly quantitative data, such as gross domestic product (GDP), employment rates, number of

companies, inflation, and foreign direct investment (FDI). The new, more inclusive view of development focusing on the overall growth of society, utilizes qualitative measures such as the sustainability of growth and quality of jobs to determine growth. Quantitative factors have been assigned to define these qualitative measures, but it remains difficult to fully integrate them, as it is possible to achieve quantitative growth without the qualitative element. For example, substantial growth can be achieved through the creation of low-quality jobs. In addition, qualitative growth without the quantitative element is possible; for example, modest growth achieved through the creation of high-quality jobs (Pike, Rodriguez-Pose, and Tomanev, 2007).

Two theories pertaining to regional development and growth are the endogenous growth theory as described by Ron Martin and Peter Sunley and the new growth theory as described by Bengt-Åke Lundvall, et. al. These theories both employ the view that economic growth equals development. The new endogenous growth theory states that technological change and human capital are especially important in the regional development process; they must develop from within the region, or endogenously (Martin and Sunley, 1998). This theory diverges from the traditional neoclassical growth model, which focuses only on labor, capital, and technology as the means to achieve equilibrium and treats these factors, technological change and human capital, as exogenous, or from outside of the region. Regional growth is not solely dependent upon external conditions; growth may develop as a result of internal factors. It questions the “significance and possible spatial consequences of increasing returns and externalities, the role of human capital development in regional economics, and the importance of both technology innovation and technology transfer” (Martin and Sunley, 1998). The new growth theory is complementary to the new endogenous growth theory; the field of economics has taken steps to incorporate innovation and knowledge into the neoclassical growth theory (Lundvall, et.al, 2002). The new economic system has changed its focus from production to that of innovation, which is highly dependent upon the development and willingness to test new ideas. These theories are pertinent in all spheres, and can be applied in manufacturing, service, or technology-based economies.

1.3 Euroregion Cross-Border Cooperation

The EU established formal regions both within and between countries. It recognized that “borders between member states are meant to provide a basis and an opportunity for cooperation and no longer to divide nations” (Committee of the

Regions, 2002). The idea of the functional region, an area characterized by its level of internal interactions, serves as a base for what is commonly known today as the cross-border region (CBR). The CBR expands over two or more different countries, yet remains a separate cohesive unit of analysis. The Committee of the Regions (COR) considers it to be “an entity in itself”: it is a separate territorial unit from the larger nation state that possesses a unique regional identity, shared concerns, and autonomous institutions (Raich, 1995 cited in Perkmann, 2003 p.4). The CBR was admitted to the EU lexicon under the term “Euroregion”. The cooperation scheme between Germany and the Netherlands was formalized with the birth of EUROREGIO in 1958 and has since grown to include over seventy cross-border initiatives between two or more countries within Europe today. The Association of European Border Regions (AEBR) was founded in 1971 to support the activities of the cooperation initiatives and establish contacts with the European Commission, Council of Europe, and national governments.

The creation of EUROREGIO was the first official instance of cross-border cooperation in Europe, as the EU had recognized that this cross-border cooperation between local and regional authorities in different countries had “become over the years an essential element of the overall system of network governance” (Committee of the Regions, 2002). This thesis will define the Euroregion is a subnational unit with its own structure that participates in CBC between two or more neighboring nations. Since its inception, many scholars including Schmitt-Enger (1998) and Anderson (1997) have developed working definitions to better understand this type of cooperation. Schmitt-Enger provides a basic yet broad definition, explaining that “cross-border interaction [occurs] between neighboring regions for the preservation, governance, and development of their common living space without the involvement of the central authorities” (Schmitt-Enger, 1998 cited in Perkmann, 2003 p. 3). Anderson elaborates upon this by including a potential outcome of the cooperation, arguing that the “proliferation of CBRs across Europe can be read as a process of institutional innovation through which these small-scale CBRs become a legitimate partner of the Commission in implementing regional policy measures targeted at border areas” (Anderson, 1997 cited in Perkmann, 2003 p. 9). These definitions are quite general in that they include the most prevalent characteristics of CBC, but Markus Perkmann’s work particularly stands out due to its comprehensive nature.

According to Perkmann (2003), cross-border cooperation can be defined as “a more or less institutionalized collaboration between contiguous subnational authorities

across national borders.” This definition is comparable to those already established, but it is fortified by the addition of four characteristics of cross-border cooperation:

1. Due to its location in the public agency, public authorities play a leading role in CBC.
2. CBC involves “low politics,” or cooperation between subnational authorities from different countries. They are unable to participate in international law; therefore, this cooperation is based on informal arrangements between the authorities.
3. CBC is first and foremost concerned with the practical problem-solving aspect of administration.
4. This cooperation requires a “stabilization of cross-border contacts.” This includes institutionalisation. (Perkmann, 2003).

The addition of these characteristics make it the most comprehensive definition of CBC, yet the addition of criteria to understand the process of creation of a cross-border region allows for further enhancement. While the reasoning behind the initiative for stronger cooperation and unity will vary from region to region, all cross-border regions can be commonly defined by the way in which they were established, in addition to the characteristics of CBC set forth by Perkmann. The three dimensions of the creation process, geographical scope, cooperation intensity, and types of actors, are prevalent in different forms among all cross-border regions (Perkmann, 2003). More specifically, the Euroregion can be described as cooperation scheme with a small geographical scope, some type of cooperation agreement, frequently loose and informal in nature, and cooperation in multiple policy areas with local authorities being the main actor.

As previously discussed, there are many variations of CBC. The creation process allows for a diversity of outcomes: informal and formal cooperation, large and small geographical scope, and varying degrees of success. According to the Committee of the Regions (2002), the success or lack thereof of the cooperation schemes can be attributed to five main factors. First, the amount of previously established cooperation may be directly related to the region’s ability to implement and promote additional cooperation schemes. Two key principles introduced at the 1988 Brussels Summit on Structural Funds and later strengthened in 1993, subsidiarity and partnership, must be involved in the design of these joint activities. Article 5 of the Treaty on the European Union defines subsidiarity as a principle that ensures that “decisions are taken as

closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made to verify that action at Union level is justified in light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level.” The European Union wants to ensure that local authorities are given the authority to make decisions that affect them without external influence by the EU. This is important because the local authorities have better knowledge of the workings and needs of their area than the EU, and therefore are able to implement more effective measures. Partnership can take place between national, supranational, and subnational representation. While it was originally described the relationship between the European Commission and the member states in the implementation of Structural Funds, it has been expanded upon to apply to regional and local development. It includes extensive consultation, partner feedback, and joint working groups with border areas with the aim of increasing the total number of actors and overall level of cooperation present in the decision-making process (European Commission, n.d.).

Second, the geographical proximity of the areas seeking cooperation will affect the intensity of their cooperation. Areas located directly next to each other with a larger common border will have a more intense, or stronger, level of cooperation than areas that only have a very small common border. Third, the degree of institutionalisation impacts the level of success of the cooperation scheme. This is specific to the type of cooperation scheme, but in general, the creation of institutions to implement cooperation policies and oversight bodies to regulate these policies will result in a higher level of cooperation. Fourth, the existence of an appropriate legal framework conditions grants the cooperation scheme a degree of legitimacy. The actors involved will be able to achieve more if they are seen as credible by the citizens. Fifth, the availability of funding programs supporting cooperation between territorial authorities. Money must be available to implement all aspects of the cooperation scheme, including infrastructure projects, transportation costs, and cohesion programs. Many areas seeking cooperation do not have an abundance of additional funds, so they must be able to obtain the necessary financing from outside sources, whether it be from the EU or other private funds. The level of the success of the cooperation scheme can easily be assessed using these guidelines as a base.

Cross-border cooperation has become increasingly prevalent throughout Europe. LACE was a pilot project between 1990 and 1995 through the cooperation of AEHR and the EC. LACE stands for linkage, assistance, and cooperation for the European Border Regions. It sought to strengthen the relationship between cross-border

entities within the EU. The first phase of the INTERREG Community Initiative began in 1990. It aimed to “prepare border areas for a Community without internal frontiers,” thereby contributing to the creation of a united EU (EC, 2011). It later included the Regen Initiative, which was designed to complete the trans-European transport and energy distribution networks.

PHARE CBC (Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies) was introduced in 1994 as a complement to INTERREG, with a specific focus on assisting those post-communist areas covered under the PHARE pre-accession aid program that shared a border with the EU. The program was expanded in 1998 to border regions in EU candidate countries. Its activities are similar to INTERREG; they include networking and information and training for the PHARE CBC border regions. Overall, these programs promoted cross-border cooperation throughout the whole of Europe and provided the necessary foundation for regional development. They helped to prepare public officials on all levels to cooperate in project implementation and also include members of civil society into the projects. Regions in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland were all eligible to receive PHARE CBC funding.

The second phase of the INTERREG initiative, INTERREG II, took place from 1994 until 1999 and combined INTERREG I and the Regen Initiative. It had three main goals: part A, cross-border cooperation; part B, completion of energy networks; and part C, regional planning cooperation. INTERREG II was expanded upon in 1996 with the LACE-TAP program, which added technical assistance and the promotion of cross-border cooperation on internal and external border regions of the EU to the program objectives. The program expanded its area of interest to the areas surrounding EU member states by establishing cross-border cooperation organizations and structures and strengthening the level of cooperation through networking, technical assistance, and publications. It also assisted with the implementation of the INTERREG IIA Community Initiative, cross-border cooperation. This program was beneficial because it provided a systematic foundation for further cooperation schemes; it included the development of a European network of practitioners and a border region database, programs to encourage the transfer of knowledge to develop and encourage good practice, and publicity to raise awareness of issues affecting the border regions. INTERREG III was implemented from 2000-2006, which was designed to increase cohesion throughout the EU by fostering development through cross-border, transnational, and interregional cooperation. Austrian and German regions were

immediately eligible for INTERREG III funding as EU member states; the new member states became eligible after their accession to the EU; the Czech Republic became eligible on July 1, 2004, Slovakia on October 28, 2004, and Poland on February 28, 2005. These countries' accession to the EU opened "new opportunities for more efficient implementation of regional development projects" (OECD, 2004).

1.4 Theory of Learning Regions

The theory, or paradigm, of learning regions was developed in response to the growing importance of the region as a center for development. It is the most recent explanation of regional economic development in which the regional utilizes the resources it already has to stimulate growth and development. It draws up on the new endogenous growth theory and new growth theory in this aspect, as technological change and knowledge are drawn from within the region and "knowledge is the most strategic resources and learning is the most important process" (Lundvall, 1994 cited in Morgan, 1997, p.493). It remains difficult to label it as a theory due to the fact that "learning regions represent a new and still developing conception, which can only hardly be delimited in a more general way" (Kern, Malinovský, and Sucháček, 2007). Lumír Kulháněk (2007) claims that the theory is "represented by the hypothesis that competitiveness is based on better learning ability; therefore the sociocultural and institutional differences are the cause of interregional differences." The most successful regions have achieved that position due to an institutional structure that facilitates the exchange of information and knowledge, resulting in an environment suited for learning.

Richard Florida is credited with creation of the term "learning region" in his work *Toward the Learning Region*. This essay from 1995 was the first instance in which the concept was discussed. In his work, Florida describes the growing importance of the region in today's global economy. The ability to absorb and utilize knowledge has become a key characteristic of economic success. Florida (1995, p. 527) defines the learning region as a "collector and repository of knowledge and ideas, and [it] provides the underlying environment or infrastructure which facilitates the flow of knowledge, ideas, and learning." These regions are well-endowed with the "related infrastructures which can facilitate the flow of knowledge, ideas, and learning" (Florida, 1995 p.532).

Since then, various authors including Kevin Morgan, Robert Hassink, and Björn Gustavsen, have further developed the concept, adding their own observations to create

a new object of analysis. The book *Knowledge, Innovation and Economic Growth: The Theory and Practice of Learning Regions* by Roel Rutten, Kevin Morgan, Frans Boemka, and Silvia Bakkers provides a useful introduction to the theory of learning regions in the case of regional development within the European Union. It includes case studies in Germany, Belgium, and Holland to illustrate the theory in a practical setting.

The definitions of a learning region are “quite vague and diverse;” they argue learning processes and initiatives are the key to renewal. One of the most basic, yet thorough, explanations characterizes the learning region as the “physical expression of the understanding which has grown [...] that economic growth is dependent upon innovation, and innovation, in turn, is dependent on the creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge ”(Boekema, Morgan, Bakkers, and Rutten, 2001). Hassink (2004) suggests that the learning region is most “focused on overcoming and avoiding political lock-ins in old industrial areas” by connecting the main actors to each other to create a collaborative learning environment. Björn Gustavsen (2001) made an interesting observation to add to the definition provided by Hassink; he said that the “chief characteristic of a region able to create strong and living populations of SMEs (small and medium enterprises) is, by definition, the ability to learn.” This means that the region is able to identify their most valuable resources, including manufacturing infrastructure (a network of firms), human infrastructure (the labor market which contributes and synthesizes knowledge), and physical and communication infrastructure, which transmit knowledge both domestically and globally through electronic networks. It then utilizes them in the most efficient manner to create new development opportunities that benefit the regional community as a whole.

These learning regions have become increasingly important as the global economy becomes more integrated. The traditional notion of an economy centered on tangible assets has evolved to include the trade of intangible assets, such as knowledge. New technology allows for the rapid transmission of information throughout the world, making it easier to conduct large scale business operations. This has drastically restructured the way in which the economy functions, as more emphasis is now placed on technological know-how than in the past. Not only do learning regions function in the economic sphere, but they have expanded their capabilities into other sectors, such as implementing governance structures. According to Stahl (2001), the learning region concept “is not contrary to the efforts of the EU and the individual member state to

promote regional development top down,” but rather “provides the targeted makeup of a manageable range of promotional opportunities from EU programs and from national programs for each specific development project.” The development of the learning regions makes the implementation of EU programs more feasible due to the increase in network connections. This is especially pertinent in CBRs, such as the Euroregions, as they are characterized by their involvement in low politics, or cooperation between subnational authorities.

Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift coined the term ‘institutional thickness’ to “refer to the ensemble of local conditions favorable to economic growth,” but it does not outright guarantee growth (Amin and Thrift, 1994 cited in Coulson and Ferrario, 2007, p.593). It simply serves as the base from which innovation can stem. The thickness can be measured by four non-economic factors: a strong institutional presence, high levels of interaction between local organizations, a common vision which reflects an awareness of being involved in a common enterprise, and structures of domination or patterns of coalition which help to increase the overall level of cooperation (Amin and Thrift, 1994 cited in Coulson and Ferrario, 2007, p.593). Institutional thickness in this sense can be applied both to learning regions as well as Euroregions. The network between key actors such as politicians, trade unions, companies, education institutions, and research establishments has already been established in these regions, which provides a foundation for growth and development. The actors are able to deal with new challenges, such as the implementation of additional programs, in a more efficient manner than areas without a previously established network, thereby resulting in a more effective environment.

Additional characteristics have been identified as common to all learning regions. They are as follows: a high number of actors at the regional level whose cooperation allows for the sharing of knowledge, the existence of research and development, consulting, and technological institutions that interact with the regional actors to promote innovation, and regional culture and institutions which is difficult to describe “what should be the character of the culture and the institutions in the region in order to maximize its capacity to learn and to innovate” (Kern, Malinovský, and Sucháček, 2007¹). The regional culture and institutions will vary from region to region due to the varying contexts, yet they all contribute to the overall outcome of development. The theory of learning regions can be used on the example of the Euroregion. Euroregions are a practical example of learning regions; they are a sub-

national entity which draws upon the expertise of regional actors to promote regional development. They utilize their network of actors to identify and address problems affecting their region.

1.5 Research Criteria

The three main criteria of the theory of learning region that can be qualitatively measured to assess the level of regional development in the Euroregions are the environment, institutional thickness, and areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange. First, it is important to understand the environment in which the learning region was created. This includes the cultural influence, such as traditions and unwritten societal norms or conventions, as these may have a significant influence on the level of cooperation and will vary from region to region. The formation process of the Euroregion must also be considered: how they were set up, internally as well as the external political-cultural environment. Both formal and informal rules must be taken into account; formal rules, including the legal norms according to which the Euroregions are administered and managed, are especially important.

Second, institutions exist to guide the development process. The institutional thickness of Euroregions can be assessed by the actors involved in Euroregion cooperation, including the number and type of actors. The frequency of the actors' interactions both intra- and inter-regionally are also assessed.

Third, the areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange are rooted in the objectives and priorities of the Euroregions. The policies through which these objectives and priorities are implemented are analyzed at two different periods of time to determine if their implementation in actuality reflects or varies from the original objectives and priorities. The policies should reflect the initial goals of the Euroregion, as this demonstrates the administration's commitment to fulfilling the Euroregion's goals.

This thesis seeks to compare the varying levels of regional development among the four chosen Euroregions at the end of 2008 by determining the individual impact of each of the criteria. It analyzes the level of regional development in the time period before and after the accession of the Czech Republic to the European Union in four Euroregions through the application of the theory of learning regions. This research is conducted through a comparative analysis based on the research criteria, with a focus on two major hypotheses: 1. The intensity of regional development post-2004 is greater in the older, "established" Euroregions than in the more recently established

Euroregions; 2. Czech accession to the EU had a greater impact on regions cooperating with a new member state than with an old member state. The years 2000 to 2008 were chosen to fully evaluate and compare the pre-accession aid period and the post-accession 2004-2006 programming period; the n+2 rule requires funds to be drawn maximally two years after completion. For example, funds from 2006 could be drawn through the end of 2008. Therefore, two years after the completion of the programming period must be considered. The 2007-2013 period was not chosen because it is still too soon to fully evaluate its results; the priorities and programs implemented using funding from this period will not be discussed.

The Czech Republic is the only new member state to share borders exclusively with both present and future EU members; it is the ideal candidate for this study. Four bilateral Euroregions with each of the Czech Republic's surrounding countries were chosen to ensure a consistent foundation for analysis, yet still employ a multi-perspective approach. The selected regions are Silva Nortica (Czech Republic-Austria, founded in 2002), Bílé-Biele Karpaty (Czech Republic-Slovakia, founded in 2000), Silesia (Czech Republic-Poland, founded in 1998), and Egrensis (Czech Republic-Germany, founded in 1993). These regions are all affected by the lack of geographical proximity to capital cities. Two regions include Czech cooperation with old member states, and two include Czech cooperation with new member states. This will give insight as to if the experience of old member state partners, Germany and Austria, facilitated the use of EU funds post-accession.

The methodology employed first provides the theoretical framework of the paper through defining key terms and concepts used in the research as well as the most significant theoretical approaches. This establishes a common foundation on which the research is conducted. Second, the empirical research is presented through a comparative analysis based on the research criteria, organized first by criterion and then by Euroregion. The three criteria of the theory, environment, institutional thickness, and areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange, are used to qualitatively measure the level of regional development. The environment in which each of the regions was created is depicted, beginning with the newest region, Silva Nortica, then Bílé-Biele Karpaty, Silesia, and finally Egrensis during the period from 2000-2008. Next, the institutional thickness of each of the regions, again from newest to oldest, again in the same period, is described. Last, the areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange, again from newest to oldest, again in the same period, are characterized. The

application of each criterion to each of the individual Euroregions provides a basis for further analysis to determine which factor had the greatest impact on the level of regional development. Third, an analysis of each of the regions is performed to determine the individual impact of each of the criteria on the level of regional development.

2. Criterion 1: Environment

The environment in which the Euroregion was conceived is greatly reflected in its structure. This environment varies between regions, as the initial circumstances are not identical in every region. The cultural and historical influence will be considered, as each region has a unique historical legacy that impacts the way in which the cooperation scheme was devised. The process by which the Euroregion was created is also described, detailing the formal procedures regarding the administration and management of the Euroregion.

2.1 Silva Nortica

While the Czech Republic and Austria were formerly united under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they were separated by a national border from 1918 onwards, with a stronger barrier erected between them during the Communist era. The Czech Republic was under the Soviet sphere of influence, where as Austria remained a free nation.

The policies of the Communist regime devastated the border regions. Beginning in the 1950s, the border zone between Czechoslovakia and Austria was fortified to prevent people from emigrating to the West. It was prohibited to enter the border zone without valid authorization; villages previously located within the zone were destroyed, citizens were forced to leave their homes and relocate, and a special group of border guards patrolled the border. Electric barbed-wire fences were erected and mine fields were planted to make it increasingly difficult and dangerous for people trying to escape. Over the following decades, all previous cooperation schemes were destroyed; physical and political barriers prevented the creation of new relations. These contrasting circumstances had a substantial impact on their later positions; the different historical situations resulted in Austria being a more developed nation than the Czech Republic.

The negotiation process between regional actors began 13 years before the actual creation of Silva Nortica. The area had always been a peripheral region due to its location away from major cities, and therefore was an ideal candidate for CBC. Discussions regarding the creation of a formal cooperation scheme began in 1989 at the

municipal level. The process gained support from above, such as by national governments, in 1992 and by the EU beginning in 1995. The Austrian organization Europa Plattform Pro Waldviertel (EPPW) was founded in 1995. In 1999, the Waldviertel Management Initiative, first aimed at the leader of the South Bohemian area and later at the regional development agencies, led to the signing of the Declaration on the Cooperation Between Regions in 2000. Additional efforts by the Association of Towns and Municipalities of the South Bohemian Region (Sdružení měst a obcí Jihočeského kraje, or SMOJK) led to the establishment of the Euroregion on May 28, 2002. The Euroregion was designed to improve cross-border cooperation between the two countries and encourage regional development. Silva

The Silva Nortica Euroregion is a voluntary working entity between the Czech Republic and Austria. It was not a new legal entity; rather, it was an agreement on mutual cooperation in which the participating associations remained subject to the laws of their respective countries. The foremost goal of Euroregion Silva Nortica is to promote CBC through the sustainable development of the border areas. It strives to develop the Euroregion, improve the quality of life of its residents, increase cooperation to eliminate border, and reduce disparities between the regions. This is accomplished by strengthening infrastructure, environmental protection, the development of tourism, and support for agriculture.

The Euroregion consists of the South Bohemia region including the cities of Jindřichův Hradec, České Budějovice, Písek, and Tábor on the Czech side and the Waldviertel region, which consists of the districts Zwettl, Krems, Gmünd, Waidhofen an der Thaya, and Horn. The largest cities in the Euroregion by population are České Budějovice and Krems. The region spans over 10,639 square kilometers, 6,035 square kilometers in the Czech Republic and 4,604 square kilometers in Austria. Approximately 668,500 people reside in Silva Nortica, with 2/3, or 444,500, in the Czech lands and 1/3, or 224,000, in the Austrian lands.

The Euroregion Silva Nortica is administered by three main bodies: the General Assembly, the Committee, and the Secretariat. The General Assembly is the supreme body of the Euroregion. It consists of 26 members, maximum: 13 representatives of municipalities, 1 representative of the Small Project Fund, 1 representative of regional development, the head of the relevant Secretariat, and maximum 10 leading experts of the working groups. The Committee represents the Euroregion in external situations. It is comprised of the two presidents, one from each country, their representatives, and

the two leaders of the Secretariats. The Secretariat is responsible for the proper management of the Euroregion. It is comprised of two individual secretariats, one in each country. Each secretariat is comprised of a leader and his or her associates. The most senior member of the Secretariat is the President of the General Assembly.

The Austrian Europa Plattform Pro Waldviertel (EPPW) and Czech Jihočeská Silva Nortica (JČSN) Associations are structured differently than the Euroregion. EPPW is the regional development agency of the Waldviertel region. It consists of the communities of Waldviertel and is led by two presidents. JČSN is led by a General Assembly, which consists of representatives of all members, and the Bureau, which consists of members of the districts České Budějovice, Tábor, and Písek.

2.2 Bílé-Biele Karpaty

There is a long tradition of cooperation between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Until the ‘Velvet Divorce’ on January 1, 1993, the two countries were formally united under a common power, except for a brief period during World War II. They were both subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and gained independence in 1918 as the First Czechoslovak Republic. They remained together for most of the next seven decades under various names: the Second Republic after the 1939 Munich Agreement, the Third Republic after World War II, and the Czechoslovak or Czechoslovak Socialist Republic during the Communist era. The Czech and Slovak people have different cultural traditions, but the rise of Czech-Slovak cooperation during World War I and linguistic ties facilitated the creation of a multi-ethnic state administered under a single government.

Czech-Slovak relations were less intense after the split. A bilateral customs union between the two nations was established to preserve trade arrangements, yet the Czech government implemented policies that distanced the two countries even further. The Czech Republic desired to differentiate itself from Slovakia. A formal border with customs procedures and a currency split were introduced as part of the Czech economic reforms; citizens were required to have passports to travel between the two countries. These policies resulted in some tension between the national governments.

National foreign policy was not reflected as strongly on the local level. Local and regional authorities in both countries continued discussions on regional cooperation. The first discussion of the Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty occurred in June 1993 at the conference ‘Restoration of the Rural Settlements and Landscapes in the White Carpathians’ was held by the Society for Sustainable Living and the regional

offices of Trenčín and Uherském Hradišti, a city in the Zlín region. Various disagreements between the Czech and Slovak governments prevented further action until October 1999, at which time the Declaration on Mutual Cooperation was signed at the conference 'Restoring the Landscape in the White Carpathians'. The declaration was a critical step towards the establishment of the Euroregion.

At this point, only one step remained before the creation of the Euroregion. Two associations, Region Bílé Karpaty in the Czech Republic and Región Biele Karpaty in Slovakia, were created with similar rules and structures to facilitate future collaboration. On July 30, 2000, the two associations signed the Memorandum of Cross-Border Association which created the legal entity of Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty. It was registered at the Regional State Administration in Trenčín on September 28, 2000; it later became an observer of AEBR on October 18, 2000 and eventually a fully member in 2003.

The Bílé-Biele Karpaty Euroregion is a cross-border initiative between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It includes the Zlín region in the Czech Republic and the Trenčín region in Slovakia. The largest cities in the Euroregion are Zlín in the Czech Republic and Trenčín in Slovakia. The region spans 8,466 square kilometers and has 1,190,528 inhabitants. The population and land area in each country are approximately equal: 3,963 square kilometers with approximately 597,000 people in the Czech Republic and 4,502 square kilometers with approximately 594,000 people in Slovakia.

The Association of Legal Entities Euroregion Bílé- Biele Karpaty consists of Czech and Slovak representatives from the public, entrepreneurial, and non-profit sectors who work to develop the region in areas such as transport, the environment, tourism, education, and economic development. It states its main goal as creating a stable cooperation partnership aimed at the development of friendly relationships in the neighboring border regions in Slovakia and the Czech Republic while respecting the mutual cultural and natural heritage of the border area. The goals of the Czech and Slovak Associations respectively center on the development of the Zlín and Trenčín regions through cross-border partnerships.

The Euroregion is comprised of three main bodies. First, the General Assembly is the supreme body of the Euroregion; it consists of maximum 20 members from both the Czech and Slovak organizations. It is led by the Chairman of ER BBK, who is from the Slovak association, and the Vice-Chairman, who is from the Czech association. The Secretariat is tasked with the management of the Euroregion. Second, the Board of

Directors is comprised of 12 members, six from each association. It includes a smaller Working Group of eight members, four from each association. Its duties include preparing materials for Euroregion meetings, cross-border round tables, conferences, and publicity materials. Third, the Board of Supervisors is the control body of the Euroregion; it is comprised of four members, two from each association; it also includes the Working Groups.

2.3 Silesia

The Central European region of Silesia has been repeatedly divided between different empires and nations since the 18th century. The multi-ethnic industrial region comprised of Upper and Lower Silesia spans throughout Poland, the Czech Republic, and Germany; historically, Poland and Germany have struggled for control over the region, with the formation of Czech Silesia as a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Upper Silesia was a part of the Prussian Empire, and later Germany, until World War II. Other parts belonged to Poland or Czechoslovakia depending on the ethnicity of the majority population. Polish Silesia was one of the first areas invaded and annexed by Nazi Germany, but after the war, the border between Germany and Poland was redrawn, and the area was returned to Poland where ethnic Poles resettled the land previously inhabited by Germans.

The Silesian identity has persevered despite attempts by all three nations to integrate the population with the larger national identity. After 1918, the Silesian minority advocated for the creation of an autonomous region or an independent nation state. These cries were suppressed in Poland during the interwar period with the forced Germanization of the population. The region was subject to forced Polonization during the Communist era, which caused mass emigration from Poland and Czechoslovakia to West Germany. The Silesian identity became a political argument, as they were an “economy necessity” to the development of heavy industry (Kamusella, 2012). The border between Poland and Czechoslovakia was a ‘green border,’ in which people could cross, but were required to follow certain procedures. This rendered everyday cross-border contact within the area virtually non-existent. The transition to a free market and democratic society, in addition to the 1990 Border Treaty and 1991 Treaty on Cooperation and Good Neighborliness, prompted a resurgence of Silesian identity.

A unified Silesia was slowly restored after the fall of Communism, beginning at the local level with partnerships between individual cities. The driving force behind this cooperation was residents in the border areas as well as local governments who wanted

to explore solutions to the common problems facing border regions. They were influenced by the actions of Western Europe and took advantage of the newly democratic environment. Initially, a larger Euroregion entitled “Opole-Moravian-Silesian” was established in November 1997 by representatives from the towns of Opava and Krnov in the Czech Republic and Racibórz, and Głubczyce in Poland. This sparked interest in municipalities in both countries. The Polish Association of Municipalities of the Upper Oder River was registered on June 4, 1998 and the Regional Association for the Czech-Polish Cooperation Opavian Silesia, now Euroregion Silesia-CZ, was founded on July 7, 1998. Just a few short months later, Euroregion Silesia was created on September 20, 1998. The Euroregion is a mutual cooperation agreement between the two associations, not a legal entity.

The Euroregion stretches from the northeastern area of the Czech Republic up through the southwest area of Poland. It is important to note that Euroregion Silesia is distinct from the Central European region Silesia; the Euroregion includes part of the larger region and encompasses part of Northern Moravia as well. The region encompasses 2,724 square kilometers, with a little more than half, 1,500 square kilometers, in Polish territory, and 1,224 square kilometers in Czech territory. It is comprised of the Czech districts Opava, Bruntál, Nový Jičín, and Ostrava, and the Polish districts głubczycki, raciborski, rybnicki, and wodzisławski. The largest cities in the region are Ostrava and Opava on the Czech side and Głubczyce and Gorzyce on the Polish side. Approximately 767,000 people reside in Silesia, with almost double, 488,000 people, in the Czech area compared to the Polish area, which has 279,000 people.

The Euroregion Silesia divides its main purpose into two parts: first, suppress the negative impact of the border and second, ensure steady development on both sides of the border area to facilitate integration of the area into the EU. It seeks to do this through promoting CBC in the following ways: strengthening transport infrastructure and border crossing points; addressing environmental issues; supporting the development of the tourism industry; supporting cooperation between schools and youth; promoting the exchange of knowledge in the labor market; promoting economic and trade cooperation; and supporting the common cultural heritage.

It is comprised of three main bodies. First, the Presidium is the supreme body of the Euroregion. It consists of five representatives from each side, who are elected by the General Assemblies of the respective Euroregion. Second, the Chairman consists of

the President and the Vice-President. Both sides must be represented; therefore, if the president is from the Czech Republic, the Vice-President is from Poland. Third, the working groups perform various tasks including preliminary research and topic specific discussions, such as on an issue of the Euroregion. They can be permanent or temporary.

The structures of the Czech Association Euroregion Silesia-CZ and the Polish Association of Municipalities of Upper Odra River Basin mirror one another. The highest body is the General Assembly. Its functions include approving the budget and rules on the organization of the association. It is comprised of one representative, usually the mayor or the highest representative, from each municipality. The Council of the Association is the executive body of the Association. It is the most senior body of the association between meetings of the General Assembly; it also represents the association externally. The Audit Commission serves as the control body; it supervises the activities of the association. In the Association Euroregion Silesia-CZ, the working groups serve the same purpose as the Euroregion's working groups. The Secretariat performs tasks between the meetings of the Council of the Association, including coordination with the municipalities and administrative work.

2.4 Egrensis

The area comprising Euroregion Egrensis shares a common history, despite being split between different ruling powers over the last centuries. It was known during medieval times as the Egria Region or Egrensis Provence. The Bavarian and Saxon areas were united under the Prussian and German Empires, while the Bohemian area was under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The area was briefly unified during World War II, but was once again separated after the war. Animosity remained after the war as this was a disputed area from which people were forcefully expelled. The Bavarian lands were a part of West Germany, where the Czech and Saxon lands were part of the Communist German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

The border between Germany and Czechoslovakia had become a restricted area already in 1951, fortified by barbed wire fences and watchtowers. A border between East and West Germany was built in 1952 to prevent the mass emigration of East German citizens to the West. Similar to other border regions, it became a restricted zone spanning for kilometers which required a special permit for entry. Towns were destroyed and people were resettled to other areas. The border fortifications were upgraded over the decades, evolving from simple barbed wire fences to metal barriers,

mines, tripwires, and guard towers. The division between East and West as well as the division between East Germany and Czechoslovakia marginalized the border region. For decades, contact was nonexistent: entire areas were razed and it was impossible to move between the areas without risking death. The border restrictions had a negative impact on all three areas, as the physical border reinforced the bitterness and division between groups.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, it was once again possible to move freely between countries. New prospects arose as the defunct border regions were able to interact after almost 40 years of closed borders. The idea of Czech-German cross-border cooperation originated in Germany, but was promptly welcomed by the Czechs as they recognized the need to address the disadvantages of the border areas. Partnerships served as a way to effectively deal with the changing environment. The idea of forming a cross-border initiative between the Czech Republic, Saxony, and Bavaria arose in 1989 at a local level; additional steps were taken over the next few years, including the formation of the Association Euregio Egrensis Czech in 1991 and the Euregio Egrensis Working Association Bavaria and Euregio Egrensis Working Association Vogtland/West Ore Mountains, now Working Association Saxony/Thuringia, in 1992. The German Associations are registered as non-profit organizations; the Czech Association is registered as a municipal organization, or an association of towns and cities.

On February 3, 1993, the joint cooperation agreement to establish Euroregion Egrensis was signed between the three associations in Cheb, Czech Republic. Egrensis is the largest region under analysis in this thesis: approximately two million people live in the region's 17,000 square kilometers throughout Bavaria, Saxony, and Western Bohemia. The Czech Republic accounts for approximately 20 percent of the total area and 16 percent of the total population, while 50 percent of the land and population is located in Bavaria and 30 percent of the land and 36 percent of the population are in Saxony. The largest cities in the region include Karlovy Vary in the Czech lands and Plauen in the German lands.

The goals of Euroregion Egrensis address reconciling past divisions. The Euroregion states two main goals in its cooperation agreement: first, develop understanding and tolerance as well as an extensive, peaceful partnership between the three areas and second, to coordinate and promote CBC and development in the spirit of good neighborliness and friendship. By removing the language and mental barriers

between the areas, the Euroregion hopes to improve communication among the groups to foster an environment suited for development. The member associations have similar themes in their goals. The Saxon/Thuringian Working Association and Bavarian Working Association state their purpose as the promotion of an international attitude, international understanding, tolerance, reconciliation, and peaceful cooperation to overcome the previously divisive boundaries through promoting CBC and developing solutions within its measures. The Czech Working Association seeks to develop and deepen friendly relations between the Czech Republic and Germany by initiating and supporting all forms of cooperation within the border region.

The areas of interest are split between the Associations, so each Association is able to fully dedicate its time and resources. The Bavarian area focuses on reducing language barriers, the Saxon/Thuringia area focuses on developing transport and infrastructure, and the Czech area focuses on tourism and spas.

The Euroregion Egrensis is led by two main bodies: the joint presidium and the advisory committee. The joint presidium is a two year position alternating between the three associations. The advisory committee consists of three representatives from the boards of the Associations; one of these representatives is elected chairman.

Each of the three Working Associations forming the Euroregion has a common structure which establishes a similar decision-making process throughout the Euroregion. The Saxon/Thuringian Working Association consists of the Executive Committee, General Assembly, and the Committee. The Executive Committee is the executive body of the Association; it is composed of the constituent members, from which the Board, the President and the two Vice-Presidents, are chosen. It also includes a managing director who is responsible for fulfilling day-to-day operations. The General Assembly is the legislative body consisting of both constituent and cooperating members; it is headed by a President and meets at least once a year to vote on matters put forth by the Bureau. The General Assembly elects the Committees as suggested by the Bureau.

The Bavarian Working Association consists of the Presidium, the Council, and the Assembly. The Presidium includes the Executive Committee, which is formed by the President, two deputies, and maximum eight other members elected by the Assembly. The Council consists of one representative of each member. It conducts the general business of the Association. The Assembly decides on the matters presented by the Council.

The Czech Working Association consists of a General Assembly, Presidium, and the Secretariat. The General Assembly is the highest body of the Association. It consists of representatives of each of the members. The Presidium consists of five members who collectively act as the highest body between meetings of the General Assembly. It is responsible for the functioning of the Association. The Secretariat performs the administrative tasks of the Association. In addition, the Association consists of working groups and a control and audit commission to ensure the Association's compliance with its founding framework.

3. Criterion 2: Institutional Thickness

In the case of the Euroregion, institutional thickness refers to the circumstances that, when possessing the proper elements, result in an atmosphere conducive to, but not necessarily guaranteeing, growth. The actors and institutional structures involved in each of the individual Euroregions are assessed. Actors from all sectors of society, including the market, state, and civil society, will be characterized. Each actor is unique: they each have different organization schemes and strive to achieve different aims, but they are all united by the common factor of the Euroregion, and their actions should reflect the objectives set forth by the Euroregion. The larger cooperation scheme formed by the individual actors is also described. It is imperative that a cohesive structure is implemented to provide a forum for discussion between all actors and increase the overall effectiveness of the decision-making process. The level of interaction among the relevant actors is related to the total number of participants, the respective frequencies of their meetings, and interaction that takes place with bodies outside of the Euroregion.

3.1 Silva Nortica

At the highest level, the governing body of ERSN meets on a regular basis as set forth in the Constitutive Agreement of ERSN. The General Assembly meets as necessary, but at least once per year. The committee meets as necessary, but at least twice per year. The Secretariats are each required to meet at least twice a year. The General Assembly of JČSN meets at least once a year. The Bureau meets as necessary, as well as within 30 days of receiving a written complaint.

To become a member of the Euroregion, cities, towns, and legal entities in the relevant districts must become a member of their respective country's organization. Membership in either association is subject to the rules of the respective organization. The members of EPPW are politicians and other prominent people within the

community; cities, municipalities, and other organizations are indirect members of the association and therefore are regarded as members of the Euroregion. Members are required to pay dues each year. Members of JČSN include cities, municipalities, and other legal entities which are located within Jindřichův Hradec, České Budějovice, Písek, and Tábor who identify with the objectives, activities, and Articles of JČSN. The General Assembly of JČSN approves new members. On average, the Euroregion consisted of 121 members between the years 2000 and 2008; JČSN averaged 48 members and EPPW averaged 73 members. The overall level of membership in the Euroregion remained constant; membership in JČSN increased slightly between 2004 and 2008 as the Euroregion became more established, but membership in EPPW decreased.

Silva Nortica interacts with external bodies as well. It became a member of AEBR in 2005; AEBR holds annual meetings as well as regular conferences and events for its members. In 2006, JČSN became a member of AEČR, the Association of Euroregions in the Czech Republic. This Association brings together Czech-German and Czech-Austrian Euroregions. Since 2008, ERSN is the presiding member of the Association and organized annual meetings on topics pertaining to CBC. It also cooperates with the Czech and Austrian governments and the EU. Each year, the Euroregion processes maps, statistical data, and information brochures and produces marketing activities for both Bohemia and Waldviertel. The Euroregion also organizes workshops, conferences, and field trips.

The Euroregion has working groups which meet ad hoc to address issues in the following areas: infrastructure and transport; tourism; business support and development; agriculture, forestry, fishing, and rural development; health and social sectors; environment; human resources and labor market; safety and emergencies; and twinning between cities and microregions. Each working group has a Czech and Austrian representative to promote mutual cooperation in these areas.

3.2 Bílé-Biele Karpaty

The governing body of Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty meets at regular intervals as set forth in the Rules of the Association of Legal Entities. The General Assembly meets at least once per year and more if deemed necessary. The Board of Directors meets at least two times per year. The Board of Supervisors meets at least one time per year. The Euroregion has two sets of working groups; one consists of two representatives from each country who prepare documents pertaining to both internal

and external cooperation; the second set of working groups focus on the five main areas of the JPD: programming, human resources, tourism, environment, and VITRUM PRO FUTURUM.

Members of ER BBK are defined as legal entities and other legal persons who are approved by the General Assembly. They include businesses, microregions, associations, regional administrative bodies, and universities. On average, the region consisted of 28 members from 2000-2008 from both the Czech Republic and Slovakia; membership increased during the first four years after establishment, then decreased to just below the average in 2008.

Both horizontal and vertical cooperation occur in the Euroregion. Members and working groups cooperate within the Euroregion according to its priorities and needs. Annual conferences are held within the Euroregion to strengthen the cross-border partnership. Externally, ERBBK cooperates with a variety of bodies, including the EU, AEBC as an observer in 2000-2002 then a full member from 2003, the Slovak-Czech and Czech-Slovak Intergovernmental Commission, the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Affairs, the Czech and Slovak Ministries of Regional Development, the Slovak Home Office, the Regional Development Agencies in Trenčín and Zlín, and the Forum for Euroregions Slovakia.

The Czech and Slovak associations host other events to strengthen the cross-border partnership and involve non-members. Roundtable events featuring regional experts, professional institutions, and ministries are held to address specific cross-border cooperation problems. The first roundtable was held in June 2001; on average, one to two roundtables were held per year between 2001 and 2008. Conferences are held occasionally; six conferences were held between May 2002 and October 2007. They address the development of the Euroregion. Past conference titles include “The Future of Cross-Border Cooperation and Regional Development in the Territory of ER BBK,” “Entry of Czech Republic and Slovakia to the EU and Its Influence on the Development of CZ-SK Border Region,” and “Development Strategy of Cross-Border Tourism in the ER BBK for the years 2002-2006.” These events promote community awareness through education, thereby strengthening the cross-border partnership.

3.3 Silesia

The governing body of Euroregion Silesia meets at regular intervals as set forth in the Cooperation Agreement. The Council of the Euroregion meets at least once a year. In Euroregion Silesia-CZ, the General Assembly meets at least twice a year and

additionally upon request, the Council of the Association meets at least five times a year, and the Audit Commission meets at least once a year. In the Association of Municipalities of the Upper Odra River Basin, the General Assembly meets at least once every six months and additionally upon request and the Audit Commission meets at least once a year. Working groups of both the Euroregion and Euroregion-Silesia CZ can be established both permanently and temporarily by the Presidium of the Euroregion and the Council of the Association, respectively.

Members of Euroregion Silesia-CZ include cities, counties, and municipalities; associate members include educational institutions, local action groups, and chambers of commerce. Members of the Polish Association are divided into two categories: ordinary members, such as municipalities, and supporting members, such as individuals and legal entities. On average, the region consisted of a total of 102 members between 2000 and 2008; Euroregion Silesia-CZ had 62 members and the Polish Association had 40 members. Membership levels during the period remained stable.

The Euroregion involves itself in other meetings to increase the overall level of cooperation both internally and externally. For example, the region held a series of intense discussions from March to May 2006 regarding the reconstruction of roads linking cities within the region. In 2008, Euroregion Silesia celebrated its 10th anniversary with a meeting to evaluate the first decade of cooperation; the meeting also aimed to raise awareness and interest in Euroregions and specifically the Euroregion Silesia. Externally, the Euroregion cooperates with other Euroregions, including Váh-Dunaj-Ipel, its official partner, as well as Pamina, Těšínské Slezsko, and Beskydy. It is a founding member of the Consultative Council of Euroregions of the Visegrád 4 Countries. This Council seeks to improve cooperation among the V4 countries (Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic) in addressing cross-border issues. Euroregion Silesia cooperates with national governments and Border Region associations, such as the Polish Border Regions and the Czech-Polish Intergovernmental Committee for Cross-Border Cooperation. It is not a member of AEBR, but it regularly communicates its activities and developments with the Association.

3.4 Egrensis

The structure of the Euroregion is decentralized in that each Association is responsible for a specific focus area and therefore they are not required to meet as often with their counterparts. The General Assembly of the Saxon/Thuringian Working

Association meets at least once a year. The Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Bavarian Working Association meets at least twice a year to implement the decisions of the Council, who holds meetings as needed. There are four working groups that meet as needed and are focused on the following areas: economy, transportation, labor market, and infrastructure; environment and ecology; tourism and recreation; and culture, youth work, and sports. The General Assembly of the Czech Working Association meets at least twice a year, the Presidium meets four times a year, the Control and Audit Commission meets at least once a year, and the working groups meet as necessary.

Three joint annual events are held under the auspices of the Joint Bureau. They are the Euroregion Egrensis press conference, awards ceremony, and youth summer camp. The reports of the working groups are presented at the joint press conference. The awards ceremony recognizes outstanding Czech-German initiatives in border areas. Since 1992, the youth summer camp is held each summer at different locations in the Euroregion for children ages 11 to 14.

The members of the Bavarian and Saxon/Thuringian Working Associations are divided into two categories: constituent members and cooperating members. Constituent members include local authorities and regional planning associations. Cooperating members include individuals, institutions, associations, and clubs. The members of the Czech Working Association include towns, cities, and unions. It was not possible to receive a list of members during the 2000-2008 period from the Czech or Saxon/Thuringian Working Associations, so the list of members, current as of May 2014, has been used. The numbers within the Bavarian Working Association have remained within a stable range (average of 155 members in 2000-2008 and 157 members in 2014); it is reasonable to deduce the Euroregion as a whole had between 200 and 250 members on average during the 2000-2008 period.

The Euroregion promotes Czech-German partnerships at all levels. The Euroregion interacts with bodies of the EU including the EC, the European Parliament (EP), and COR. They also cooperate with members of the national governments, such as the Czech Ministry of Regional Development, the German Foreign Office, national embassies, and cultural centers. Euroregion Egrensis has been a member of AEBR since 1995 and as such, can participate in its annual meetings and regular conferences and events. They serve as a contact point for organizations in both Germany and the Czech Republic who wish to connect with their foreign counterparts. Many

partnerships between schools and cities were established, as well as friendly connections between other associations.

4. Criterion 3: Areas of Cooperation and Knowledge Exchange

Each Euroregion has unique objectives and priorities relating to its individual situation. First, the priorities of PHARE CBC and INTERREG IIIA will be illustrated for each Euroregion. Second, the priorities reflecting their specific needs of each Euroregion will be listed. Third, specific programs implemented during the periods will be described. The areas in which the region pursues cooperation and knowledge exchange through the implementation of various policies should directly correspond with the priorities of PHARE, INTERREG IIIA, and its unique priorities, as the reflection of region's objectives in its policies proves its commitment.

The programs implemented in these regions were financed jointly by the individual regions as well as from EU funds. During the 2000-2008 period, the Czech Republic was eligible for funding from PHARE; it received €19 million per year in 2000-2003 from PHARE for a total of €76 million: €10 million per year for the Czech-German border, €5 million per year for the Czech-Polish border, and €4 million per year for the Czech-Austrian border. These funds were further divided among the Euroregions in that area. The Czech-Slovak border only received PHARE funding during 1999, which will not be taken into account because it is outside of the analysis period. The Czech Ministry of Regional Development was responsible for administering these funds.

In the 2004-2006 period, the Czech Republic began to receive funding from INTERREG III, which allocated 80 percent of funds to INTERREG IIIA. It was eligible for €55 million from INTERREG IIIA; this was divided amongst five programs based upon territorial divisions in accordance with the NUTS III regions: Czech-Austrian, which included South Bohemia, Vysočina, and South Moravia, was allotted €11 million; Czech-Slovak, which included South Moravia, Zlín, and Moravskoslezského, was allotted €9 million; Czech-Polish, which included Moravia-Silesia, Olomouc, Pardubice, Hradec Kralove, and Liberec, was allotted €16.5 million; Czech-Saxon, which included Karlovy Vary, Liberec, and Ústí nad Labem, was allotted €9.9 million; and Czech-Bavarian, which included Karlovy Vary, Plzeň, and part of South Bohemia, including Prachatice, Český Krumlov, Strakonice, Písek, and České Budějovice, was allotted €8.6 million. Similar to the PHARE funding, INTERREG IIIA funding was then split further among the individual Euroregions.

4.1 Silva Nortica

During 1995-1999, Austria and the Czech Republic participated in the INTERREG IIA-PHARE CBC program. This set a foundation for further cooperation using EU funds during the 2000-2006 programming periods. In addition to funding from the EU, the Euroregion Associations finance programs through member contributions; payments by civic associations, businesses, and institutions; income from the Association's activities; voluntary donations and aid; and subsidies and loans from international institutions as well as state bodies.

4.1.1 2000-2003

In 2000, the process to converge the two programs began; one joint programming document (JPD) defining the areas and conditions for the implementation of the Community Initiative Program (CIP) INTERREG IIIA was produced. The Czech Republic was still receiving PHARE funds at this time, but their partnership with Austria allowed for early integration into INTERREG IIIA. This provided the Czech Republic with the opportunity to build on their experience with PHARE in the previous period by gaining experience with INTERREG IIIA prior to their accession with guidance from an old member state; this would prove beneficial after their accession as they were already familiar with the rules and procedures in implementing EU funds.

The JPD details six main priorities for the 2000-2006 period: 1. cross-border economic cooperation; 2. availability; 3. cross-border organization structures and networks; 4. human resources; 5. sustainable spatial and environmental development; and 6. special support for border regions (only Austria). These priorities are further divided into 12 measures, the areas addressed under each priority, with a 13th measure, technical assistance, applied to all priorities.

In accordance with the JPD, the projects selected in 2000 for PHARE funds aligned with the priorities of the environment, minor technical infrastructure, and socio-economic development. In 2001, the projects selected aligned with the priorities of cross-border economic cooperation, sustainable spatial development and environmental protection, and socio-economic development. In 2002, the main priorities were socio-economic development and cross-border infrastructure. In 2003, the main priorities were to contribute to the improvement of environmental quality through the application of environmentally friendly technologies and technology transfer in the area of waste and renewable resources.

After the establishment of ERSN in 2002, the Euroregion produced its own Work Program for 2003-2004, which detailed the five main goals of ERSN between the meetings of the General Assembly from June 2003 until June 2004. It is a two page document that provides some details about how the Euroregion plans to achieve each of the priorities. They are: the representation of the region, exchange of information, development strategy and programs, building infrastructure, and coordination of CBC. These goals reflect the specific needs of the Euroregion during the 2003-2004 period. The Evaluation of the 2003-2004 Work Program notes that most of the five objectives were met, but improvements were necessary in the areas of the original development strategy, public communication, and the structure and functioning of the working groups, as only four of the seven groups had met.

During the 2000-2003 period, a total of 68 large investment projects and non-investment small projects were executed in ERSN to address the priorities set forth by both PHARE and the Working Program. PHARE CBC is structured as annual project approvals. These projects included physical infrastructure projects, such as work on sewer systems in Slavonice and road repairs in the South Bohemian region, such as between Nová Bystřice and Staré Město pod Landštejnem. These projects improved the accessibility and quality of the region, therefore improving the conditions for development of the region. Cross-border networks and human resources were strengthened through the development of a network of cross-border pulse centers (GIZ), which offer assistance with the implementation cross-border projects and the Center for Cross-Border Human Resource Development in České Budějovice. Tourism projects, such as the promotion of the Český Krumlov by publishing lists of events and new tourism products in Třeboň with a focus on architecture and natural sites, promote the region and attract outside investment into the area. Cultural projects promoted CBC between residents of all ages in the areas of education and sports, such as the project Sportfestival EUREGIO 2005 “Game of Friendship and Understanding” for children. A biotechnology center in Nové Hradky was established for research, development, and education. This center strengthened ties between the Czech and Austrian sides while creating quality jobs to prevent the migration of educated people. In the area of sustainable development and environmental protection, Jindřichův Hradec employed the use of renewable natural resources in energy production to lessen the environmental impact and save energy. Also, waste collection and recycling programs were introduced

in České Budějovice and Jindřichův Hradec. This is just a selection of the projects implemented during the period to improve CBC and develop the region.

4.1.2 2004-2008

The last of the PHARE funded programs were announced in 2004, with the financial settlement lasting until 2006 in accordance with the n+2 rule. On July 1, 2004, INTERREG IIIA was officially announced between the Czech Republic and Austria after the Czech Republic's accession to the EU. The priorities of the JPD remained constant through 2006.

The ERSN Work Program 2004-2006 sets forth three main objectives to be completed in the two year period: exchange of information, development strategy of the Euroregion, and completion of the structure of the Euroregion. Again, it is a two page document that provides some insight as to how the Euroregion plans to achieve these objectives. The Evaluation of the Work Program notes that the tasks were performed, but problems remained from the prior period. The development strategy, public awareness of the Euroregion, and the working groups were lagging as well as cooperation among members and other actors involved in CBC. The Euroregion was successful in the areas of tourism, environment, and twinning.

Five calls for project proposals were made between March 2005 and February 2007, each specifying a thematic area. Over 100 projects were carried out during this period to improve the structure of the Euroregion, promote CBC and tourism, develop physical infrastructure, and environmental protection. The network of cross-border pulse centers (GIZ) was developed further to promote networks of CBC. Many sporting events were held for children to strengthen cross-border ties; "River Thaya: Significant Symbol for Friendship in the Border Region" and the "Development of Sports Activities in Border Region of South Bohemia and Lower Austria" which invite young people from both sides of the border to participate. "A Week of Cycling" and "Academia Allegra Vivo" promote tourism and cultural exchange through Czech-Austrian cycling trips and music festivals, respectively. The "Planning and Preparation of Project Documentation of Border Roads of South Bohemia-Austria" and "Repair of Local Roads in Nový Hradý" worked towards the improvement of roads and border crossings, which facilitates CBC through improved infrastructure and promotes tourism through greater accessibility.

4.2 Bílé-Biele Karpaty

Czech-Slovak border regions did not receive PHARE CBC funding in the 2000-2003 period. This impacted the number of projects it was able to implement due to funding concerns. It became eligible for INTERREG IIIA funds from October 28, 2004. In addition to funding from the EU, the Euroregion finances its own activities through membership fees; subsidies, grants, and donations; interest on the funds held in bank accounts; and other revenues coming from operations. It does not partake in business activities aimed at making a profit.

4.2.1 2000-2003

The 11 main goals of the Euroregion are set forth in its rules. They are: environment and spatial planning; agriculture and forest management; transport, communications, and technical infrastructure; economy, employment, and human resources; health and social care; education, research, and culture; educational, information, and publishing activities; organizing of seminars and conferences; cooperation with other Euroregions; civil defense, fire protection, and emergency services; and civil society. From 2001 to 2006, the Euroregion established its specific annual goals and what activities would be completed to achieve these objectives in annual reports drawing from those 11 listed. These documents are very detailed in describing the objectives for the years and how the region will achieve them.

The first JPD for 2001-2006 focused on five main priorities of the Euroregion. The 2001-2002 objectives were as follows: development of the Association Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty; development of social and economic activities and societal and professional associations; international cooperation; and ensuring the financial stability of the Euroregion. The 2002-2003 objectives built on the first year objectives, but with a different emphasis in each area. The 2003-2004 objectives included revising the JPDs to the year 2006; international cooperation; increasing the presence of the Association at the regional, national, and international level; and ensuring the long-term financial viability of the Association. The updated JPD for 2003-2006 was narrower in scope and focused on three main priorities of the original five: comprehensive care of human resources, developing tourism, and transport and technical infrastructure.

During this period, the first steps worked towards the establishment of the Euroregion's structure as well as guaranteeing financial funding, including the formation of the management board and the working groups. The long-term development of human resources in the Euroregion was addressed through seminars on

the administration of EU funds and cross-border meetings to discuss the development of CBC. Preparatory meetings for the implementation of INTERREG IIIA were held. One notable program from this period was VITRUM PRO FUTURUM, which focused on the maintenance and development of the Euroregion's glass industry. Its effects were quite broad; it sought to assist in the economic development of the Euroregion through the development of the glass industry, the development of tourism through artistic and cultural events, the development of cross-border education, and the development of SMEs. It brought together 15 representatives from the Czech Republic and Slovakia to prepare strategies, projects, and activities of the program and was a part of a larger network of 31 partners from the two countries. The Euroregion also realized programs to promote tourism and CBC, such as a cycling competition.

4.2.2 2004-2008

The updated goals from the 2003 JPD were applicable during this period. The last annual objectives were for the 2004-2005 period and included: umbrella organization ERBBK, which is managed by the partner organizations and coordinates and provides the respective services; sponsoring joint social and cultural events involving the general public; increasing the visibility of the Euroregion; ensuring awareness of members; participation in selected activities and events; preparation and implementation of selected projects of the member associations; fulfilling the joint account; and processing rules regarding the joint account. From 2005 on, ERBBK annually approves the activity plans of its member associations, which are jointly prepared by the working groups.

The Euroregion became eligible for INTERREG IIIA funding in 2004. The two main priorities of Czech-Slovak INTERREG IIIA for 2004-2006 were 1. social and cultural development and networking; and 2. landscape conservation and tourism development. These were supplemented by five measures: for priority 1, human resources, cultural and social development and maintaining and enhancing natural resources and living conditions due to the development of tourism; for priority 2, building and developing tourism infrastructure, the micro-projects fund, and the development of land in regards to environmental aspects. These were further elaborated upon in the CIP of the same period.

During the 2004-2006 period, the VITRUM PRO FUTURUM program continued. Additional programs were implemented, including the "Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty on the Map," which is directly aligned with the period's priorities. This

project had four main goals: create a collaborative system on both sides of the border, support the further development of the border region by strengthening existing cross-border cultures, increase the visibility and promote the cross-border area, and strengthen long-term forms of cooperation. These goals would be achieved through the production of a heraldic map of the Euroregion which included cultural, sport, and tourist attractions in the region. The development of the project strengthened cross-border ties as it is a joint project of the Zlín and Trenčín regions. It also increases the visibility of the region both to residents and tourists.

Another notable project, the creation of an advisory center to help people with disabilities, worked to develop equality within the Euroregion. It focused on reducing the unemployment of people with disabilities and their integration into society. It provides consulting services to support these individuals and their integration into the labor market. This will eliminate the consequences associated with long-term unemployment and benefits the entire region. Many other smaller projects to promote CBC were also realized during this period, such as sporting events and cultural festivals.

4.3 Silesia

Before the EU expansion in 2004, both Poland and the Czech Republic had received PHARE CBC funds since 1999. The last of the PHARE CBC funds were announced in April 2004 and the financial settlement was set for 2006. They became eligible for INTERREG IIIA funds on February 28, 2005 after both countries' accession to the EU. In addition to EU funds, the Euroregion finances its own activities through the revenues of the Czech and Polish Associations; each Association receives money from membership fees, grants, gifts, and subsidies, and other sources. Euroregion Silesia-CZ earns additional revenue from services provided by the Association in carrying out tasks related to supporting Czech-Polish CBC.

4.3.1 2000-2003

Three main priorities were set forth for Czech-Polish cooperation using PHARE CBC funds in 2000-2002. These areas are the economy, the environment, and society, including human resources. Each of these priorities is supplemented by two measures for a total of six measures plus technical assistance for all of the priorities. In 2003, the priorities were amended and expanded to five priorities: economic development, environment, economy, environmental protection, and human resources. These

priorities' measures focused more heavily on establishing cross-border connections between individuals, organizations, and infrastructure.

In 2000, the main focus was placed on transport in the context of economic development and social, small-scale projects. In 2001, focus was placed on the development of efficient sewer system and wastewater treatment, the development of an efficient and dense road network for cross-border traffic, and increasing the involvement of the border community in social benefits replaced to their position in the border region. In 2002, focus was again placed on an efficient system of wastewater and developing an efficient and dense road network for cross-border traffic to improve economic and trade cooperation. Focus was also placed on socio-economic development.

Euroregion Silesia benefitted from one large scale investment project in 2002, the construction of sewerage in the city Horní Benešov. It was also eligible for €332,400 from the joint small projects fund in the Czech territory, which included the Opava and Ostrava districts as well as Bruntál in 2000. 40 projects were completed during this period including in the areas of infrastructure, environment, economy, promotion of cross-border contacts, and tourism. Two small infrastructure projects were completed, sewerage in Krnov and reconstruction of the Dolní forest roads. The "Paradoxes of life in the Water Mining Landscape" program aimed to raise environmental awareness in schools and provide conservation management plans to assist nature protection authorities.

One large project concerning the economy was "Border Crossing in Euroregion Silesia." This project modeled the border crossing post-EU accession and provided information on the free movement of people and goods. Another project to assist in cross-border economic development was a Polish business course at the Educational Center of the Silesian University in Krnov. This provided the knowledge necessary for Czechs to work across the border.

A cooperative program that promoted the exchange of information and knowledge and established cross-border contacts was "Options Biomass Energy Utilization in the Region of Silesia." This project brought together students and professors from the Czech Republic and Poland to benefit from each other's knowledge and experience. Social cohesion projects included "Euroregion Silesia-The Home of Good Neighbors and Friends," "Czech-Polish Cooperation Without Borders," and "Together in Europe," which aimed to promote contacts and cooperation between

partner schools in the areas of sport, culture, and learning. Tourism projects included promoting the twin villages of Bolatice and Rudy and their surroundings, Chart Fund Euroregion Silesia, and the Action Plan for the Development of Tourism in Opava.

4.3.2 2004-2008

INTERREG IIIA Czech Republic-Poland has two main priorities: 1. Further development and upgrading of infrastructure to improve the competitiveness of the border area and 2. Development of local companies in the border area, with technical assistance applied to both. Each priority is supplemented by three measures. Euroregion Silesia was eligible for €372,463 from the micro-projects fund; 57 small projects were approved during six rounds of project calls. One particularly useful project provided Polish language courses for managers and entrepreneurs. This project supported the development of cross-border business contacts, as language was no longer a barrier. Joint cooperation programs were established between municipal police and firefighters to more effectively respond to emergencies. Many sporting and cultural activities were established to promote communication and understanding among youth in the border region, such as in the projects “Culture and Sport without Borders” and “Together in the European Union,” and also promote inclusion, such as the “Grand Prix Silesia 2006,” a disabled athletes sporting event. The development of the tourism industry was promoted in towns including Nový Jičín and Hradec nad Moravicí. These programs sought to reduce barriers and promote cooperation and the development of the border area.

4.4 Egrensis

The situation in Euroregion Egrensis before 2004 is similar to that in Euroregion Silva Nortica. Until 2004, the Czech area was drawing from PHARE CBC funds and the German area was drawing from INTERREG IIIA funds. This allowed for the Czech area’s early integration into INTERREG IIIA and provided them with the opportunity to gain experience with implementing EU funds prior to their accession through partnership with an old member state.

In addition to EU funds, each of the member associations has a unique way of raising revenue. The sources of income of the Czech Working Association include membership dues; gifts, grants, and charitable contributions; income from farming; and pooled funds. The Bavarian Working Association receives money from membership dues from cooperating and constituent members, except for Regional Planning Associations; donations, and specific returns. The Saxon/Thuringian Working

Association receives financial support from businesses, associations, individual contributions, and membership dues.

4.4.1 2000-2003

The single JPD between the Czech Republic and Germany during the 2000-2003 period consisted of 8 priorities, 19 measures, and technical assistance. The priorities were divided between Bavaria and Saxony, but were very similar in their goals. The priorities for Czech-Bavarian cooperation were economic development; infrastructure; spatial and environmental development; and human resources and networks. The priorities for Czech-Saxon cooperation were economic development and cooperation of enterprises; infrastructure; spatial and environmental development; and human resources and networks. The priority areas in 2000 were the environment, transport infrastructure and minor technical infrastructure, and socio-economic development. The priority areas of 2001 were cross-border infrastructure, territorial development and environmental development, and human resources. The priority areas of 2002 were cross-border infrastructure; economic development and human resources; and regional, environmental, and socio-economic development. In 2003, the priorities were the environment and sustainable development and transport infrastructure.

The main priority areas addressed by projects were infrastructure, tourism, the environment, economic development, and socio-economic development. Numerous infrastructure projects were completed, including sewer repairs in Hazlov, Hájek and Sadov, Jenišov, and Kolová. The wastewater treatment plant and sewage system in Aš were upgraded and sanitation was implemented in Horní Blatná. Additional projects included the repair of a school in Havličkova and a community center for education in Chodov.

Many cities, such as Cheb, Chyše, and Sokolov, sought to increase their visibility and promote the development of the tourism sector through promotional brochures. The Czech area within the Euroregion also promoted itself through publications on accommodation and golf courses in the Karlovy Vary region, as well as a promotional brochure about the entire Euroregion. A nature trail in Boží Dar served a double purpose: it promoted tourism and the development of tourism-related SMEs by increasing the number of visitors and prolonging their stay. The implementation of EUREGIO Mobile throughout the entire Euroregion provided a map with tourist attractions and transport options within the Euroregion.

A program on nature conservation and nature-friendly farming in the Euroregion promoted cross-border sustainability efforts among all involved actors, including farmers and landowners, environmentalists, conservation offices, and experts. A landfill with a direct impact on the water source was closed and redone near Merklín, while technical improvements were made on the wastewater treatment plant. This removed an environmental threat and as a result, improved the quality of life in the region.

Several programs contributed to the economic development of the region. For example, a “Cookbook to Business on the Czech-German Border” provided information on the effect of EU accession on different trades. This program prepared workers with the necessary information to adequately prepare for conducting business across the border. A language program at the college level provided Czech and German students with the opportunity to develop their Czech, German, and English language skills. The ability to communicate effectively is imperative in border areas, and even more so in the EU.

Several sporting tournaments, such as Football Tournament Euroregion Egrensis 2005, helped promote cooperation among the youth. Other festivals, such as the Border Festival in Luby, the Summer Festival in Libá, and the Bavarian-Saxon-Czech Cultural Cooperation assisted in the elimination of barriers and prejudices between Czech and Germans. Partnerships between schools and cities were also implemented to increase cooperation and understanding between the different regions.

4.4.2 2004-2008

The start of the Community Initiative Program INTERREG IIIA began between Germany and the Czech Republic on July 1, 2004. The CIP was split into two separate JPDs, one between the Free State of Bavaria and the Czech Republic and one between the Free State of Saxony and the Czech Republic, but with two common objectives: 1. Harmonize the framework conditions and solve problems caused by the peripheral location of the border region, and 2. Strengthen cross-border relations in every area of the structure. This would be achieved through the five priorities established in the JPDs: economic development; infrastructure; spatial and environmental development; human resources and networks; and technical assistance; these priorities were complemented by 9 measures in Bavaria and 10 measures in Saxony.

The main areas addressed under INTERREG IIIA were education and economic development; infrastructure; social cohesion, and the development of tourism.

Educational programs were implemented for people of all ages. Student exchanges and youth language programs, such as “Confidence in Europe” and “Let’s Make a Deal” helped to remove communication barriers, strengthen relations, and enhance participants’ knowledge of the region. Vocational training programs such as “Magnet: for those who want to go back to school,” “Back to Work,” and a life-long learning program in Cheb provide adults the opportunity to further their education and gain competitiveness in the labor market. Programs like “Project Second Chance” help those in a disadvantaged position, such as the homeless, convicts, and people with disabilities, develop necessary skills. The construction of a multifunction information center in the Karlovy Vary region promoted life-long learning, social integration, and increased employment. It also provided social and cultural activities to improve social cohesion in the community. These educational programs all help to develop the population and provide them with new opportunities for growth.

Along with educational programs to promote economic development, there were programs to strengthen cross-border partnerships. For example, a competence network for engineering and producers were implemented between the Czech Republic and Saxony. It brought together companies with the aim to increase regional capacity. Contact center RHK Poohří developed a network for cross-border economic cooperation while deepening economic relations by creating jobs and strengthening the competitiveness of companies.

The creation and modernization of physical infrastructure provides a foundation for further spatial development. Sokolov benefitted from updated transport services and indoor pool and bridge repairs. The public transportation system in Mariánské Lázně was modernized and updates were made on the airport in Karlovy Vary. Additional projects to reconstruct local roads, such as in Boží Dar, and sewerage system, such as in Potůčky, were completed. Environmental development was achieved through programs on soil protection and nature conservation, such as the project Nature in Trojstátí and Prospects for Environmental Cooperation between the Czech Republic and Bavaria.

In the area of social cohesion, a variety of sporting events, such as the 6th annual Euroregion Egrensis football tournament and a youth swimming competition, were held to promote cross-border interaction and cooperation. Cultural events, such as “Culture Without Borders” and “Other Countries, Other Cultures” were designed to promote cultural understanding and remove prejudices amongst the population.

The tourism sector was further developed through the continuation of EUREGIO Mobile and other brochures. An atlas of attractions in Karlovy Vary and an internet server titled “Travel Agency Harfa” were made to raise awareness and promote the attractiveness of the region. Cycling infrastructure on Czech territory was completed as well as a map of the Czech-Bavarian-Saxon cycling triangle. These projects all contributed to the growth of tourism within the Euroregion.

5. Analysis

This section will compare each of the three criteria in the context of the four chosen regions to determine their impact on the region’s development. The analysis will be carried out in three parts in accordance with the three criteria: first, environment; second, institutional thickness; and third, areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange.

5.1 Criterion 1: Environment

All of the Euroregions experienced some form of collaboration amongst their inhabitants in the past, leading to the development of a shared history. The type of collaboration varies, as Austro-Hungarian rule of the Czech and Slovak lands is not comparable to the Nazi invasion during World War II. The cooperation between the Czech Republic and Slovakia was much stronger than that with Poland, Austria, or Germany due to their unification under the Czechoslovak Republic and similar languages. The fortified borders during the Communist era between the Czech Republic and its neighboring countries, aside from Slovakia, devastated the border areas by limiting the movement of both people and information. Everyday contact between the countries was virtually impossible; this led to the persistence of ideas about the “other”. The concept of the “other” was further exacerbated by the language barriers that prevented effective communication between people. The non-communist countries, Austria and West Germany (Bavaria), had a much higher standard of living post-1989, but the border areas still experienced negative effects associated with their periphery location.

After the fall of Communism, cooperation was once again possible in the border areas. Discussions regarding the formation of a formal cooperation scheme were initiated at the local level in all of the Euroregions. Cooperation was not imposed upon them by national governments, but rather, the people recognized the benefit of cooperation and willingly chose to establish contacts with their neighbors. This is important because it provides the Euroregions with legitimacy; therefore, people are

more inclined to embrace it. It is interesting that the more developed countries, Austria and Germany, initiated cooperation with the newly democratic and less developed Czech Republic. This can be attributed to their recognition that partnerships served as a way to effectively deal with the changing environment and address the negative effects associated with the border areas. The Germans and Austrians would benefit from helping their neighbor where as the Czech areas were receptive to their neighborly actions because they could use their assistance and know-how to improve their standard of living. In the cases of Poland and Slovakia, local and regional authorities were also aware of the benefits associated with cross-border cooperation. After the Czech-Slovak split, they sought to reinstate cooperation to negate the effects of the newly established border. Prejudices persisted, especially amongst the population on the Czech-German border, but with time, the cross-border projects will evolve into symbiotic relationships and cooperation will become the normal mode of operation.

5.2 Criterion 2: Institutional Thickness

While the specifications vary, the analyzed Euroregions are similar in that they are all headed by democratically elected governing bodies that meet at set intervals as well as when needed. Where the Euroregions do vary is in their membership density. First, it is important to recognize that each of the partner associations defines membership differently. The membership scope of the Austrian and German Associations is wider than that of their Czech counterpart, which generally only considers cities, towns, and municipalities to be eligible for membership. This leads to a higher number of members in the Austrian and German areas than in the Czech areas. The membership criteria are similar between the Czech and Polish Associations in Euroregion Silesia and the Czech and Slovak Associations in Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty, therefore the number of members are approximately equal between the two groups. The Euroregion Associations should adopt similar membership structure throughout to promote consistency and prevent exclusion.

The population and geographical area also play a factor in the membership level. Euroregion Egrensis is the largest region both in terms of square kilometers and inhabitants; therefore, it makes sense that it also has the highest number of members. However, the number of members per area is not consistent with the area's population or geographical size in the case of the Saxon/Thuringian and Czech Associations. The Bavarian area represents approximately 50 percent of the total population, land area, and members, however, the Saxon/Thuringian area consists of approximately 30

percent of the land and 36 percent of the population, but only 13 percent of the members; the Czech area consists of approximately 20 percent of the land and 16 percent of the population, but 26 percent of the members. The membership in the Saxon/Thuringian area should be consistent with its share of the population and area, especially since its membership rules are more inclusive than those in the Czech area.

It is not possible to absolutely rank the other three Euroregions, as there are a number of inconsistencies between total area, population size, and number of members. Euroregion Egrensis is largest in all three criteria. The second largest Euroregion in area and number of members is Silva Nortica, but it is the smallest in terms of total population. ERBBK occupies the third position; it has almost double the number of inhabitants and is close in area to ERSN, but had only a quarter of the number of members. The membership rules in ERSN are more inclusive than those in ERBBK, but this does not fully explain why ERBBK has so few members compared to the other three Euroregions. This is an area that deserves further investigation.

All of the Euroregions have high levels of both internal and external cooperation. They all have established working groups and hold annual events to promote mutual cooperation and strengthen cross-border ties. They cooperate with national and supranational bodies, including national governments and the EU. Three of the four Euroregions are members of AEER; Euroregion Silesia, which is not a member, communicates its activities with the Association and has strengthened its cooperation with other Euroregions and the V4 countries.

5.3 Criterion 3: Areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange

Overall, the Euroregions have very similar priorities amongst them. Their priorities all included economic development, human resources and cross-border networks, and infrastructure. The development of the tourism industry is another common focus of all of the Euroregions; it is an area that encompasses development in multiple sectors. It first requires the development of basic infrastructure to access the area. Then, the visiting tourists promote economic development, as more businesses are required to serve their needs. Cross-border networks received a great deal of attention; while many programs took the form of sporting events and festivals to promote cross-border interactions, other programs took the form of educational and professional exchanges.

Each region pursued cooperation projects and knowledge exchange in accordance with the priorities set forth for them by PHARE and INTERREG IIIA,

while tailoring these priorities to accommodate their specific needs. Notable projects included the creation of a network of cross-border pulse centers (GIZ) in Euroregion Silva Nortica. This project specifically fulfilled the goals of cross-border organizational structures and networks and indirectly assisted with the other priorities as well by offering assistance with the implementation of cross-border projects. In Euroregion Biele-Biele Karpaty, VITRUM PRO FUTURM was a multifaceted project to develop the glass industry while also benefitting the tourism industry, providing educational opportunities, and developing SMEs. In Euroregion Silesia, they placed extra focus on the environment, which was visible in programs such as the Options Biomass Energy Utilization. This program sought to develop more environmentally friendly energy sources through a knowledge exchange of Czech and Polish students and professors, which in turn contributed to the development of cross-border networks. In Euroregion Egrensis, specific focus was placed on reducing prejudices about the “other” through the annual youth summer camp, school exchanges, and language programs. These programs build the necessary base for further cooperation in other areas.

Despite their different backgrounds, all of the Euroregions found they could benefit from similar projects. While some projects are unique to the needs of the specific region, they all contribute to the same overall goal: promoting cross-border cooperation to address local issues and contribute to the development of their region.

Conclusion

There are numerous types of tangible and intangible barriers. Some of these barriers are subjective, such as administrative divisions, while others, such as physical barriers and engrained attitudes and opinions, are more substantial. Regardless of their form, barriers prevent cooperation and integration. This could be attributed to differences in administrative procedures or else to lack of infrastructure to facilitate interoperability or overcome physical obstacles. The formation of cross-border regions works to reduce these barriers and counteract the negative effect associated with their location. They have become prevalent throughout Europe and are utilized by the European Union to further promote integration. Some believe that this devolution is associated with a loss of national sovereignty; on the contrary, cross-border regions serve as a way to promote cohesion between individual nation states within the European Union.

The European Union originally began as an instrument to promote economic cohesion. They recognized that regional imbalances were a threat to free competition and trade; they sought to reduce existing disparities and prevent new ones from occurring. If these issues were not addressed, then current problems would be further exacerbated and it would become more difficult to counteract these inequalities later on. The gradual development of the European Union later came to include social cohesion in addition to economic cohesion. These policies sought to overcome the imbalances between areas while contributing to the sense of national solidarity through community building. In addition, the development of regional policy gave subnational actors a voice in the policy-making process, ensuring that regional interest were adequately represented at the European level. Cohesion policy has evolved into one of the largest segments of the EU's budget, as the EU has recognized the importance of supporting lagging regions.

Cohesion policy has three main objectives: convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, and European territorial cooperation; further attention will be given to European territorial cooperation. This policy encourages neighboring member states to work together and learn from one another to more effectively address common problems. One sub-section of this objective is the development of cross-border cooperation schemes, such as the Euroregions. The creation of Euroregions in Western Europe addressed regional disparities and supported development through a gradual eradication of social and economic barriers. After the

fall of Communism, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe turned to Western Europe for guidance on how to compensate for their disadvantaged position. They took to the example of the Euroregions as method for neutralizing these negative effects, especially in the border regions; they also benefitted from EU financial assistance, first in the form of PHARE and later in the form of INTERREG IIIA after their accession to the EU.

This thesis examines four instances of bilateral Euroregional cross-border cooperation between the Czech Republic and its neighboring countries of Austria, Slovakia, Poland, and Germany during the 2000-2008 period. It seeks to determine the impact of the creation of Euroregions on regional development through the application of the theory of learning regions. The Czech Republic was chosen central focus point because it is the only new member state to share borders with both old and new member states; this will help determine if partnerships were an old member state were more advantageous when later implementing EU funds. The four chosen Euroregions-Silva Nortica, Bílé-Biele Karpaty, Silesia, and Egrensis- were chosen to employ a multi-perspective approach while still providing a consistent foundation for analysis. The chosen period encompasses two programming periods to determine the impact of the Czech accession to the EU on regional cooperation: the pre-accession period in which the Czech Republic was eligible for PHARE funds, and the post-accession period in which the Czech Republic was eligible for INTERREG IIIA.

This analysis was carried out in the form of a comparative analysis based on the research criteria of the theory of learning regions. The Euroregion is a type of learning region; it has the necessary infrastructure to promote the transmission of information, in this case, between regional actors from either side of the border, which promotes regional development. Three research criteria were chosen to assess the impact of the creation of the Euroregion: the environment, institutional thickness, and areas of cooperation and knowledge exchange.

Some difficulties arose during the writing process. For example, membership data from the years 2004 and 2008 was not available for two of the Euroregion Associations. Adjustments were made to approximate the number of members at that time based on the other Association's membership trends and current membership levels. Additionally, it was not possible to evaluate every project implemented using PHARE funds from 2000-2003 and INTERREG IIIA from 2004-2006 in each of the

Euroregions. Focus was not placed on the effectiveness of these projects, but rather if the projects reflected the priorities and objectives of the individual Euroregion.

The comparative analysis based on the research criteria confirmed the two hypotheses. The first hypothesis, the intensity of regional development post-2004 is greater in the older, “established” Euroregions than in the more recently established Euroregions, is correct. The cooperation scheme within the Euroregions became smoother over time as they perfected their procedures and working relationships. This is evident in Euroregion Egrensis and Euroregion Silesia. Euroregion Egrensis was founded in 1993, which provided it with over a decade to gain experience in program implementation and fund utilization. Euroregion Silesia was founded in 1998; it was able to implement an efficient governing structure and gained experience in drawing and implementing funds from PHARE CBC.

The second hypothesis, Czech accession to the EU had a greater impact on regions cooperation with a new member state than with an old member state, is also validated. The older member states, Germany and Austria, were more experienced and established; they were not as dependent upon Czech membership in the EU as were the new member states. Euroregions comprised of two new member states quickly realized the benefits associated with EU membership and used these benefits to their advantage.

Based on this research, it is clear that Euroregion cross-border cooperation is a valuable component to the European integration project. The creation of the Euroregion dissolves barriers that would otherwise prevent border populations from benefitting from the cooperation scheme. Czech accession to the EU broke down the formal barriers, which allowed for the free movement of goods, services, and individuals; the Euroregions further facilitated this process by eradicating informal and perceived barriers between people. This experience can serve as an example to the current border regions of the EU as well as to other regions around the world seeking closer cooperation with their neighbors.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Euroregions in the Czech Republic

Appendix 2: Euroregions in the Czech Republic, map

Appendix 3: Euroregion Silva Nortica, map

Appendix 4: Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty, map

Appendix 5: Euroregion Silesia, map

Appendix 6: Euroregion Egrensis, map

Appendix 7: Silva Nortica Governance Structure

Appendix 8: Members of JČSN

Appendix 9: Members of Europa Plattform Pro Waldviertel

Appendix 10: Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty Governance Structure

Appendix 11: Members of Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty

Appendix 12: Euroregion Silesia Governance Structure

Appendix 13: Members of Euroregion Silesia, Association of Municipalities of Upper
Odra River Basin

Appendix 14: Members of Euroregion Silesia-CZ, 2004

Appendix 15: Members of Euroregion Silesia-CZ, 2008

Appendix 16: Euroregion Egrensis Governance Structure

Appendix 17: Members of Euroregion Egrensis, Bavarian Working Association

Appendix 18: Members of Euroregion Egrensis, Saxon/Thuringian Working
Association

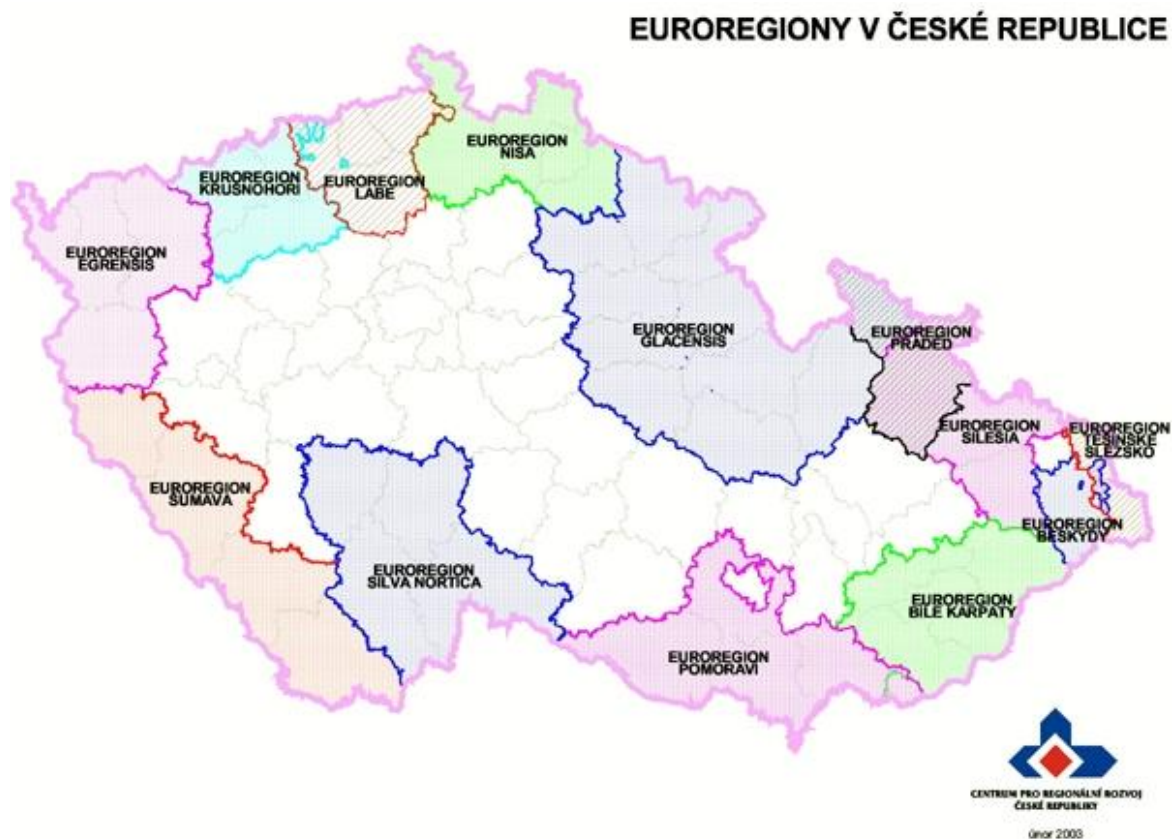
Appendix 19: Members of Euroregion Egrensis, Czech Working Association

Appendix 1: Euroregions in the Czech Republic

Year of Foundation	Name of Euroregion	Participating countries
1991	Nisa	Czech Republic, Poland, Germany
1992	Labe	Czech Republic, Germany
1992	Krušnohoří	Czech Republic, Germany
1993	Egrensis	Czech Republic, Germany
1993	Šumava	Czech Republic, Germany, Austria
1996	Glacensis	Czech Republic, Poland
1997	Praděd	Czech Republic, Poland
1998	Těšínské Slezsko	Czech Republic, Poland
1998	Silesia	Czech Republic, Poland
1999	Pomoraví	Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia
2000	Beskydy	Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia
2000	Bílé-Biele Karpaty	Czech Republic, Slovakia
2002	Silva Nortica	Czech Republic, Austria

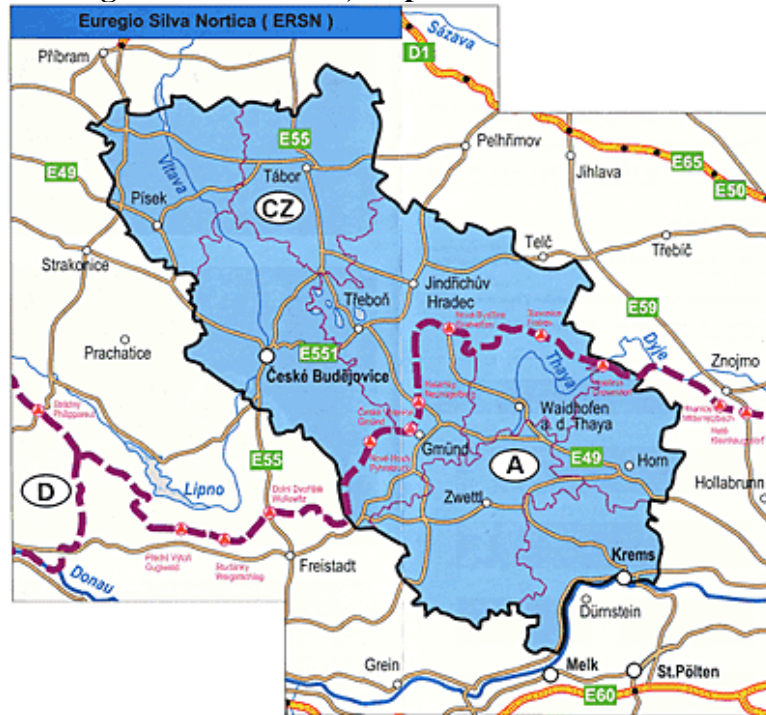
Source: CESC, 2009. Own compilation.

Appendix 2: Euroregions in the Czech Republic, map



Source: Center for Regional Development, Czech Republic, 2003.

Appendix 3: Euroregion Silva Nortica, map



Source: ERSN website

Appendix 4: Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty, map

EUROREGION BÍLÉ - BIELE KARPATY



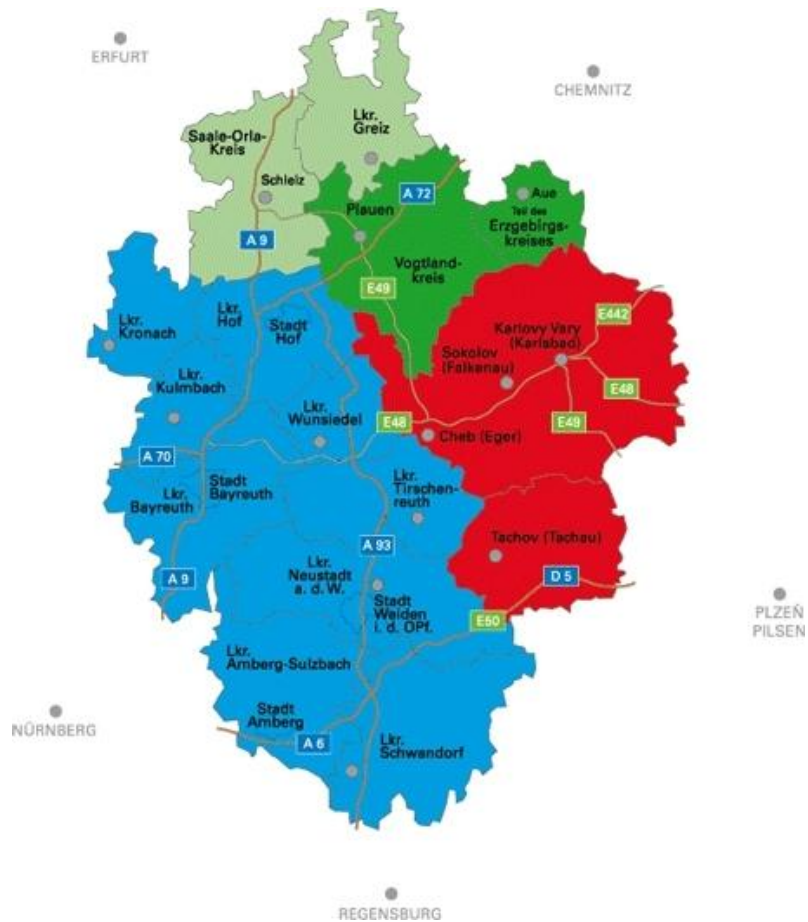
Source: Association of European Border Regions

Appendix 5: Euroregion Silesia, map



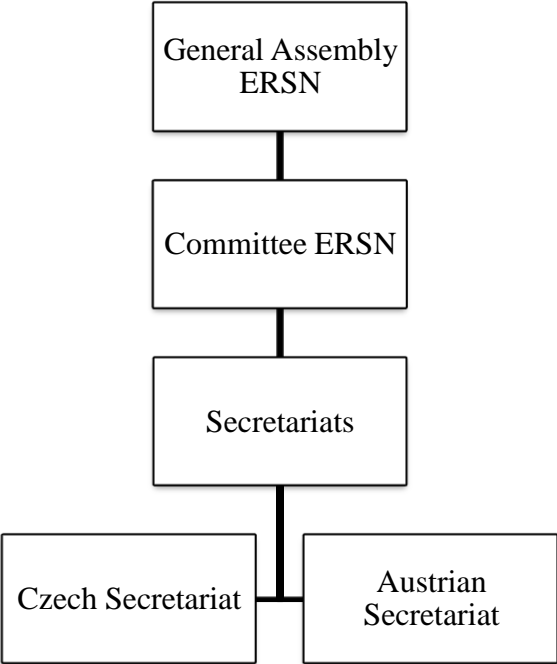
Source: Euroregion Silesia website

Appendix 6: Euroregion Egrensis, map



Source: Euroregion Egrensis website

Appendix 7: Euroregion Silva Nortica Governance Structure



Information Source: ERSN website; own compilation.

Appendix 8: Members of JČSN

<u>2004</u>	<u>Cities</u>	<u>2008</u>
Borovany České Budějovice České Velenice Dačice Jindřichův Hradec Kardašova Řečice Lišov Lomnice nad Lužnicí Milevsko Nová Bystřice Nová Včelnice Nové Hradky Písek Slavonice Tábor Trhové Sviny Třeboň		Borovany České Budějovice České Velenice Dačice Jindřichův Hradec Kardašova Řečice Lišov Lomnice nad Lužnicí Milevsko Nová Bystřice Nová Včelnice Nové Hradky Písek Slavonice Tábor Trhové Sviny Třeboň
<u>Communities</u>		
<i>(district: CB= České Budějovice, JH= Jindřichův Hradec, PI= Písek TA= Tábor)</i>		
Březnice u Bechyně (TA) Cizkrajov (JH) Dešná (JH) Dobrá Voda (CB) Hatín (JH) Horní Stropnice (CB) Hospříz (JH) Hrdějovice (CB) Kovářov (PI) Kunžak (JH) Ledenice (CB) Nová Ves nad Lužnicí (JH) Novosedly nad Nežárkou (JH) Olešnice (CB) Písečné (JH) Pístina (JH) Rodvínov (JH) Staré Město pod Landštejnem (JH) Strmilov (JH) Střížovice (JH) Studená (JH) Volfířov (JH)		Březnice u Bechyně (TA) Cizkrajov (JH) Český Rudolec (JH) Dešná (JH) Deštná (JH) Hatín (JH) Horní Stropnice (CB) Hospříz (JH) Hrdějovice (CB) Kovářov (PI) Kunžak (JH) Ledenice (CB) Nová Ves nad Lužnicí (JH) Novosedly nad Nežárkou (JH) Olešnice (CB) Písečné (JH) Rodvínov (JH) Staré Hobzí (JH) Staré Město pod Landštejnem (JH) Strmilov (JH) Střížovice (JH) Studená (JH) Volfířov (JH)
<u>Companies and Institutions</u>		
Chamber of Commerce of South Bohemia, CB ENVI, s.r.o. Třeboň ČSAD Jihotrans, a.s., CB ADACO, a.s., JH Regional Chamber of Agriculture CB District Chamber of Agriculture, JH		Chamber of Commerce of South Bohemia, CB ENVI, s.r.o. Třeboň ČSAD Jihotrans, a.s., CB ADACO, a.s., JH Regional Chamber of Agriculture CB District Chamber of Agriculture, JH KP Projekt, s.r.o., CB Třeboň Development Company, o.p.s. AgEnDa, o.s., CB
Total: 46 members		Total: 49 members

Source: Provided upon request by Jihočeská Silva Nortica; own compilation.

Appendix 9: Members of Europa Plattform Pro Waldviertel

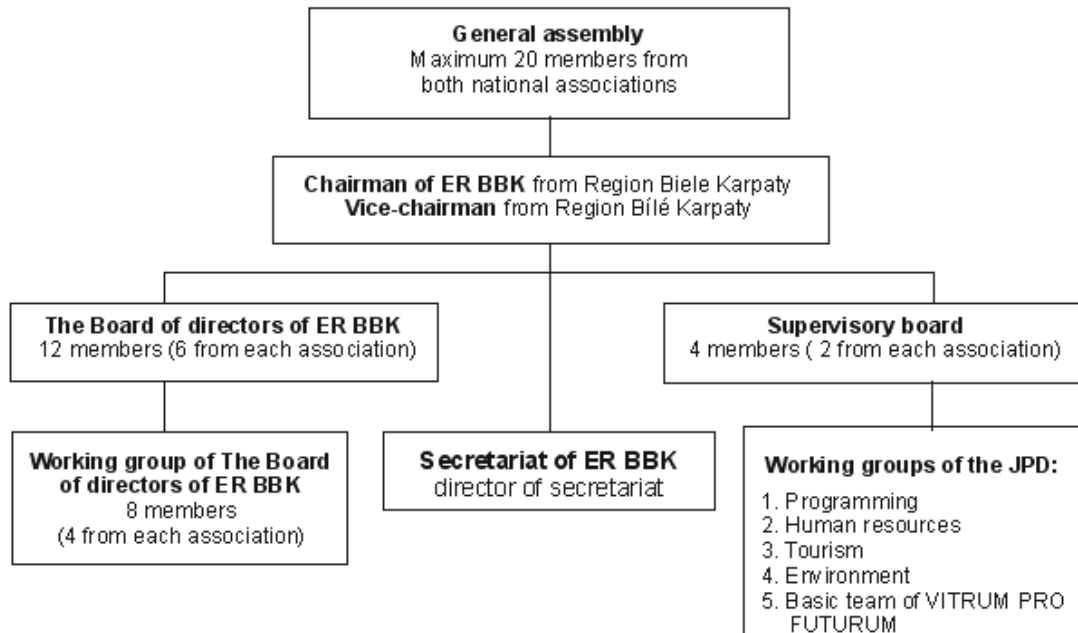
2005	2008
Gemeinde	
Gemeinde Albrechtsberg	Gemeinde Albrechtsberg
Gemeinde Altenburg	Gemeinde Göpfritz/Wild
Gemeinde Altmelon	Gemeinde Haugschlag
Gemeinde Amaliendorf- Aalfang	Gemeinde Japons
Gemeinde Arbesbach	Gemeinde Lichtenau
Gemeinde Artstetten-Pöbring	Gemeinde Ludweis-Aigen
Gemeinde Bad Großpertholz	Gemeinde Moorbad Harbach
Gemeinde Brunn/Wild	Gemeinde Pfaffenschlag
Gemeinde Eggern	Gemeinde Pölla
Gemeinde Gars am Kamp	Gemeinde Rastendorf
Gemeinde Göpfritz/Wild	Gemeinde Reingers
Gemeinde Grafenschlag	Gemeinde Sigmundsherberg
Gemeinde Haugschlag	Gemeinde Unserfrau- Altweitra
Gemeinde Hofamt Priel	Gemeinde Waldenstein
Gemeinde Jaidhof	Marktgem. St. Leonhard a. Hornerwald
Gemeinde Japons	Marktgemeinde Altmelon
Gemeinde Karlstein/Thaya	Marktgemeinde Amaliendorf- Aalfang
Gemeinde Kottes-Purk	Marktgemeinde Arbesbach
Gemeinde Krumau am Kamp	Marktgemeinde Bad Großpertholz
Gemeinde Langau	Marktgemeinde Brand-Nagelberg
Gemeinde Langschlag	Marktgemeinde Dietmanns
Gemeinde Lengenfeld	Marktgemeinde Dobersberg
Gemeinde Lichtenau	Marktgemeinde Echtsenbach
Gemeinde Martinsberg	Marktgemeinde Eggern
Gemeinde Münichreith-Laimbach	Marktgemeinde Eisgarn
Gemeinde Nöchling	Marktgemeinde Gars am Kamp
Gemeinde Pfaffenschlag	Marktgemeinde Gastern
Gemeinde Pöggstall	Marktgemeinde Grafenschlag
Gemeinde Pölla	Marktgemeinde Großdietmanns
Gemeinde Raabs/Thaya	Marktgemeinde Großgöttfritz
Gemeinde Rappottenstein	Marktgemeinde Großschönau
Gemeinde Rastendorf	Marktgemeinde Hoheneich
Gemeinde Raxendorf	Marktgemeinde Karlstein/Thaya
Gemeinde Reingers	Marktgemeinde Kirchberg am Walde
Gemeinde Sallingberg	Marktgemeinde Kirchschatz
Gemeinde Schwarzenau	Marktgemeinde Kottes-Purk
Gemeinde Sigmundsherberg	Marktgemeinde Langau
Gemeinde St. Bernhard-Frauenhofen	Marktgemeinde Langschlag
Gemeinde St. Leonhard a. Hornerwald	Marktgemeinde Lengenfeld
Gemeinde St. Oswald	Marktgemeinde Ottenschlag
Gemeinde Unserfrau-Alt Weitra/MG seit 20.5.	Marktgemeinde Pernegg
Gemeinde Waldhausen	Marktgemeinde Sallingberg
Gemeinde Waldkirchen/Thaya	Marktgemeinde Schönbach
Gemeinde Weißenkirchen	Marktgemeinde Schwarzenau
Gemeinde Weiten	Marktgemeinde Schweiggers
Gemeinde Weitersfeld	Marktgemeinde St. Martin
Gemeinde Yspertal	Marktgemeinde Thaya
Marktgemeinde Brand-Nagelberg	Marktgemeinde Traunstein
Marktgemeinde Dietmanns	Marktgemeinde Vitis

Marktgemeinde Dobersberg	Marktgemeinde Waldhausen
Marktgemeinde Echtsenbach	Marktgemeinde Waldkirchen/Thaya
Marktgemeinde Gastern	Stadtgemeinde Allentsteig
Marktgemeinde Großgöttfritz	Stadtgemeinde Drosendorf
Marktgemeinde Großschönau	Stadtgemeinde Geras
Marktgemeinde Hoheneich	Stadtgemeinde Gföhl
Marktgemeinde Kirchberg am Walde	Stadtgemeinde Gmünd
Marktgemeinde Kirchsschlag	Stadtgemeinde Groß Gerungs
Marktgemeinde Ottenschlag	Stadtgemeinde Groß Siegharts
Marktgemeinde Schönbach	Stadtgemeinde Heidenreichstein
Marktgemeinde Schweigggers	Stadtgemeinde Horn
Marktgemeinde Stratzing	Stadtgemeinde Litschau
Marktgemeinde Thaya	Stadtgemeinde Raabs/Thaya
Marktgemeinde Traunstein	Stadtgemeinde Schrems
Marktgemeinde Vitis	Stadtgemeinde Waidhofen/Thaya
Stadtgemeinde Drosendorf	Stadtgemeinde Weitra
Stadtgemeinde Eggenburg	Stadtgemeinde Zwettl
Stadtgemeinde Gföhl	Marktgemeinde Rappottenstein
Stadtgemeinde Gmünd	
Stadtgemeinde Groß Gerungs	
Stadtgemeinde Groß Siegharts	
Stadtgemeinde Heidenreichstein	
Stadtgemeinde Horn	
Stadtgemeinde Krems	
Total: 78 members	67 members

Source: Provided upon request by Waldviertel Region; own compilation.

Appendix 10: Euroregion Biele-Biele Karpaty Governance Structure

STRUCTURE OF EUROREGION BÍLÉ-BIELE KARPATY



Source: <http://www.erbbk.sk/>

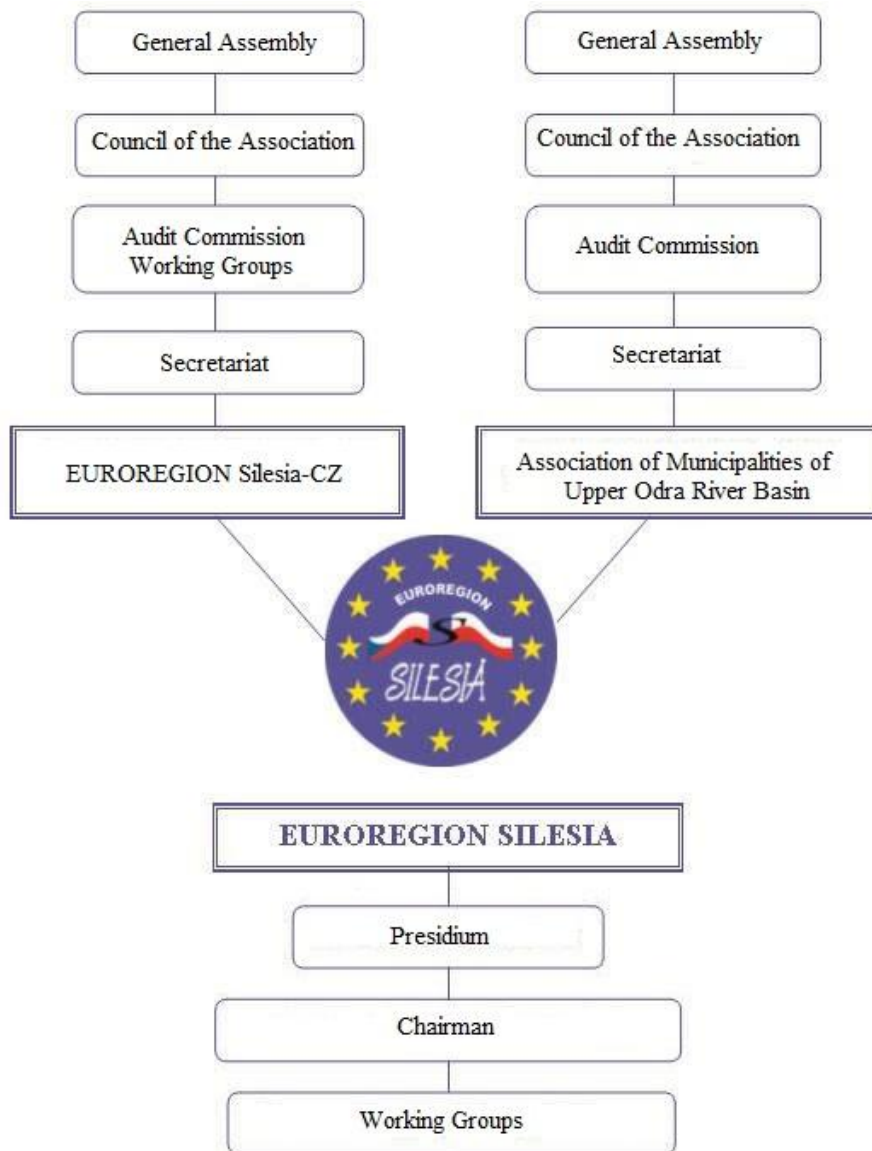
Appendix 11: Members of Euroregion Bílé-Biele Karpaty

<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>
Association of Private Construction Entrepreneurs, Slovakia	Academy of Education, Považská Bystrica	Associations of Towns and Municipalities of Eastern Moravia, Zlín
Association of Towns and Municipalities of Eastern Moravia	Association for the Development of Horná Nitra Region, RRA Prievidza	City of Trenčín
Association of Uherskobrodsko	Association of Towns and Municipalities, Hornej Nitry, Prievidza	Energyr, s.r.o. Nové Město nad Váhom
Microregion Hornácko	Association Uherskobrodsko, Uherský Brod	Gisarch studio. s.r.o. Luhačovice
Microregion Jižní Valašsko	Associations of Towns and Municipalities of Eastern Moravia, Zlín	Glass Industry Association of Slovakia, Trenčín
Microregion Luhačovské Zálesí	City of Trenčín	LEVAGRI & co., a. s. Trenčín
Microregion Rožnovsko	Energyr, s.r.o., Nové mesto nad Váhom	Matúšovo kráľovstvo – OZ, Podolie
Microregion Valaškomeziříčsko-kelečsko	Gisarch studio. s.r.o. Luhačovice	Microregion Jižní Valašsko, Štítná nad Vláří
Microregion Vizovicko	Glass Industry Association of the Slovak Republic	Microregion Luhačovské Zálesí, Luhačovice
Microregion Vsetínsko	LEVAGRI & co., a. s. Trenčín	Microregion Rožnovsko, Rožnov pod Radhoštěm
Region 2000, o.p.s Luhačovice	Matúšovo kráľovstvo, o.z., Podolie	Microregion Strážovské vrchy Domaníža
Regional Agricultural and Food Chamber, Trenčín	Microregion Hornácko, Velká nad Veličkou	Microregion Vizovicko, Vizovice
Regional Association of Towns and Municipalities Stredného Považia	Microregion MACHNÁČ Motešice	Microregion Vlára-Váh
Regional Development Agency Bílé Karpaty – Moravské Kopanice	Microregion Strážovské vrchy Domaníža	Microregion Vsetínsko, Vsetín
Regional Medical Chamber, Trenčín	Microregion Jižní Valašsko, Štítná nad Vláří	Pensions pod Bradlom, Košariská
Slovak Chamber of Trades	Microregion Luhačovské Zálesí, Luhačovice	Regional Association of Towns and Municipalities stredného Považia, Trenčín
Society for Sustainable Living, Biele Karpaty branch	Microregion Rožnovsko, Rožnov pod Radhoštěm	Regional Chamber of Medicine, Trenčín
STUŽ, Society for Sustainable Living, Bílé Karpaty branch in Uherské Hradiště	Microregion Valaškomeziříčsko-kelečsko, Kelč	Regional Development Agency Bílé Karpaty – Moravské Kopanice, Uherský Brod
Trenčín Informal Association	Microregion Vizovicko, Vizovice	Secondary School of Glass, Valašské Meziříčí
Trenčín Regional Chamber	Microregion Vsetínsko, Vsetín	Slovak Chamber of Commerce, Trenčín Regional Chamber
Trenčín Regional Development Agency	Morespol, s.r.o. Luhačovice	Society for Sustainable Living, Biele Karpaty branch
Uherskobrodsko Association of Towns and Municipalities	Museum of Southeast Moravia in Zlín	Specialized School of Glassmaking, Lednické Rovne
University of Trenčín	OZ SPOD SKÁL Mikušovce	Statutory City of Zlín
	Region Slovácko, Uherské Hradiště	Subregion pod Bradlom, Brezová pod Bradlom
	Regional Association of Towns and Municipalities Stredného	Tomáš Bata University in Zlín

	Považia	
<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>
	Regional Chamber of Agriculture and Food, Trenčín	Trenčín University A. Dubček in Trenčín
	Regional Chamber of Medicine, Trenčín	
	Regional Development Agency Biele Karpaty – Moravské Kopanice, Uherský Brod	
	Slovak Chamber of Commerce, Trenčín region	
	Society for Sustainable Living, Biele Karpaty branch	
	Stoneco, s.r.o. Prievidza	
	STUŽ, Society for Sustainable Living, Biele Karpaty branch in Uherské Hradiště	
	Tomáš Bata University in Zlín	
	Trenčín University A. Dubček in Trenčín	
Total: 23 organizations	34 organizations	27 organizations

Source: Provided upon request by Euroregion Biele-Biele Karpaty; translated and compiled by author.

Appendix 12: Euroregion Silesia Governance Structure



Source: <http://www.euroregion-silesia.cz/>, translated by author

Appendix 13: Members of Euroregion Silesia, Association of Municipalities of Upper Odra River Basin

Głubczycki County:

- Administrative District Baborów: includes the village Baborów and settlements: Babice, Boguchwałów, Czerwonków, Dziećmarów, Dzielów, Księżę Pole, Raków, Sucha Psina, Sułków, Szczyty, Tłustomosty
- Administrative District Branice: includes the village Branice and settlements: Bliszczycze, Boboluszki, Dzbańce, Dzbańce Osiedle, Dzierżkowice, Gródczany, Jabłonka, Jakubowice, Jędrzychowice, Lewice, Michałkowice, Niekazanice, Posucice, Turków, Uciechowice, Wiechowice, Włodzienin, Włodzienin – Kolonia, Wódka, Wysoka.
- Administrative District Głubczyce: includes the village of Głubczyce and settlements: Bernacice, Bernacice Górne, Biernatów-Biernatówek, Bogdanowice, Braciszów 42, Chomiąza, Chróstno, Ciermięcice, Debrzyca, Dobieszów, Gadzowice, Głubczyce Sady, Gołuszowice, Grobniki, Kietlice, Klisino, Krasne Pole, Królowe, Krzyżowice, Kwiatoniów, Lenarce, Lisięcice, Lwowiany, Mokre, Mokre – Kolonia, Nowa Wieś Głubczycka, Nowe Gołuszowice, Nowe Sady, Nowy Rożnów, Opawica, Pielgrzymów, Pietrowice, Pomorzowice, Pomorzowiczki, Radynia, Równe, Sławoszów, Stara Wieś, Ściborzyce Małe, Tarnkowa, Widok, Zawiszyce, Zopowy, Zopowy Osiedle, Zubrzyce.
- Administrative District Kietrz: includes the village of Kietrz and settlements: Dzierżysław, Chróścielów, Kozłówki, Lubotyń, Ludmierzyce, Nasiedle, Nowa Cerekwia, Pilszcz, Rogożany, Rozumice, Ściborzyce Wielkie, Wojnowice.

Raciborska County:

- Administrative District Kornowac: includes the village of Kornowac and settlements: Kobyła, Łańce, Pogrzebień, Rzuchów.
- Administrative District Krzanowice: includes the village of Krzanowice and settlements: Bojanów, Borucin, Pietraszyn, Wojnowice.
- Administrative District Krzyżanowice includes the village of Krzyżanowice and settlements: Bieńkowice, Bolesław, Chałupki, Nowa Wioska, Owsiszczce, Roszków, Rudyszwałd, Tworków, Zabelków.
- Administrative District Kuźnia Raciborska includes the village of Kuźnia Raciborska and settlements: Budziska, Jankowice, Ruda, Ruda Kozielska, Rudy, Siedliska, Turze.
- Administrative District Pietrowice Wielkie includes the village of Pietrowice Wielkie and settlements: Amandów, Cyprzanów, Gródczanki, Krowiarki, Kornice, Lekartów, Maków, Pawłów, Samborowice, Żerdziny.
- City of Racibórz and the city districts of: Nowe Zagrody, Ocice, Stara Wieś, Miedonia, Ostróg, Markowice, Płonia, Brzezcie, Sudół, Studzienna, Obora.
- Administrative District Rudnik includes the village of Rudnik and settlements: Brzeźnica, Czerwięcice, Dołędzin, Gamów, Grzegorzowice, Jastrzębie, Lasaki, Ligota Książęca, Lubowice, Modzurów, Ponięcice, Sławików, Strzybnik, Szonowice.
- Administrative District Nędza (**left 28.2.2005**)

Rybnicki County:

- Administrative District Lyski includes the village Lyski and settlements: Adamowice, Bogunice, Dzimierz, Nowa Wieś, Pstrązna, Raszczycze, Sumina, Zwonowice, Żytna.

Wodzisławski County:

- Administrative District Gorzyce includes the village Gorzyce and settlements: Bełznica, Bluszczów, Czyżowice, Gorzyczki, Kolonia Fryderyk, Odra, Olza, Osiny, Rogów, Turza Śląska, Uchylsko.
- Administrative District Lubornia includes the village Lubomia and settlements: Buków, Grabówka, Ligota Tworkowska, Nieboczowy, Syrynia.
- Administrative District Markłowice includes the village Markłowice.

- Administrative District Mszana includes the village Mszana and settlements: Gogołowa, Połomia.
- City of Pszów includes the city districts: Krzyżkowice, Pszowskie Doły, Kalwaria, Stara Maszyna, Kozłowina, Wrzosa.
- City of Rydułtowy and the city districts: Rydułtowy Dolne, Rydułtowy Górne, Orłowiec, Radoszowy Dolne, Radoszowy Górne, Kolonia Buńczowiec.
- City of Wodzisław Śląski and the city districts: Jedłownik Osiedle, Jedłownik-Turzyczka-Karkoszka, Kokoszyce, Nowe Miasto, Osiedla XXX-lecia - Piastów - Dąbrówki, Radlin II, Stare Miasto, Wilchwy, Zawada.

Support member: Andrzej Markowiak

2004 total: 4 counties, 16 administrative districts, 4 cities, 15 villages, 164 settlements, 31 city districts, 1 support member = **40 members (+195 settlements and city districts=235)**

2008 total: 4 counties, 15 administrative districts, 4 cities, 15 villages, 164 settlements, 31 city districts, 1 support member = **39 members (+195 settlements and city districts=234)**

Source: Euroregion Silesia, 2013. *Strategie Rozwoje Euroregion Silesia, 2014-2020.*

Appendix 14: Members of Euroregion Silesia-CZ, 2004

2004	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bolatice Brumovice Budišov na Budišovkou Budišovice Čavisov Černná ve Slezsku Chamber of Commerce in Opava Chlebičov Dobroslavice Dolní Benešov Dolní Lhota Dolní Životice Fulnek Háj ve Slezsku Hať Hlavnice Hlubočec Hlučín Hněvošice Holasovice Horní Benešov Horní Lhota Horní Životice Hrabyně Hradec nad Moravicí Kobeřice Kozmice Krasov Kravaře Krnov Kyjovice Lichnov Litultovice Ludgeřovice Matice slezská Melč Mikolajice Mokré Lazce Neplachovice Nové Sedlice Nový Jičín Odry Oldřišov Opava Píšť Pustá Polom Rohov Silesian University in Ostrava Šilheřovice Slavkov Služovice Sosnová 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staré Heřminovy Stěbořice Štítina Strahovice Sudice Těškovice Uhlířov Úvalno Velká Polom Velké Heraltice Velké Hoštice Vítkov <p>Total: 62 (59 municipalities+ 3 associate members)</p>

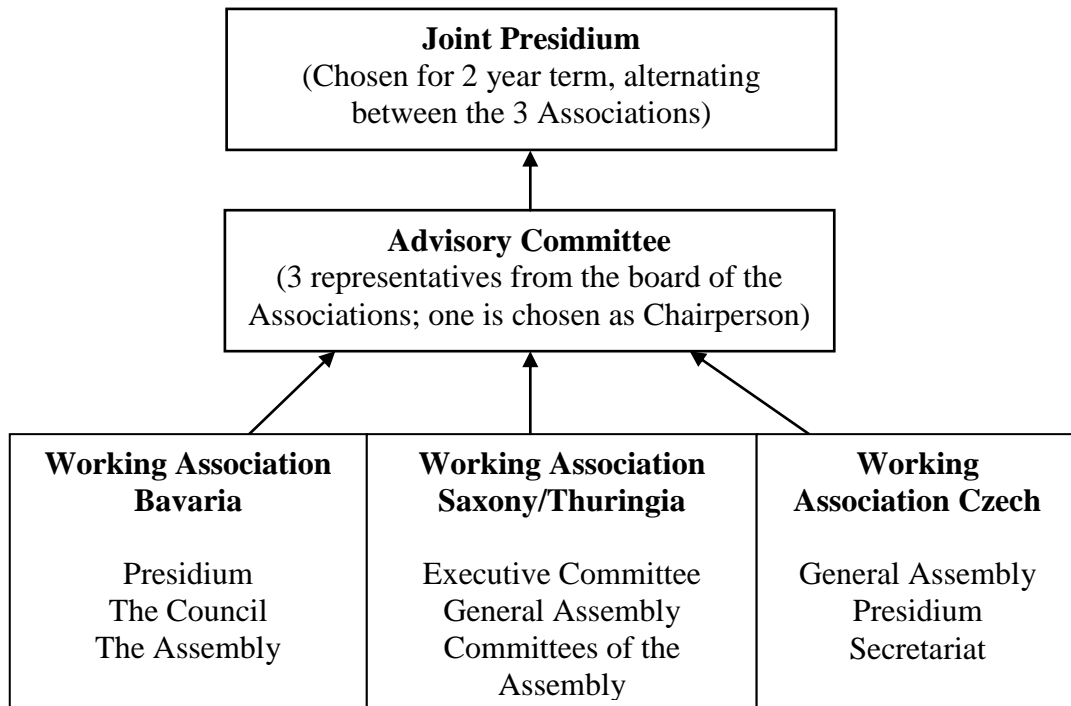
Source: Provided upon request by Euroregion Silesia-CZ, own compilation.

Appendix 15: Members of Euroregion Silesia-CZ, 2008

	<u>2008</u>	
Bolatice		Štítina
Brumovice		Strahovice
Budišov na Budišovkou		Sudice
Budišovice		Těškovice
Čavisov		Uhliřov
Čermná ve Slezsku		Velká Polom
Chamber of Commerce in Opava		Velké Heraldice
Chlebičov		Velké Hoštice
Dolní Benešov		Vítkov
Dolní Lhota		Total: 61 (58 municipalities+3 Associate Members)
Dolní Životice		
Fulnek		
Háj ve Slezsku		
Hař		
Hlavnice		
Hlubočec		
Hlučín		
Hněvošice		
Holasovice		
Horní Benešov		
Horní Lhota		
Horní Životice		
Hrabyně		
Hradec nad Moravicí		
Kobeřice		
Kozmice		
Kravaře		
Krnov		
Kyjovice		
Litultovice		
Ludgeřovice		
Matice slezská		
Melč		
Mikolajice		
Mokré Lazce		
Neplachovice		
Nové Sedlice		
Nový Jičín		
Odry		
Oldříšov		
Opava		
Ostrava		
Píšť		
Pustá Polom		
Rohov		
Silesian University in Ostrava		
Šilheřovice		
Slavkov		
Služovice		
Sosnová		
Staré Heřminovy		
Stěbořice		

Source: Provided upon request by Euroregion Silesia-CZ, own compilation.

Appendix 16: Euregion Egrensis Governance Structure



Source: <http://www.euregio-egrensis.de/organisation.htm> and relevant Working Association Agreements

Appendix 17: Members of Euroregion Egrensis, Bavarian Working Association

Constituent members:

<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2014</u>
<i>Regional Planning Associations</i>	<i>Regional Planning Associations</i>	<i>Regional Planning Associations</i>
Oberpfalz-Nord (Upper Palatinate North)	Oberpfalz-Nord (Upper Palatinate North)	Oberpfalz-Nord (Upper Palatinate North)
Oberfranken-Ost (Upper Franconia West)	Oberfranken-Ost (Upper Franconia West)	Oberfranken-Ost (Upper Franconia West)
<i>Independent Cities</i>	<i>Independent Cities</i>	<i>Independent Cities</i>
Amberg	Amberg	Amberg
Bayreuth	Bayreuth	Bayreuth
Hof	Hof	Hof
Weiden in der Oberpfalz	Weiden in der Oberpfalz	Weiden in der Oberpfalz
<i>Districts in the OberpfalzRegion</i>	<i>Districts in the OberpfalzRegion</i>	<i>Districts in the OberpfalzRegion</i>
Amberg-Sulzbach	Amberg-Sulzbach	Amberg-Sulzbach
Neustadt an der Weinstraße	Neustadt an der Weinstraße	Neustadt an der Weinstraße
Schwandorf	Schwandorf	Schwandorf
Tirschenreuth	Tirschenreuth	Tirschenreuth
<i>Districtsin the OberfrankenRegion</i>	<i>Districtsin the OberfrankenRegion</i>	<i>Districtsin the OberfrankenRegion</i>
Bayreuth	Bayreuth	Bayreuth
Hof	Hof	Hof
Kronach	Kronach	Kronach
Kulmbach	Kulmbach	Kulmbach
Wunsiedel im Fichtelgebirge	Wunsiedel im Fichtelgebirge	Wunsiedel im Fichtelgebirge
<i>Major District Towns</i>	<i>Major District Towns</i>	<i>Major District Towns</i>
Kulmbach	Kulmbach	Kulmbach
Marktredwitz	Marktredwitz	Marktredwitz
Selb	Selb	Selb
<i>Municipalities within the County (Kreisangehörige Gemeinde) in Oberpfalz Region</i>	<i>Municipalities within the County (Kreisangehörige Gemeinde) In Oberpfalz Region</i>	<i>Municipalities within the County (Kreisangehörige Gemeinde)</i>
<i>Schwandorf District</i>	<i>Amberg-Sulzbach District</i>	<i>Amberg-Sulzbach District</i>
Schönsee	Hirschau	Hirschau
Stadlern	<i>Neustadt an der Weinstraße District</i>	<i>Schwandorf District</i>
<i>Tirschenreuth District</i>	Eslarn	Guteneck
Bärnau	<i>Schwandorf District</i>	Nabburg
Brand	Nabburg	Schönsee
Ebnath	Schönsee	Stadlern
Fuchsmühl	Stadlern	Wernberg-Köblitz
Konnersreuth	<i>Tirschenreuth District</i>	<i>Tirschenreuth District</i>
Mähring	Bärnau	Bärnau
Mitterteich	Brand	Brand
Neualbenreuth	Ebnath	Ebnath
Neusorg	Fuchsmühl	Fuchsmühl
Pechbrunn	Konnersreuth	Immenreuth
Pullenreuth	Mähring	Kemnath
Tirschenreuth	Mitterteich	Konnersreuth
Waldershof	Neualbenreuth	Mähring
Waldsassen	Neusorg	Mitterteich
Wiesau	Pullenreuth	Neualbenreuth

	Tirschenreuth	Neusorg
<i>Circle District Communities in Oberfranken Region</i>	Waldershof	Pullenreuth
<i>Bayreuth District</i>	Waldsassen	Tirschenreuth
Bad Berneck	Wiesau	Waldershof
Bischofsgrün		Waldsassen
Fichtelberg	<i>Circle District Communities in Oberfranken Region</i>	Wiesau
Mehlmeisel	<i>Bayreuth District</i>	<i>Bayreuth District</i>
Seybothenreuth	Bad Berneck	Bad Berneck
Warmensteinach	Bischofsgrün	Bischofsgrün
Weidenberg	Fichtelberg	Fichtelberg
<i>Hof District</i>	Mehlmeisel	Mehlmeisel
Regnitzlosau	Seybothenreuth	Seybothenreuth
Rehau	Warmensteinach	Weidenberg
<i>Kulmbach District</i>	Weidenberg	<i>Hof District</i>
Himmelkron	<i>Hof District</i>	Regnitzlosau
<i>Wunsiedel im Fichtelgebirge District</i>	Regnitzlosau	Rehau
Arzberg	Rehau	Schwarzenbach an der Saale
Bad Alexandersbad	Schwarzenbach an der Saale	Sparneck
Hohenberg an der Eger	Sparneck	<i>Kulmbach District</i>
Marktleuthen	<i>Kulmbach District</i>	Himmelkron
Nagel	Himmelkron	<i>Neustadt an der Waldnaab</i>
Schirnding	<i>Wunsiedel im Fichtelgebirge District</i>	Eslam
Schönwald	Arzberg	Neustadt an der Waldnaab
Thiersheim	Bad Alexandersbad	Waidhaus
Tröstau	Hohenberg an der Eger	Waldthurn
Weißensstadt	Nagel	<i>Wunsiedel im Fichtelgebirge District</i>
Wunsiedel	Schirnding	Arzberg
	Schönwald	Bad Alexandersbad
	Thiersheim	Hohenberg an der Eger
	Tröstau	Nagel
	Weißensstadt	Schirnding
	Wunsiedel	Schönwald
		Thiersheim
		Tröstau
		Weißensstadt
		Wunsiedel
Total: 56 members	59 members	66 members

Source: Provided upon request by Euroregion Egrensis, Bavarian Working Association; own compilation.

Cooperative members:

<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2014</u>
Sparkasse Fichtelgebirge	Sparkasse Fichtelgebirge	Bezirk Oberfranken
Evangelisch/Lutherisches Dekanat	Evangelisch/Lutherisches Dekanat	Bezirk Oberpfalz
INTERREG (International Inst. For Nationality and Regionalism)	INTERREG (International Inst. For Nationality and Regionalism)	Bezirksjugendring Oberfranken
Bund der Eghalanda Gmoin, Dr. Ralf Heimrath	Bund der Eghalanda Gmoin, Dr. Ralf Heimrath	Handwerkskammer für Oberfranken

Arbeitskreis Egerländer Kulturschaffender, Albert Reich	Arbeitskreis Egerländer Kulturschaffender, Albert Reich	Industrie und Handelskammer für Oberfranken Bayreuth
Maier Jörg, Professor, Dr. Dr. h.c.	Maier Jörg, Professor, Dr. Dr. h.c.	Industrie und Handelskammer Regensburg für Oberpfalz/Kelheim
Fichtelgebirgsverein e. V.	Fichtelgebirgsverein e. V.	Handwerkskammer Niederbayern-Oberpfalz
Heimatverband Eger Egerer Landtag e.V Leopold Uhl, 1. Vors	Heimatverband Eger Egerer Landtag e.V Leopold Uhl, 1. Vors	Zweckverband Müllverwertung Schwandorf
Gerhard Hanske Verwaltungsdirektor	Gerhard Hanske Verwaltungsdirektor	Zweckverband Sibyllenbad
DGB Region Upper Franconia East, Jakob Jürgen	DGB Region Upper Franconia East, Jakob Jürgen	Markt Wiesentheid
Naturpark Fichtelgebirge e. V. Landratsamt Wunsiedel	Naturpark Fichtelgebirge e. V. Landratsamt Wunsiedel	Sparkasse Bayreuth
Evangelisches Bildungs-und Tagungszentrum	Evangelisches Bildungs-und Tagungszentrum	Sparkasse Hochfranken
Egerland-Kulturhaus- Stiftung, Erich Fischer	Egerland-Kulturhaus- Stiftung, Erich Fischer	Akademie für Neue Medien e.V.
Handwerkskammer für Oberfranken	Handwerkskammer für Oberfranken	AGI Hochfranken Plus e.V.
Michael Neubauer	Michael Neubauer	Arbeitskreis Egerländer Kulturschaffender e.V.
Schutzgemeinschaft Deutscher Wald, Landesverband Bayern e. V.	Schutzgemeinschaft Deutscher Wald, Landesverband Bayern e. V.	Bund der Eghalanda Gmoin e.V.
Landesverband des Bayer. Einzelhandels e.V. Bezirk Oberfranken	Landesverband des Bayer. Einzelhandels e. V.	Bund der Selbständigen, Landesverband Bayern e.V.
Gerhard Bauer	Gerhard Bauer	Bund Naturschutz in Bayern e.V. Kreisgruppe Wunsiedel Mehr
Akademie Steinwald Fichtelgebirge	Akademie Steinwald Fichtelgebirge	DGB Region Oberfranken-Ost
Pütz Elke	Pütz Elke	Egerland-Kulturhaus-Stiftung
Dr. Ralf Heimrath	Dr. Ralf Heimrath	Energieversorgung Selbstredwitz GmbH
Schmidt Bank Filiale Marktredwitz	Industrie und Handelskammer für Oberfranken	Europa-Union e.V, Kreisverband Tirschenreuth
Industrie und Handelskammer für Oberfranken	AGI Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Industrie	FDP-Bezirksverband Oberfranken
AGI Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Industrie	Eisold, Harry	Fernwasserversorgung Oberfranken, Kronach
Eisold, Harry	Katholisches Dekanat Wunsiedel, Johannes Geiger	Fichtelgebirgsverein e.V.
Katholisches Dekanat Wunsiedel, Johannes Geiger	Sparkasse Bayreuth	Heimatkreis Plan-Weseritz
Kreissparkasse Bayreuth-Pegnitz	All-Eghalanda Gmoi z'Rawetz, Günther Wohlrab	Heimatkreisverband Egerer Landtag e.V.
All-Eghalanda Gmoi z'Rawetz, Günther Wohlrab	Markgraf, Dr. h.c. Gerhard	Heimatverband des Kreises Asch e.V.
Markgraf, Dr. h.c. Gerhard	Heimatkreisverein Tachau e.V.	Heimatkreisverein Tachau e.V.
Heimatkreisverein Tachau e.V. Dr. med. Wolf-Dieter Hamperl	Bund Naturschutz in Bayern e.V, Kreisgruppe Wunsiedel	Naturpark Fichtelgebirge e.V.
Bund Naturschutz in Bayern e.V, Kreisgruppe Wunsiedel	Oberpfälzer Kulturbund	Oberpfälzer Kulturbund
Manfred Heider	Bfz gGmbH Bereichsleitung Wemer Lindig	INTERREG (International Inst. For Nationality and Regionalism)
Oberpfälzer Kulturbund	Sudetendeutsche	Handelsverband Bayern-Der

	Landsmannschaft Margareta Michel	Einzelhandel e.V. (HBE), Bezirk Oberfranken
Bfz gGmbH Bereichsleitung Wemer Lindig	Heimatverband des Kreises Asch e.V 1. Vors. Horst Adler	Luftsportvereinigung Schönbrunn-Wunsiedel e.V.
Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft Margareta Michel	Fritz Baumgärtel	Partnerschaftskomitee Schwandorf/Sokolov
Heimatverband des Kreises Asch e.V 1. Vors. Horst Adler	Stadtsportverband Marktredwitz e. V., Josef Groh	Schutzgemeinschaft Deutscher Wald, Landesverband Bayern eV
Fritz Baumgärtel	Industrie- und Handelskammer Regensburg	Verein der Freunde und Förderer des Kolsters Seinshar e.V.
Helmut Grüner	Zweckverband "Sibyllenbad" Geiger Gerhard, Dipl.-Kfm. Werkleiter	Stadtsportverband Marktredwitz e.V.
Dr. Hans Badewitz	Dr. Wolfram Ley	Tourismusverband Franken e.V.
Stadtsportverband Marktredwitz e. V., Josef Groh	Landesbund f. Vogelschutz Kreisgruppe Wunsiedel, Walter Hollerring	Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft e.V.
Industrie- und Handelskammer Regensburg	EUROPA-UNION Deutschland Kreisverband Tirschenreuth, Peter Preisinger 1. Vors.	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Volkshochschulen im Landkreis Hof e.V.
Zweckverband "Sibyllenbad" Geiger Gerhard, Dipl.-Kfm. Werkleiter	Gerd Geismann 1. Bürgermeister der Stadt	Akademie Steinwald Fichtelgebirge e.V.
Dr. Wolfram Ley	Petra Ernstberger, MdB	Berufsschule zur sonderpädagogischen Lernförderung des St. Michaels Werk e.V., Grafenwöhr
Landesbund f. Vogelschutz Kreisgruppe Wunsiedel, Walter Hollerring	Bezirk Oberfranken	Bildungsinstitut Pscherer gGmbH
EUROPA-UNION Deutschland Kreisverband Tirschenreuth, Peter Preisinger 1. Vors.	Tourismusverband Franken, Olaf Seifert, Geschäftsführer	bfz gGmbH, Bereichsleitung Nord
Gerd Geismann 1. Bürgermeister der Stadt	Heimatkreis Plan-Weseritz Vorsitzender, Rudolf Albustin	BSI e.V., Hof (Bildungs- und Schulungs-Institut)
Petra Ernstberger, MdB	Otnant-Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Kultur, Dr. Bernd Thieser	Diakonie Neuendettelsau
Klaus-Peter Axmann	Büro OPUS, Franz Moder, Dipl.-Geoökologe	EJF-Lazarus gAG Hotel "Haus Silberbach", Selb Träger: Evangelisches Jugend- und Fürsorgewerk, Berlin
Bezirk Oberfranken	Hans Novotny, Dipl.-Kfm.	Evangelisches Bildungs- und Tagungszentrum Bad Alexandersbad
Tourismusverband Franken, Olaf Seifert, Geschäftsführer	Reimund Böhringer, Dipl.-Ing., Landschaftsarchitekt BDLA	Evangelisch-Lutherisches Dekanat Hof
Heimatkreis Plan-Weseritz Vorsitzender, Rudolf Albustin	Josef Wolf, Ingenieurgesell. Für das Bauwesen J.Wolf & Söhne GmbH	Evangelisch-Lutherischer Diakonieverein Schirnding e.V.
Otnant-Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Kultur, Dr. Bernd Thieser	Hans J. Oberndorfer	Franken-Akademie Schloß Schney e.V.
Büro OPUS, Franz Moder, Dipl.-Geoökologe	Luftsportvereinigung, Schönbrunn-Wunsiedel e.V. Bernd Hilpert	Hochschule Amberg-Weiden-Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften
Werner Nappert	Dr. Hartmut Gallmeier	Katholisches Dekanat Wunsiedel
Vier-Länder-Sport e. V., Bernd	Bezirksjugendring Oberfranken	Universität Bayreuth

Rösner		
Hans Novotny, Dipl.-Kfm.	Verein d. Freunde und Förderer der intern.Beegn.stätte Kloster Speinshart e.V. Girisch G.	Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V. Bezirksverband Oberfranken
Reimund Böhringer, Dipl.-Ing., Landschaftsarchitekt BDLA	Fachhochschule Hof, Jürgen Lehmann, Prof. Dr. Präsident	Volkshochschule Vohenstrauß e.V.
Büchereiverband Oberfranken u. nördl. Oberpfalz e. V.	Johann Seidel	Gerhard Bauer
Josef Wolf, Ingenieurgesell. Für das Bauwesen J.Wolf & Söhne GmbH	Europa-Union Bayern Bezirksverband Oberfranken 1. Vors Rainer Taubert RA	Fritz Baumgärtel
Hans J. Oberndorfer	Europa-Union Bayern Bezirksverband Oberpfalz 1. Vors Elke Pütz	Raimund Böhringer, Dipl. Ing.
Luftsportvereinigung, Schönbrunn-Wunsiedel e.V. Bernd Hilpert	Akademie für Neue Medien (Bildungswerk) e.V. Johan Pirthauer	Alexander Ebel
Dr. Hartmut Gallmeier	Bildungsinstitut Pscherer gGmbH	Petra Ernstberger
Bezirksjugendring Oberfranken	FDP Bezirksverband Oberfranken Froeschmann P, stellv. Bez. Vors	Dr. Olver van Essenberg
Verein d. Freunde und Förderer der intern.Beegn.stätte Kloster Speinshart e.V. Girisch G.	Klaus Pilhofer	Gerhard Hanske
Hellbach Burkard, Dipl. Kaufmann	Bezirk Oberpfalz Hauptverwaltung	Alois Hartl
Fachhochschule Hof, Jürgen Lehmann, Prof. Dr. Präsident	Peter Nietsch	Zdena Hartl
Edmund Liepold	Troeger-Weiß, Prof. Dr. Gabi	Dr. Ralf Heimrath
Martina Martin	Universität Bayreuth	Richard Mössbauer
Johann Seidel	FRANKEN-AKADEMIE Schloss Schney e.V. Hamann Klaus, Geschäftsf.	Michael Neubauer
Kreisjugendring Hof Geschäftsstelle	Fernwasserversorgung Oberfranken, Markus Rauh, Werksleiter	Hans-Joachim Nentwich
Europa-Union Bayern Bezirksverband Oberfranken 1. Vors Rainer Taubert RA	Handwerkskammer Niederbayern-Oberpfalz	Erwin Nickl
Europa-Union Bayern Bezirksverband Oberpfalz 1. Vors Elke Pütz	Zweckverband Müllverwertung Schwandorf Verb. Dir. Denk	Jörg Nürnberger
Akademie für Neue Medien (Bildungswerk) e.V. Johan Pirthauer	EJFLazarus gAG, Hotel "Haus Silberbach" Arndt Schubert	Hans J. Oberndorfer
Bildungsinstitut Pscherer gGmbH	Bund der Selbstständigen, Deutscher Gewerbeverband, Wolfgang Fuhrmann GF	Büro OPUS
Otto Kahler	Klaus Dietmar Porner	Klaus Pilhofer
FDP Bezirksverband Oberfranken Froeschmann P, stellv. Bez. Vors	Liebst Ludwig, Oberst a. D.	Klaus-Dietmar Porner
Klaus Pilhofer	Nürnberger Jörg Rechtsanwalt	Gerald Prell
Djo-Deutsche Jugend Landesverband Bayern	VGM Versorgungsgesellschaft Marktredwitz mbH	Elke Pütz
Bezirk Oberpfalz Hauptverwaltung	Franz Stadlbauer	Herbert Schmid
Peter Nietsch, Rechtsdirektor	Richard Mössbauer	Anna Stvrtecky

Troeger-Weiß, Prof. Dr. Gabi Universität Bayreuth	Erwin Nickl Hans-Joachim Nentwich	Prof. Dr. Gabi Troeger-Weiß Stephan Unglaub
FRANKEN-AKADEMIE Schloss Schney e.V. Hamann Klaus, Geschäftsf.	Stephan Unglaub	Tomáš Vorel
Fernwasserversorgung Oberfranken, Markus Rauh, Werksleiter	Gerald Prell	Europa Union Bayern e.V., Bezirksverband Oberfranken
Handwerkskammer Niederbayern-Oberpfalz	Alexander Eberl	Europa-Union Bayern, Bezirksverband Oberpfalz
Zweckverband Müllverwertung Schwandorf Verb. Dir. Denk	Helmut Arzberger	Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften Hof- Fachhochschule Hof
Hotel "Haus Silberbach" Arndt Schubert	Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V. Bezirksverband Oberfranken	Dr. Klaus-Günter Dietl, Landrat des Landkreises Bayreuth a.D
Bund der Selbstständigen, Deutscher Gewerbeverband, Wolfgang Fuhrmann GF	Evang.-Luth. Diakonieverein Schirnding e.V. Inge Lieb	Karl Haberkorn, Landrat des Landkreises Tirschenreuth a.D.
Klaus Dietmar Porner	Tomáš Vorel	Dr. Helmut Ruppert, Prof. em. Präsident der Universität Bayreuth a.D.
Liebst Ludwig, Oberst a. D.	Udo Fuchs	Dr. Peter Seißer, Landrat des Landkreises Wunsiedel a.D.
Nürnberger Jörg Rechtsanwalt	Berufsschule zur sonderpäd. Lernförderung St. Michaelswerk e.V.	Dr. Hans F. Trunzer, ehem. Hauptgeschäftsführer der IHK für Oberfranken Bayreuth
VGM Versorgungsgesellschaft Markredwitz mbH	Diakonie Neuendettelsau- Europa-Institut, Hermann Schoenauer	
Herbert Luyken	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Volkshochschulen im LK Hof e. V., Ilse Emek	
Franz Stadlbauer	BSI e.V. Bildung-Schulung- Information Dr. Gunter Billing	
Richard Mössbauer		
Erwin Nickl		
Hans-Joachim Nentwich		
Stephan Unglaub		
Alena Englerová		
Gerald Prell		
Total: 100 members	94 members	91 members

Source: Provided upon request by Euroregion Egrensis, Bavarian Working Association; own compilation.

Appendix 18: Members of Euroregion Egrensis, Saxon/Thuringian Working Association

Constituent: Vogtlandkreis, Erzgebirgskreis, Salle-Orla-Kreis, Landkreis Greiz, City of Plauen

Cooperative:

Cities: Stadt Adorf, Stadt Auma, Stadt Bad Elster, Stadt Greiz, Stadt Hirschberg, Stadt Klingenthal, Stadt Lengenfeld, Stadt Markneukirchen, Stadt Moorbad Lobenstein, Stadt Oelsnitz, Stadt Reichenbach, Stadt Saalburg-Ebersdorf, Stadt Zeulenroda-Triebes

Municipalities: Gemeinde Erlbach, Gemeinde Muldenhammer, Gemeinde Reuth

Organizations and Businesses: IHK Regionalkammer Plauen, Chursächsische Veranstaltungen GmbH, Bildungsinstitut Pscherer gGmbH, KIC Gera-Thüringen, Deutsche Private Finanzakademie GmbH, Fugmann und Fugmann Architekten und Ingenieure GmbH

Individuals: Peter Hering, Veit Hähnel, Dr. Eugenie von Trützschler zu Falkenstein, Ilona Scherm, Elke Magera, Volker Stöckmann, Tobias Schneider

Total: 34 members (5 constituent members and 29 cooperative members)

Source: <http://www.euregioegrensis.de/>. Status as of May 2014. Request for previous data denied by Euroregion Egrensis: Saxon/Thuringian Working Association.

Appendix 19: Members of Euroregion Egrensis, Czech Working Association

KARLOVARSKO: Abertamy, Bečov nad Teplou, Bočov, Boží Dar, Horní Blatná, Hory, Hroznětín, Chyše, Karlovy Vary, Nová Role, Nové Hamry, Ostrov, Pšov, Štědrá, Teplá, Teplička, Valeč, Žlutice

SOKOLOVSKO: Habartov, Horní Slavkov, Chlum sv. Máří, Chodov, Sdružení obcí pro rozvoj Kraslicka (Bublava, Dolní Nívy, Jindřichovice, Kraslice, Oloví, Přebuz, Rotava, Stříbrná, Šindelová), Krásno, Locket, Sokolov

CHEBSKO: Aš, Hranice, Cheb, Krásná, Lázně Kynžvart, Libá, Luby, Mariánské Lázně, Nový Kostel, Plesná, Podhradí, Skalná, Vlkovice

TACHOVSKO: Bezručice, Bor u Tachova, Ctiboř, Halže, Kladruby, Konstantinovy Lázně, Kostelec, Lestkov, Lom u Tachova, Milíře, Olbramov, Planá, Prostiboř, Staré Sedlo, Stříbro, Studánka, Tachov, Třemešné

TOTAL: 65 members

Source: www.euregio-egrensis.cz/. Status as of May 2014. Request for previous data denied by Euroregion Egrensis: Czech Working Association.