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**The IPA Bridge on the Danube:
Cross-border Co-operation and Social Reconstruction in
Slavonia and Vojvodina**

Diplomová práce

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Abstract:

The relations between Croatia and Serbia are determining for regional peace and stability and for the course of the EU enlargement in the Western Balkans. The Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) is the funding mechanism designed for the implementation of the EU's enlargement policy in the Western Balkans. This research investigates the extent to which IPA has integrated to the local cross-border initiatives in culture and youth and has fostered social reconstruction between Croats and Serbs in Slavonia (Croatia) and Vojvodina (Serbia). Co-operation in the cultural sector is an important element of social reconstruction, as it favours contacts and the erosion of antagonistic prejudices against the other ethnic group.

The objective of this research is defined as two-fold, firstly to test a model of cross-border co-operation devised from EU integration theories and, secondly to provide an accurate picture of the cross-border initiatives in Slavonia and Vojvodina based on ground-level experience.

The analysis of the data collected shows mixed results. On one hand IPA has integrated successfully into the landscape of local cross-border initiatives by stimulating socialisation between civil society organisations. IPA has also increased local ownership of cross-border co-operation amongst the regional authorities. On the other hand, cross-border co-operation in culture and youth is a policy area generally absent from the local political agenda and mostly dealt with at the level of the civil society. Social reconstruction requires complete local ownership at all levels of decision-making and full integration in the societal discourse in order to be completely successful.

Keywords:

EU Enlargement, Western Balkans, Croatia, Serbia, Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA), social reconstruction, civil society organisations.

Abstrakt:

Vztahy Chorvatska a Srbska jsou rozhodujícím faktorem pro mír a stabilitu v Západního Balkánu, který ovlivňuje mimo jiné proces rozšiřování Evropské unie v této oblasti. Nástroj Předvstupní Pomoci (NPP) je finanční mechanismus, který byl vytvořen pro podporu implementace politiky rozšiřování EU na západním Balkáně. Diplomová práce zkoumá, do jaké míry byl NPP integrován do místních přeshraničních iniciativ v oblasti kultury a mládeže a do jaké míry podpořil sociální rekonstrukci mezi Chorvaty a Srby ve Slavonii (Chorvatsko) a Vojvodině (Srbsko). Spolupráce v kulturní sféře je důležitou součástí sociální rekonstrukce, neboť prospívá rozvíjení vzájemných kontaktů a pomáhá odstraňovat nepřátelské předsudky vůči odlišné etnické skupině.

Cíl tohoto výzkumu je dvojitý: zaprvé má prověřit model přeshraniční spolupráce odvozený z teorií evropské integrace a zadruhé si klade za úkol poskytnout přesný obraz přeshraničních iniciativ ve Slavonii a Vojvodině založený na poznatcích z terénu.

Analýza získaných dat ukazuje že výsledky, které přinesl NPP, jsou dvousečné. Na jedné straně NPP se v regionu úspěšně etablovala v rámci místních přeshraničních iniciativ díky stimulaci socializace organizací občanské společnosti. NPP také posílil vytváření lokálního vlastnictví přeshraniční spolupráce z pozice regionálních činitelů. Na druhé straně je ovšem přeshraniční spolupráce v oblasti kultury a mládeže politickou otázkou, která stojí mimo lokální politickou agendu a ve většině případů se rozvíjí na úrovni občanské společnosti. Sociální rekonstrukce přitom vyžaduje úplné lokální vlastnictví na všech úrovních rozhodovacího procesu a plnou integraci do společenského diskursu aby byla úspěšná.

Klíčová slova:

Rozšíření EU, Západní Balkán, Chorvatsko, Srbsko, Nástroj předvstupní pomoci (NPP), sociální rekonstrukce, občanská společnost.

Bibliografický záznam

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Prohlášení

1. Prohlašuji, že jsem předkládanou práci zpracoval/a samostatně a použil/a jen uvedené prameny a literaturu.
2. Prohlašuji, že práce nebyla využita k získání jiného titulu.
3. Souhlasím s tím, aby práce byla zpřístupněna pro studijní a výzkumné účely.

V Praze dne 16.05.2014

Cassiopée VIENNE.

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List of acronyms:

CARDS: Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation
CBC: Cross-border co-operation
CBCC: Cross-border co-operation in culture and youth
CEE: Central and Eastern Europe
CSO: Civil Society Organisation
EBI: European Bank of Investment
EU: European Union
Interreg: funding for interregional co-operation across Europe
IPA CBC: Component of IPA dealing with cross-border co-operation
IPA: Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance
ISPA: Instrument Structurel de Pré-Adhésion (from French).
JMC: Joint-Monitoring Committee
JMC: Joint-Monitoring Committee
JTS: Joint-Technical Secretariat
JTS: Joint-Technical Secretariat
LDA: Local Democratic Authorities
MLG: Multi-Level Governance
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
OS: Operating Structure
PHARE: Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies
PPP: public private partnership
RDA: Regional Development Agency
SAA: Stabilisation and Association Agreement
SAP: Stabilisation and Association Process
SAPARD: Special Accession Programme for Agricultural and Rural Development
SME: Small and medium enterprises
SP: Stability Pact

List of the respondents interviewed

Respondents participating or having participated in IPA projects:

- **Poljoprivredni Institut Osijek (Agricultural Institute of Osijek, Croatia):** contact Kristina Zdunić, <http://www.poljininos.hr/> . The Agricultural Institute is a research center focusing on the improvement of agricultural techniques and engineering. It conducted the project **Apple Net.2: Networking, Marketing and Quality Management Towards Economic Development** (1st call for applications, measure 1.1) with the **University of Novi Sad, faculty of Agriculture** (duration: 24 months). The project aimed to strengthen the agricultural sector by fostering co-operation between apple producers and to help them reaching European standards in order to enhance their competitiveness on the European market. This project is the continuation of a similar endeavour started under CARDS.
< <http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/171-apple-net-2-networking-marketing-and-quality-management-towards-the-economic-development>>
- **Zeleni Osijek (Green Osijek, Croatia):** contact Dinko Pesić, <http://www.zeleni-osijek.hr/>. The association for nature and environment protection Green Osijek is an independent, non-government, and non-profit organization established in 1995 in Osijek, Croatia. Its goal is to educate and activate citizens in the field of nature preservation, improvement of quality of living through advocacy, promotion and implementation of the ecologically acceptable technologies and sustainable development. The association is involved in several cross-border projects and participates to IPA Croatia-Hungary and Croatia-Serbia. It conducted the project **Towards recycling societies in Osijek and Baranja County and North Bačka District** with the NGO **Zelena Akcija Zagreb** and the **Center for Ecology and Sustainable Development (CEKOR) in Subotica (Serbia)** (duration 24 months, measure 1.2) (1st call of proposals). The project focused on enhancing the sustainability of the waste management capacities in these two counties. <http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/179-towards-recycling-societies-in-osijek-baranja-county-and-north-backa-district>.
Zeleni Osijek carried out other cross-border projects with Serbian partners outside of IPA Croatia-Serbia. In 2007, it started the project “Development of cross border tourism in Central Danube region” as part of the programme CARDS 2004 in co-operation with **Tourist association of Osijek – Baranja County, Tourist association of City of Osijek and City of Sombor (Serbia)**. This project aimed at developing and stimulating ecotourism in the region.
<http://www.zeleni-osijek.hr/en/projects/development-of-cross-border-tourism-in-central-danube-region> 7
- **Local Democracy Agency Osijek (Croatia) and Local Democracy Agency Subotica (Serbia):** contacts in Osijek: Stanka Parać and Miljenko Turniski, contacts in

Subotica: Silvja Patarčić. http://www.alda-europe.eu/newSite/lda_dett.php?id=5 and http://www.alda-europe.eu/newSite/lda_dett.php?id=1. These two NGOs are part of the international network of Local Democracy Agencies. The Association of Local Democracy Agencies is a non-governmental organisation dedicated to the promotion of good governance and citizen participation at the local level. ALDA in particular focuses on activities that facilitate cooperation between local authorities and civil society.

ALDA was established in 1999 at the initiative of the Council of Europe's Congress of Local and Regional Authorities to coordinate and support a network of Local Democracy Agencies which was established in the early 1990s. It remains one of its supporting programmes. It is the umbrella organisation of the Local Democracy Agencies which are self-sustainable, locally registered NGOs that act as promoters of good governance and local self-government. The branches in Osijek and Subotica conduct the joint-project **Support networking and twinning at European level – SNET.EU** (duration 18 months, measure 1.3) (2nd open call of proposals). The project aims at promoting cross-border twinning between municipalities along the border by organising networking events and conferences in each of the 12 towns taking part in the project.

<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/2nd-call-for-proposals/item/180-support-for-networking-and-twinning-at-european-level-snet-eu>

- **Nansen Dialogue, Osijek (Croatia)**: contact Suzanna Agotić, <http://www.nansen-dialogue.net/ndcosijek/index.php/en/>. Founded in 2001, this NGO deals with post-conflict social reconstruction in multi-ethnic communities. It belongs to the Nansen Dialogue Network founded in Norway in 1994 in response to the Yugoslavian crisis and pursuing the aims of re-establishing social dialogue and reconciliation in war-torn areas. The centre in Osijek conducted the project “**Hands across the Border – Identity and Cultural Heritage of the Danube Region**” with the **Center for Youth Work –CZOR in Novi Sad (Serbia)** in co-operation with the municipalities of Tompojevci (Croatia) and Bač (Serbia) (duration 12 months, measure 1.3) (1st open call of proposals). The project brought 30 young people aged between 15 and 25 years old to explore their cultural heritage and attachment to the region by investigating their personal history. The final project consisted in a travelling photo exhibition retracing the multi-ethnic character of Slavonia and Vojvodina.

<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/176-hands-across-the-border-identity-and-cultural-heritage-of-the-danube-region>

and

<http://ruke-preko-granice.com.hr/>

- **Volonterski Centar (Volunteer Center, Osijek) (Croatia)**: contact: Mirta Kovacević, <http://vcos.hr/o-nama>. The Volunteer Center promotes civil engagement and redirect volunteers toward volunteering programmes around the region. It conducted the project **Volunteers without border** with **Humanitarian Centre in Novi Sad (Serbia)** (duration 18 months, measure 1.3) (2nd call of proposals). This project lays the foundations of infrastructures facilitating the exchange of volunteers between Croatia and Slavonia and for the expansion of the volunteering network locally.
<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/2nd-call-for-proposals/item/185-volunteers-without-borders>
- **Centar za poduzetništvo (Center for Entrepreneurship), Osijek (Croatia)**, contact: Tomislav Barbarić and Vedran Ostojić, <http://www.poduzetnistvo.org/centar/>. Founded in 1997, the center promotes regional economic development through educational curricula on business and investment. It conducted the project **Tradition for the Future – rural tourism across borders** with the **Municipality of Apatin (Serbia)** (duration 18 months, measure 1.1) (1st open call of proposals). This project aimed at establishing co-operation between enterprises and universities across the border the provision of innovation and vocational training services. The goal was to improve the image of the region and transform it into an attractive touristic destination and to attract investors to the region.
<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/175-tradition-for-the-future-rural-tourism-across-borders>
- **Poduzetnički inkubator BIOS (Business Incubator), Osijek (Croatia)**, contact: Ivo Koski, <http://inkubator.hr/>. The business incubator promotes regional economic development by supporting small and medium sized enterprises development by providing them with office space and production facilities and other business-related services. It participated in the project **Innovative Cross-Border SME Export Network –CB.NET** with the **Open University of Subotica (Serbia)** (duration 18 months, measure 1.1) (1st open call of proposals). The purpose of the project is to create a network of co-operation between SMEs in Croatia and Serbia to enhance their competitiveness on the European Common Market.
<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/169-innovative-cross-border-sme-export-network-cb-net>
- **Association for Creative Development SLAP, Osijek (Croatia)**, contact: Sonja Vuković, <http://www.slap.hr/index.php/o-nama/sto-je-slap>. This NGO is involved in enhancing the social capital, human and financial capacities of local organisations through educational programmes and microcredits. It conducted the project **Organica.NET** with the **Organic Food Association – Terras in Subotica (Serbia)** (duration 18 months, measure 1.1) (1st call of proposals). This project aims at stimulating rural development by encouraging the production of organic food. It

concentrates on the creation of a network of organic food producers and on the development of a domestic and regional market for these food products.

<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/177-organica-net>

- **RARE movie fans / DORF festival, Vinkovci (Croatia)**, contact: Toni Sarić, <http://filmfestivaldorf.com/en/>. This Association organises the yearly festival on Rock documentary movies DORF and cultural events all-year round. It conducted two IPA projects.
 - **Crossovers** was conducted with **the Open University of Subotica (Serbia)** (duration 12 months, measure 1.3), (1st open call of proposals). This project aimed at strengthening the capacities of regional cultural organisations. It is a joint-project between the festival DORF and the European film festival in Palić organising workshops for young movie-makers from the region and the joint-production of movies.
<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/1st-call-for-proposals/item/170-crossovers>
 - **Film it Loud** is conducted with the **Association Cinema City in Novi Sad (Serbia)** (duration 12 months, measure 1.3) (2nd open call of proposals). This project promote the film as a medium of communication and dialogue. It organises a series of workshops and training for young movie-makers and professionals from the movie industry.
<http://www.croatia-serbia.com/en/projects-a-partners/2nd-call-for-proposals/item/194-film-it-loud>
- **Association Cinema City, Novi Sad (Serbia)**, contact: Ivana Todorović, <http://www.cinemacity.org/>. The Cinema City is an international film festival, which is annually held in Novi Sad. During seven days, Novi Sad becomes cinema city with rich film, music and academic programs. The festival comprises film, music and academic programs. The association participates to the project **Film it Loud** with the **Movie Association RARE from Vinkovci (Croatia)**.
http://cinemacity.org/media_lib/files/katalog_film_it_loud_ONLINE.pdf
- **Centar za Omladinski Rad CZOR (Centre for Youth Work), Novi Sad (Serbia)**, contact: Danijela Radić, <http://webastromedia.com/czor/>. This NGOs focuses on capacity building of young people in the region, providing educational training and information about youth exchange programmes and volunteering. CZOR participated to the project **Hands across the border**.
http://webastromedia.com/czor/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=15&Itemid=14&lang=en

[Respondents having carried cross-border project outside IPA:](#)

- **PRONI – Centre for social education in Vukovar and Osijek (Croatia)**, contact: Goran Jelenić, <http://www.proni.hr/index.php/en/>. PRONI aims at empowering youth in taking part actively in society. It provides the local youth organisation with technical and advisory support. The project studied in this research is **Prijeko-Preko (Youth Link 1, 2 &3)** in co-operation with the **Municipality of Bač and the Youth organisation ENTER** (started in 2007, funded by the Balkan Trust, supported by the US German Marshall Funds). The project involved the development of a functioning youth club in Bač (Serbia) and to empower the local youth to organise activities and take part in the life of the municipality.
<http://www.proni.hr/index.php/en/Table/finished-projects/>
- **Projekt Gradjanske Demokratske inicijative PGDI (Project of Civil Democratic Initiative), Beli Manastir (Croatia)**, contact: Mirela Alagić, http://www.pgdi.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=37. Founded in 1999, this NGO promote civil engagement, tolerance and solidarity and provides education about the democratic processes among society. It conducts the project **Slama koja Spaja, a ne razdvaja (Straw that unites and does not separate)** with the Association **Li Women from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Association Matija Gubec from Tavankut (Serbia)** (7months, funded by the Women's Ecumenical Initiative from Omiš, Croatia). This project aims at empowering women from the local communities along the border by training 75 women in traditional straw braiding, as part of the development of ecotourism in the region.
http://www.pgdi.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=198:slama-koja-spaja-a-ne-razdvaja&catid=1:novosti
- **Kultura Nova, Novi Sad (Serbia)**, contact: Milan Vracar, <http://www.kulturanova.org/>. Established in 1999, this NGO strives for the dissemination of culture and arts among society and helps the promotion of young artists. The organisation is not currently involved in a cross-border project with partners from Slavonia, but it invites Croatian artists regularly and has taken part in several regional projects with Croatian and other regional partners, such as the **Balcan can contemporary** (only magazine diffusing information about the cultural events and novelties throughout the region) with the NGO dugo more from Rijeka (Croatia).
http://www.kulturanova.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=41%3A drugi-broj-bcc-balcan-can-contemporary&catid=1%3A vesti&lang=sr
- **EDIT, Novi Sad (Serbia)**, contact: Milica Paskulov (no online webpage available). Established as a branch of PRONI, it aims at empowering women in small municipalities through adult education and support in finding employment. It presently conducts the project **Adult Education Society** with PRONI aiming at stimulating entrepreneurship among women in the municipalities of Ilok (Croatia) and Bačka Palanka (Serbia) (funded by the US German Marshall Fund).

- **ENTER, Bač, (Serbia),** contact: Dejan Gajić, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Udruzenje-omladine-Enter/193724063973414>. Created with the help and support from PRONI (Croatia) as part of the project **Prijeko-Preko**, this youth club organises activities for the local youth all year round and has applied to several cross-border projects. It regularly takes part in cross-border activities mostly through the organisation of youth camps with youth clubs from municipalities in Slavonia.

Other respondents:

- **Joint-Technical Secretariats for Croatia,** contact: Ivana Zelić and **in Serbia,** contact: Darko Cvejić.
- **The Regional Development Agency for Slavonija and Baranjab,** contact: Kornelija Mlinarević. <http://www.slavonija.hr/>.
- **Centar za Mir (Centre for Peace), Vukovar,** contact: Branislav Tekić. <http://www.center4peace.org/index.php/en/>. Established in 1995 with the support of OXFAM (UK), it acts for the protection and promotion of Human Rights, democracy development and the development of interethnic relations. The Centre is currently not performing cross-border projects with Serbia, but the interview provided insights on the state of the social reconstruction process between Croats and Serbs.
- **Zelena Akcija, Zagreb (Croatia),** contact: Eugen Vuković. <http://zelena-akcija.hr/>. This NGO focuses on nature protection and sustainable use of the environment. It participated with **Zeleni Osijek** on the IPA project **towards recycling societies**.
- **Zavod za Kulturu Vojvodine (Vojvodina's Institute for Culture), Novi Sad (Serbia),** contact: Dragan Ilić. http://www.kultura-vojvodina.org.rs/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15&Itemid=148. Established in 2003, the institute strives for the development of the cultural agenda of Vojvodina. It aims at stimulating contemporary artistic production in Vojvodina through the realization of projects that include the management of culture, cultural production, cultural tourism, organisation of cultural and artistic events, presentations, information -documentation activities, new media, professional training and education in culture and the arts.
- **Department of culture of the Regional Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Novi Sad,** contact: Slavko Matić.
- **CK 13, Novi Sad (Serbia),** contact: Anica Stojanović, <http://ck13.org/>. This youth centre is an alternative and educational space designed to support and to boost the development of social engagement and political activism primarily young people. It

is currently not involved in a cross-border project with Slavonia, but has participated in several region-wide cultural projects and hosts regularly artists from Slavonia.

- **Volonterski Centar Vojvodine (Volunteer Centre of Vojvodina), Novi Sad (Serbia)**, contact: Sonja, <http://volontiraj.rs/>. Established in 2004, this NGO aims at stimulating civil engagement and activism amongst young people. It is currently not involved in a cross-border project, but the answers collected were useful in understand the dynamics in culture and youth in Vojvodina.
- **Belgrade Open School –BOŠ, Belgrade (Serbia)**, contact: Ivana Bartulović, http://www.depocei.org/?page_id=57. Founded in 1993, BOS strives to foster civil engagement and activism and to promote democracy and European values through a rich educational programme for young adults with higher education. It also aims at strengthening partnerships between the civil society organisations, churches, religious and ethnic communities, public authorities in the fields of intercultural dialogue, tolerance and reconciliation, to strengthen activism in stabilising inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in the Western Balkans. BOS is not participating in a cross-border project with partner from Slavonia at the moment but takes part regularly in projects of co-operation with partners from the Western Balkans.
- **Danilo Kiš, Subotica (Serbia)**, Danjela Mamuzić, <http://www.danilokis.rs/>. This foundation for culture and the performing arts provides premises for cultural events for young artists from the region. It maintains tighter cross-border relations with neighbouring Hungary than Croatia.
- **Foto, Kino I Video, Novi Sad & Kulturni Centar Mladih Vojvodine (Foto, Movie and Video & Cultural Centre for Youth of Vojvodina), Sombor (Serbia)**, contact: Boris Radivojkov, <http://www.kcmv.udruzenje.org/>, <http://fkvsv.com/>. Both organisations aim at developing the local agenda on culture and stimulate cultural dialogue by organising cultural events for the local youth with international artists. Foto, Video I Kino provides workshops for movie-making and in photography. They are presently not involved in a cross-border programme with a Slavonian partner specifically, but participate regularly in cultural co-operation programmes involving participants from all over the Western Balkans.
- **Civil servants interviewed at the LDA conference for the project SNET.EU. (4).**

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims.
Schuman Declaration, 9th May 1950.

“...it was an intimate bond between the men of that generation ... for nothing brings men close together than a common misfortune happily overcome.”
Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*

The IPA Bridge on the Danube: **Cross-Border Co-operation and Social Reconstruction in Slavonia and Vojvodina**

On the first of July 2013, Croatia joined the European Union, symbolically leaving behind the Yugoslav wars in a distant past. The accession of Croatia sends a positive message to the rest of the Western Balkans ensuring them that the region will not be left at the doorstep of Europe. The Western Balkans is a major test for the EU and its enlargement policy. The EU's enlargement process must address the regional economic discrepancies with the rest of Europe, secure political stability and the rule of law, remedy to social inequalities, and above all guarantee long-lasting peace and security within the region but also for the whole of Europe as well. European accession aims at erasing the economic, political and social remaining scars of the Yugoslav wars. The EU's enlargement policy had thus had to adjust its strategy in order to incorporate a component on social reconstruction to its classical model of economic interdependence as a vector of political stability.

The Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) implements the ambitious objectives of the EU's enlargement policy for the region on the principle of the maintenance of good neighbourliness and interdependence in the political, economic and social spheres. Alleviating economic hardship, political resistance and social mistrust on the regional peripheries through cross-border co-operation (CBC) aims at accelerating the process of reconciliation and ensuring peace in the regions that suffered the most from war and its aftermath. IPA is divided into two agendas: sustainable socio-economic development and technical assistance. The priority on economic development encompasses measures on economic development (measure 1.1), environmental protection (measure 1.2) and people-to-people (measure 1.3). The measure 1.3 will be the study's object of focus.

Research question

Studying cross-border co-operation in the cultural and youth sector (CBCC) as a mean of regional stability between Croatia and Serbia determines the extent to which IPA has integrated to the local cross-border initiatives and provides insights on the role of CBCC funded by IPA on the process of social reconstruction in the border area. Therefore, this research will aim to answer the following question: to what extent has IPA integrated to the local cross-border initiatives in culture and youth and has fostered social reconstruction between Croats and Serbs in Slavonia and Vojvodina?

Subsequently, this research will investigate the extent to which the EU's model of enlargement has been successful in the Western Balkans focusing primarily on the component on cross-border co-operation (CBC) in the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA). It will then address the importance devoted to social reconstruction in the CBC component of IPA by investigating cross-border co-operation in the culture and youth sectors (CBCC).

This analysis will be based on field researches conducted in Slavonia (Croatia) and Vojvodina (Serbia). The choice of this case study rests on the argument that the relations between Croatia and Serbia are determining for regional stability and the European course of the rest of the region. These two states enjoy considerable demographic and economic weight and therefore important political leverage on the evolution of the pre-accession reforms regionally. Successful social reconstruction between these two regions is essential for peaceful inter-state relations and the stability of the Western Balkans.

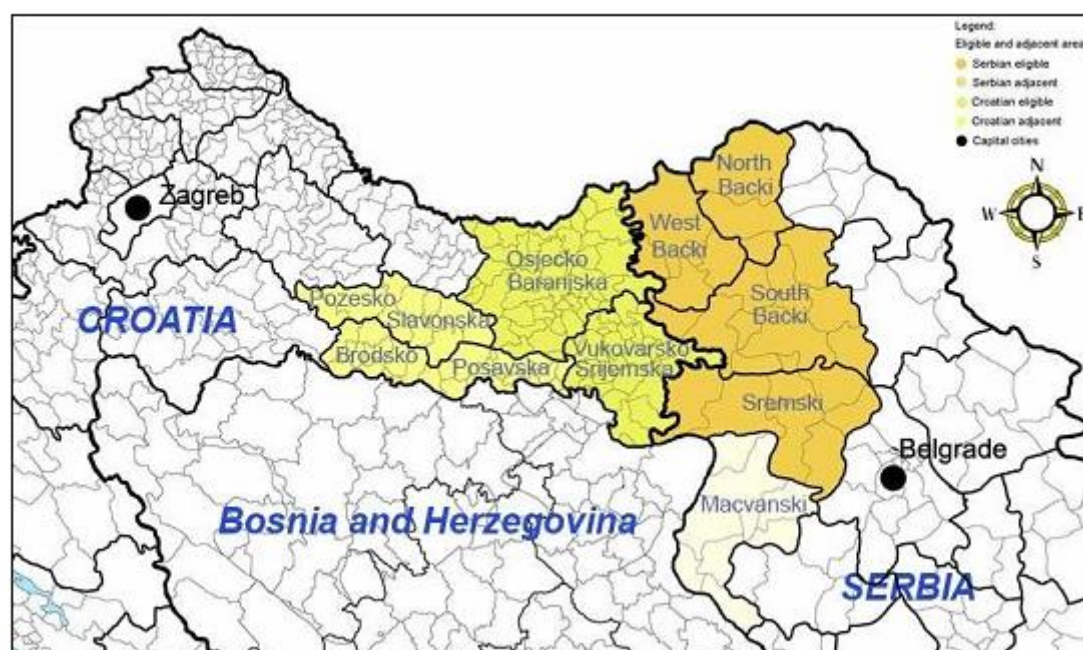
This research makes several contributions to the study of European enlargement. It attempts to fill the existing literature gap in the European integration theories by presenting a comprehensive analysis of the EU's enlargement strategy for the Western Balkans based on a theoretical model coupling multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism. Lesser attention has been devoted to the question of the integration process during the pre-accession phase and to its deepening as a result of the last enlargements in Central and Eastern Europe (2004, 2007, and 2013). In addition, European integration theories have not yet adjusted to the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans and address neither cross-border co-operation nor social reconstruction standing at the core of the present enlargement strategy. The theoretical model used in this study will explain the extent to which IPA contributes to institutionalising cross-border co-operation through regionalisation and political decentralisation (referred as vertical institutionalisation), socialisation (referred as horizontal institutionalisation) and establishing interrelation between supranational governance and local ownership of CBC.

Cross-border co-operation between Croatia and Serbia is a study case of academic relevance and strategic significance. These two states have a tremendous influence on the overall development of the Western Balkans and therefore the nature of their relations is decisive for the entire regional stability. In addition, this case study bestow ground for an in-depth analysis of the instruments for pre-accession since it involves a candidate (and now member-state), Croatia and Serbia as an applicant state. It sheds light thus on the difficulties of coordination between the two status regimes.

Background to the research

Slavonia and Vojvodina share a common historical and political heritage that traces back to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Throughout the different phases of state consolidation (from the time of the Kingdom of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes on through Yugoslavia up to the declaration of national independence), Slavonia and Vojvodina have enjoyed political autonomy within Croatia and Serbia. To this day, Vojvodina is an autonomous province with its own regional government¹.

Figure 1 The Programme Area



Source: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), Cross-Border Programme Croatia-Serbia 2007-2013, revised version 2009, European Commission.

In addition, these two regions present a fair amount of common topographic, demographic, economic and cultural features allowing for further comparison. Together

¹ For more relevant information, please consult :

Fine, John. *When Ethnicity did not Matter in the Balkans – A study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early- Modern Periods*, United States of America: The University of Michigan Press, 2006;

Gallagher, Tom. *Outcast Europe : The Balkans 1789-1989, From Ottomans to Milosevic*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001;

Lampe, John. *Yugoslavia as History, twice there was a Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000;

Sgheville, Ferdinand. *A History of the Balkans From the Earliest Times to the present Days*, New York: Dorset Press, 1991.

they form the Pannonian plain, a vast fertile agricultural land watered with the confluents of the Drava and the Danube. Agriculture is somewhat more developed in Slavonia than in Vojvodina where industry represents a bigger share in the local economy. Long known as the richest regions of Yugoslavia, their economic co-operation also arose from a common multi-cultural heritage. Cultural heritage rested on the diversity of ethnic groups living in the region and this micro-cosmopolitanism represented a strong factor of identification, differentiating its inhabitants from the rest of their respective fellow countrymen. Before the Civil War, Eastern Slavonia was one of the most ethnically diverse regions in Croatia. Multiculturalism remained a strong factor of regional identity in Vojvodina, the home of 26 ethnic groups. Presently, a third of all Serbs (60 000) living in Croatia live in the border areas of Eastern Slavonia.

According to the SWOT analysis provided by the IPA program, the area holds a strong potential for projects of cultural co-operation². The rich cultural heritage of the region encompasses sights of historical importance and interest ranging from pre-Christian archaeological sites, roman castles and other historical monuments and enjoys a large potential for ecotourism and cultural tourism (rich wine tradition and diversity of the local folklore) on a year-round basis. Moreover, the bigger urban settlements, especially in Vojvodina are vibrant cultural hubs for modern arts, performing arts and cinematography attracting many visitors each year. The most famous events are for instance the Exit music festival in Novi Sad, the movie festival in Palić (Subotica) or Cinema City in Novi Sad.

CULTURE			
Strengths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Common rich cultural and historical heritage and diversity of cultural practices ▪ Unique tradition, customs and crafts, common Slavic origin of the languages and a long tradition of close linkage and mutual interaction ▪ Multicultural tradition and ethnic diversity 	Weaknesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Insufficient protection and unsuitable use of cultural heritage ▪ Lack of effective promotion and information sharing
Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Large potential for cross-border cooperation in the field of culture and tradition ▪ Preservation and revitalization of common cultural heritage ▪ Inclusion of culture and cultural heritage into development and marketing of tourist products ▪ Sustainable protection of existing cultural and territorial diversity 	Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Insufficient social involvement of ethnic minorities may reduce cultural diversity ▪ Impoverished traditional heritage ▪ Negligence of the traditional heritage ▪ Reduction of resources for culture per se (without explicit economic effect/impact)

Source: IPA SWOT analysis, 25.

The war of independence (1991-1995) disrupted irreversibly the relations between the populations living in Slavonia and Vojvodina. The war raged in Eastern Slavonia and left Vojvodina virtually untouched from the ethnic cleansing that occurred in other parts of Yugoslavia. This imbalance in the conflict is still felt to this day to a greater extent on

² Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), *Cross-Border Programme Croatia-Serbia 2007-2013*, revised version 2009, European Commission.

the Croatian side. The immediate aftermaths of the war were demographic, economic, social and political. Following the Operation Storm that helped Croatia to regain the occupied territories in 1995, a majority of the ethnic Serbs fled to Serbia resulting into higher ethnic homogeneity of the border areas. Ethnic Serbs largely present in the county of Vukovar-Srijem live in relatively homogeneous communities.

The economic situation on the border areas has still not fully recovered and in the face of the present economic crisis touching the EU, the economic conditions remain dire. The landmines hidden in the fields left large strips of land unusable for agriculture. Moreover, embroiled in the Yugoslav wars, the Western Balkans were isolated from the economic transition happening in Europe throughout the nineties. As a consequence, Croatia and Serbia based most of their trade on the export of commodities (food products and construction materials) to the EU and thus further dismantling mutual trade. As a result of the war and economic hardship, the level of unemployment swelled to 25% in Slavonia and 21% in Vojvodina and has led to a de-ruralisation of the border regions. The young generations move out of the countryside for the capital, leaving behind an aging population incapable of giving the local economy the impulse needed.

Socially, the war replaced cross-border relations with mistrust and isolationism on both sides. In Serbia, the embargo imposed on Serbia as a result of the war in Kosovo and the unresolved allegations of ethnic cleansing perpetrated during the Operation Storm have increased the perception of unfair treatment towards the Serbs as the villains of Europe. The breakdown in social relations has inflated popular support for conservative and nationalist political discourses in both regions. In spite of the political commitment of the major political parties to European accession, regional politics are dominated by conservative political views, which might be of a hindrance to cross-border co-operation. In Slavonia, the conservative right, Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica*, HDZ) and agrarian, Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja (*Hrvatski demokratski savez Slavonije i Baranja*, HDSSB) parties hold a majority of seats in the county governments (Zupanije) of Osijek-Baranja and Vukovar-Srijem and in the bigger towns along the border such as Osijek, Vukovar, Djakovo, or Beli Manastir³. Despite its multicultural composition, Vojvodina is the last bastion of the nationalist parties in Serbia under the dominance of the Democratic Party (*Demokratska Stranka*, DS)⁴. The last national elections in Serbia gave the Progressive Party (*Srpska Napredna Stranka*, SNS) a large majority in the parliament⁵ and it is likely to win the next local elections in Vojvodina as well. Despite the pro-European rhetoric of the party leaders at the national level, this shift in the political climate is unlikely to affect the course of CBC at the local level. Dating back from the socialist times, the administration in the regions has remained immutable to the changes of regimes and political majority. Conservative

³ Official webpage, results of the local elections 2013 (Slavonia- Baranja and Vukovar-Srijem) (in Croatian) < <http://www.izbori.hr/2013Lokalni/rezult/krug-2/rezultati.html>>

⁴ Official webpage of the Regional Government of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (in English) <http://www.vojvodina.gov.rs/en/>

⁵ Official results of the Serbian parliamentary elections 2014 (in Serbian) < http://www.rik.parlament.gov.rs/cirilica/saopstenja_frames.htm>

administrative culture is the main underlying determining factor to the implementation of cross-border co-operation.

Scope of the research

The scope of the research follows the same territorial delimitations as the administrative units⁶ eligible for the CBC component under IPA: Eastern Slavonia: Osječko-Baranjska, Vukovarsko-Srijemska and Western Vojvodina: West Bačka, South Bačka, Srem. The main towns in Eastern Slavonia are: Osijek, Vukovar, Djakovo and Vinkovci. In Western Vojvodina, the main urban settlements are: Novi Sad, Sombor, Sremska Mitrovica and Subotica. The time frame focuses on the first working period of IPA from 2007 to 2013.

After almost two decades since the end of the war, it is time to engage the process of social reconstruction. Mutual trust cements co-operation and constitutes the basis for good neighbourliness, ensuring regional stability and therefore security. Social reconstruction refers to the creation of peaceful relations between communities based on repeated interactions and interdependence in a wide variety of spheres of activity. Cross-border co-operation is an effective mean to build stability locally and regionally. Border regions are sensitive areas that still suffer from the legacy of war and to this day where inter-ethnic relations are the least stable and prone to political manipulation. IPA CBC translates EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans and the EU's action programme for building stability and security in the region. Deeper cross-border co-operation is a first step towards evolving together as neighbours and partners in the European Union resting on economic and political interdependence. This research deems that cross-border co-operation in culture and youth is an indicator of the progress achieved on social reconstruction and thus of the stability of the relations across the border between Croats and Serbs. Co-operation in these sectors also encourages sustainable rapprochement by involving a broader range of actors on a personal level and thus shapes the societal discourse in favour of social reconstruction.

Subsequently, this research will investigate the topic of cross-border co-operation in the sectors of culture and youth as a way to foster regional stability between Croatia and Serbia. Its primary objective is to determine the extent to which IPA integrates to the local cross-border initiatives in order then, to understand the significance of IPA CBC on the process of social reconstruction between Croats and Serbs. It is presumed that the scale of local ownership of IPA CBC in the areas of culture and youth reflects the capacity of the EU to adjust its enlargement policy to the regional specificities of the Western Balkans. A lack of local ownership would support the argument that the EU's enlargement model has not incorporated effectively a component on social reconstruction to its traditional framework of political stability through economic co-operation. As a consequence, the lack of systematic endorsement of social reconstruction by the local democratic authorities and civil society undermines long-lasting and sustainable rapprochement between the populations across the border.

⁶ All administrative units eligible are equivalents to NUTS III: counties in Croatia and districts in Serbia.

Structure of the research: a road map

The analysis will proceed in two phases. The first part of this research will be dedicated to explaining the logic of institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation carried out by IPA based on European Integration theories. The theoretical model will assemble a set of assumptions and hypotheses covering the different facets of the research question and presenting expected results for each sub-question. This theoretical model will be tested against data collected during the field researches in the second part of the analysis. It will then discuss the misfits between the theory and the trends observed on the ground. The structure of this analysis follows the subsequent trajectory.

Chapter one will fill the existing gap in the literature on European integration by addressing the current efforts to deepen integration early in the accession negotiations focusing primarily on decentralisation of state power and socialisation at the different institutional levels. It will use a theoretical framework combining multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism in order to describe the relations between the European compound polity and its institutional actors. This model relying on the concepts of vertical and horizontal institutionalisation will provide a theoretical basis for explaining the EU's regional policy and cross-border co-operation (section 1.1). This chapter will also examine the significance of cross-border co-operation in the sectors of culture and youth (CBCC) in deepening European integration (section 1.2). It will first demonstrate the impact of cross-border cultural co-operation (CBCC) in redefining the concept of regions and the process of identity formation at the regional level. It will then argue that CBCC deepens European integration by empowering civil society organisations (CSO) in the decision-making process and by fostering social cohesion on the periphery under the European aegis.

In chapter two, the theoretical framework will incorporate notions of reconciliation and social reconstruction from post-conflict theories in order to refine the stakes of the European enlargement in bolstering social reconstruction in the Western Balkans. It will demonstrate that the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans departs from its previous strategy for Central and Eastern Europe (enlargement 2004) and follows a double agenda of security and stability, resulting in a gradual shift of focus from economic cohesion toward social reconstruction (section 2.1). It will then argue that component 2 (on cross-border co-operation) in IPA has transformed CBC in the sectors of culture and youth into a European project of social reconstruction. It will affirm that IPA's ascendant on the process of social reconstruction is characterised by the imposition of its institutional and financial conditions on cross-border co-operation (section 2.2).

Chapter three will translate the theoretical considerations from the preceding two chapters into a set of assumptions conceptualising IPA's cross-border co-operation component and its theoretical impact on regional stability in Slavonia and Vojvodina (section 3.1). It will then derive a set of hypotheses from the theoretical framework on the extent to which CBCC funded by IPA integrates to local initiatives of cross-border co-operation and thus stimulates social reconstruction between local communities in

Slavonia and Vojvodina. Taking into account the aforementioned assumptions, the hypotheses tested in the second half of this research will cover the different facets of the research question in a holistic manner (section 3.2).

Chapter four will detail the methodology adopted for the field research and will serve as an introduction to the analysis of the data collected for this research. It will clarify the level of analysis for the interviews conducted on the field (section 4.1). For the purpose of transparency and validity of the results, it will then present the research framework by outlining the different stages of the research and the protocol chosen for this empirical qualitative research. It will justify the sampling design and protocol for data collection throughout the different phases of the research (section 4.2). Lastly, it will introduce the experimental design for data analysis and identify the variables that will be used for analysing the content of the interviews in a comprehensive analysis grid (section 4.3).

Chapter five will introduce the trends observed in the content analysis of the interviews and will focus on six CBC partnerships: three IPA projects and three from local initiatives. It will first examine the origins of the partnership and its duration (section 5.1). It will define what proportion of the participants has already been involved in CBC projects and will establish a relation with the evolution of partnerships under scrutiny (section 5.2). It will look into the motivations and incentives for cross-border co-operation (section 5.3). It will analyse the nature of the relations and of co-operation between the local authorities and civil society organisation in order to understand the place of CBC in the public and societal discourse (section 5.4). It will highlight the main obstacles and hindrances to CBC from the perspective of the different respondents (section 5.5). It will examine the sources of funding in order to understand the importance of IPA as a financial incentive for CBC (Section 5.6). Lastly, it will provide a short assessment of the results of the projects in relation with the perception of the respondents on the impact of CBC on the rapprochement between Croats and Serbs (section 5.7).

Chapter six will test the hypotheses that have been retrieved from the theoretical model against the results of the interviews conducted on the field. The test will enable to determine through a first analysis whether the expectations generated by the theories of European integration have been fulfilled. The first three hypotheses will establish the synergy between IPA and civil society organisations in fostering CBC (section 6.1) and the last three will examine the effect of IPA on stimulating social reconstruction (section 6.2).

Chapter seven will put the theoretical framework under scrutiny and will identify the misfits of the theories with the results obtained from the field research. It will determine to what extent the European model for the enlargement in the Western Balkans has been implemented and met with successful social reconstruction. It will verify whether IPA CBC has led to vertical (section 7.1) and horizontal institutionalisation (section 7.2) of cross-border co-operation and will dive in the question whether European supranational governance has enhanced local ownership of the process of social reconstruction between Slavonia and Vojvodina (section 7.3).

Chapter eight will discuss the answers to the research question in the light of the misfits with the hypotheses and with the theoretical framework listed throughout the preceding chapters (section 8.1). Based on these conclusions, this research will end on a

discussion of the expected implications for the evolution of the process of social reconstruction between Croats and Serbs on the border zone (section 8.2.1) and of the potential for the EU's enlargement policy to reinvent itself and to incorporate social reconstruction to its model of economic co-operation (section 8.2.2).

Sources

The originality of this research lies in the comprehensive use of a large quantity of primary sources. Extensive empirical field research has been conducted for this study with a total of 33 semi-structured face-to-face interviews. The interviews included most of the beneficiaries of the first and second open call of proposals IPA 2007-2013 (15), representatives of the Joint-Technical Secretariats for IPA (2), representatives of cultural organisations and civil society organisations (CSO) (13) and representatives of the local authorities on topics on CBC in culture and youth (3). As a result, this research provides a broader picture of the nature of cross-border co-operation in these fields, the relations between civil society and local democratic authorities (LDA) and of the level of integration of IPA in the regional institutional landscape. Based on these results, it is possible to establish several conclusions on the present cross-border relations between the local communities and to make grounded projections about the course of rapprochement between Croats and Serbs in Eastern Slavonia and Western Vojvodina.

It is important to note that I first intended to cover both the economic and cultural dimensions of cross-border co-operation. However, I had to drop the economic dimension due to time constraints and resistance from the respondents to provide sufficiently complete information. However, some of the preliminary considerations and elements of responses that I received will be used in the final analysis.

Due to the novelty of the topic under focus, there is limited literature related to cross-border co-operation and social reconstruction as part of the EU's enlargement policy. The secondary literature used can be divided into four main topics. It encompasses primarily key authors on European Integration theories⁷ (multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism), and on cross-border co-operation such as Perkmann, Grix & Knowles and Nadalutti. A second large body of literature was devoted to the EU's

⁷ For further information, consult the following authors:

Bache: Bache, Ian and Stephen George, *Ed., Politics in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; Bache, Ian., "Building multi-level governance in Southeast Europe?", *Southeast European & Black Sea Studies*, 10:1(2010): 111-122; Bache, Ian., "Europeanization and multi-level governance: EU cohesion policy and pre-accession aid in Southeast Europe", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 10:1, (2010): 1-12.

Featherstone and Radaelli: Featherstone Kevin and Claudio M. Radaelli., *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Schimmelfennig: Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. "Theorizing EU enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses and the State of Research", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9:4 (2002): 500-528.

Stanholtz and Stone Sweet: Stanholtz, Wayne. and Alec Stone Sweet, *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship, 1998

engagement in the Western Balkans since the outbreak of the Civil War and to social reconstruction in post-conflict theories. A third set of literature focused on regions and regional identity based on the works of Anssi Paasi⁸ in particular and on the cultural heritage in Slavonia and Vojvodina in order to define common cultural heritage as a motive for co-operation.

Secondary sources were mostly in English and a few in French and Croatian/Serbian. This research made use of most of the available researches published in Croatia and Serbian. Additionally, although consulted during the early stages of the desk research, the body of literature on regionalism have been excluded from the scope of this research, as non-applicable to the study of cross-border co-operation at the local level.

⁸ Paasi, Anssi. And David Newman. "Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography", *Progress in Human Geography*, 22:2 (1998): 186-207; Paasi, Anssi., "Region and Place: regional identity in question", *Progress in Human Geography*, 27:4 (2003): 475-485; Paasi, Anssi., "Place and Region: Regional Worlds and Words", *Progress in Human Geography*, 26:6, (2002): 802-811.

Part 1: Conceptual and theoretical frameworks: IPA explained by EU Intregation theories

This introductory section will inscribe the EU enlargement strategy for the Western Balkans in the process of Europeanisation and European integration in order to understand the importance of the exchange of ideas in a multilevel power structure for building stable relations between the different ethnic communities in Slavonia and Vojvodina. The European polity is characterized by entrenched decentralisation of political power and a complex institutional apparatus. As a result, EU enlargement generates a process of vertical and horizontal institutionalisation⁹ in the candidate and applicant states prior to accession.

Institutionalisation involves two parallel and interconnected processes: integration and Europeanisation. European integration refers to a transfer of policy from the EU to the national level¹⁰. The candidate or applicant state is subject to pressures from the European Commission to download the institutional polity of the EU (decentralisation of state power toward the EU institutions and the lower administrative layers at the sub-state level) in order to prepare for the transfer of the *acquis communautaire* after the start of the accession negotiations. Europeanisation is defined as the institutionalisation of formal and informal norms and practices shared by the European member states¹¹.

Europeanisation is intrinsically connected with integration, as the latter provides an institutional structure for the transfer of EU policy paradigms into the domestic political discourse. Moreover, European integration mobilizes a wide range of actors at different supra and subnational levels¹² contributing thus to the diffusion of European norms and the promulgation of the deepening of the Union beyond its mere institutional and legislative framework. In addition, the CBC component of IPA arises as the culmination of a process of deepening of European integration in the accession negotiations that incrementally evolved with each enlargement wave. Consequently, the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance carries a mission both of Europeanisation and of integration by infusing enlargement in the Western Balkans with European policies, polity, norms and values. The IPA component on cross-border co-operation relies on the establishment of cross-border sub-state institutional structures, resulting in the regionalisation of the domestic political landscape.

⁹ According to Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier: “*Institutionalisation is the process through which relations between social actors become normatively patterned through shared rules and institutions*”.

Schnimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. “Theorizing EU enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses and the State of Research”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 9:4 (2002): 503.

¹⁰ Standholtz, Wayne and Alec Stone Sweet, *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship, 1998), 4 and Schnimmelfennig and Sedelmeier. “Theorizing EU enlargement”: 503 & 515.

¹¹ Radaelli in Britz, Malena., “European Integration and Organisational Theory – perhaps an ideal match for an analysis of the Europeanisation process?”, *Stockholm Centre for Organisational Research*, published on Archive of European Integration (AIE), Pittsburgh University, (2001): 8.

¹² Schnimmelfennig and Sedelmeier. “Theorizing EU enlargement”: 515 and Morth in Britz. “European Integration and Organisational Theory”: 9.

Chapter 1: Cross border co-operation in culture and youth through the lens of Sociological Institutionalism and Multi-level Governance

European integration theories provide the most pertinent theoretical framework for explaining the underlying narrative pertaining to achieving the objectives spelled out in the CBC component of IPA. Merging together theories of multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism provides a novel and efficient explanation to the way the EU's enlargement policy deepens European integration. Although belonging to two different conceptual frameworks, both theories can easily be coupled into a single theoretical framework because they are non-state centric, non-hierarchical and involve a wide range of actors¹³. Multilevel governance is rather an approach to public administration theory than a theory in its own right. It describes the institutional structure, power divisions and interactions between the levels of authority within the EU and in the candidate states. Sociological institutionalism is a constructivist theory on the formation of institutions that defines the nature of actions and social interactions between actors within their institutional set-up. Unlike other integration theories such as rational institutionalism, it does not explain decisions on a cost/benefit analysis but focuses rather on the role of norms and values in shaping the actors interests from the supranational level down to the local level. It thus seemed appropriate to devise the conceptual framework based on these two schools of thought for the subsequent analysis on the importance of cross-border co-operation in deepening European integration.

1.1. The conceptual framework: CBC as an element of supranational governance

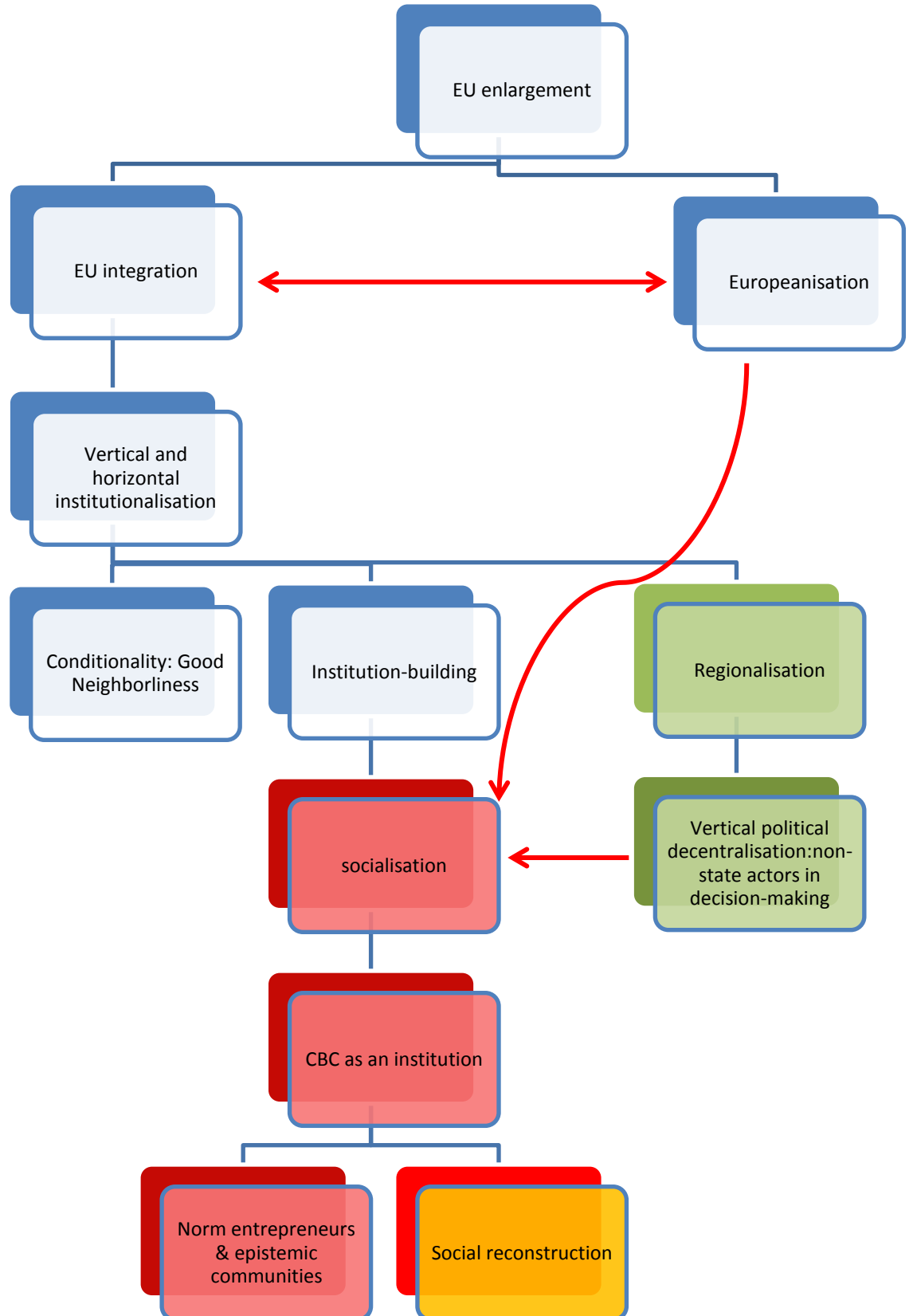
The following organisation chart¹⁴ gives a visual representation of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of this research inscribing cross-border co-operation in a system of supranational governance. From top to down, it describes the European integration and Europeanisation as two parallel and interdependent processes. It then designates the institutionalisation process of cross-border co-operation as the result of horizontal socialisation in a multilevel political polity. The elements in green (pertaining to multilevel governance theory) define the process of vertical institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation as a policy of regionalisation and political decentralisation. The elements in red refer to the socialisation process generated by the horizontal institutionalisation of CBC (stemming from sociological institutionalism). Lastly, social reconstruction emerges logically from the consolidation of these two aforementioned processes of institutionalisation.

¹³ Britz. "European Integration and Organisational Theory": 16.

¹⁴ The following framework is based on the study theories of multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism. However, the framework and the organisation chart are my own contribution.

Conceptual framework: stability as a result of CBC

Theoretical framework: Multilevel governance
Sociological Institutionalism



1.1.1 Multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism

Political decentralisation is best described in Ian Bache's theory of multilevel governance (MLG)¹⁵. The essence of this structural theory consists in explaining the devolution of state power to sub-national (regions) and supra-national institutions (European institutions) in order to empower the appropriate institutional level and actors on a given issue. Supranational governance is thus characterised foremost by the institutionalisation of a compound polity. Additional levels of authority are added onto the institutional canvas at the supra and sub-state level, forming an overarching polycentric structure of decision-making regulating contacts and interactions between actors at the sub-state, state and European levels. Institutional regionalisation¹⁶ at the European level stimulates political interdependence between the EU and the member state and between the member states themselves. Supranational governance is therefore intrinsically linked with the deepening of European integration and of European politics.

Multilevel governance builds on the functionalist core of European integration by enlarging the decision-making structure to non-state actors and civil society organisations specialising on certain topics, and dividing decision-making power according to policy areas transcending the state's borders. As a consequence, political decentralisation alongside with the inclusion of a wider range of non-state actors and specialists leads to the depoliticisation of regional governance¹⁷. In addition, regionalisation of politics establishes a direct connection between the European instances and the local power structures. Regions are thus empowered to deal directly with the European Commission, managing funds and presenting projects of their own, therefore bypassing the state level for their day-to-day business. For instance, the redefinition of the member states' institutional and territorial map with the implementation of new territorial administrative units NUTS¹⁸ 2 and 3 are examples of political regionalisation. The theory of multilevel governance is insightful about the flexibility of contacts between the different layers of power EU-wide and the diversity of the actors involved in the integration process.

Sociological institutionalism is a constructivist alternative explanation to the process of Europeanisation resting on social behavioural arguments for explaining the dynamics and patterns of the relations between the actors within a multilevel governance structure. In constructivist theories, the agents and the structure are intrinsically connected. The structure shapes the identity of the agents and therefore their interests. The agents, in turn, shape the structure according to their interests, giving an impetus for the constant redefinition of the system as a whole. In the case of European integration, it results in the creation of additional territorial layers of authority and of policy areas.

Socialisation is an important aspect of institutionalisation and the underlying social element of institution-building. It explains how actors shape a common identity and

¹⁵ Bache, Ian., "Building multi-level governance in Southeast Europe?", *Southeast European & Black Sea Studies*, 10:1 (2010): 111-122. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683851003606788>

¹⁶ Regionalisation refers to the decentralisation of state power to smaller jurisdictions, subnational administrative units. It is also connected to the creation of new regions.

¹⁷ Marks et al., in Britz. "European Integration and Organisational Theory": 10.

¹⁸ NUTS from French Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques.

pursue common interests through repeated interactions and the diffusion of norms. Norms and values represent the core bond between agents and the referent for their institutional identity. Norms give meaning to the agents' actions by establishing rights and obligations, conditioning their actions through principles of normative behaviour¹⁹. The agents' identity and the nature of the structure are thus very fluid and are constantly being adapted to the evolution of norms and values shared by the institutional actors. Europeanisation relies on a dynamic of socialisation to export European norms and practices across the different levels of power and to form a transnational society built upon European norms. However, it is important to note the existence of a hierarchical prioritisation in the Europeanisation process. The European Commission, as the main normative epicentre in the EU replicates a principal-agent structure onto the national and sub-national institutions. Downloading norms from the EU level is more recurrent than uploading norms to the EU level²⁰.

Furthermore, socialisation is not restricted to a small circle of technocratic agents adapting bureaucracy to their interests and needs. Agents are also norm entrepreneurs, diffusing norms outside of the realm of the institution they work for. As a consequence, they draw in an increasing number of exterior actors to the circle of decision-making, such as experts or civil society organisations, who then for their part contribute to the evolution of norms. Norm entrepreneurs build a network of interest around certain issues²¹ widening the scope of each policy area²². As a result, socialisation determines the pace and level of horizontal institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation and of the formation of a transnational society.

Consequently, sociological institutionalism explains clearly the underlying social behavioural dynamics of Europeanisation and of institution-building. In a system of supranational governance, socialisation fosters vertical and horizontal integration by creating contacts between actors around defined policy clusters and the diffusion of norms through networks of interests²³. It pursues Europeanisation through the gradual construction of a transnational society observing European norms and contributing through socialisation to their institutionalisation.

1.1.2. European Integration Theories translated into policies: regionalisation and CBC

1.1.2.1. Regionalisation and the creation of territorial political clusters

Supranational governance rests on a policy of regionalisation. Regionalisation defines the parcelling of traditional levels of governance into smaller units of decision-

¹⁹ [Schnimmelfennig and Sedelmeier. "Theorizing EU enlargement": 509.](#)

²⁰ Grabbe, Heather. In Featherstone Kevin and Claudio M. Radaelli., *The Politics of Europeanization*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2003, 304.

²¹ Grix, Jonathan and Vanda Knowles. "The Euroregion and Maximimization of Social Capital Pro-Europa Viadrina" in Anderson, James, Liam O'Dowd and Thomas M. Wilson., *New borders for a changing Europe – Cross border Cooperation and Governance*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers), 2005, 155.

²² Keohan and Hoffman in Britz. "European Integration and Organisational Theory": 9.

²³ Standholtz and Sone Sweet in Britz. "European Integration and Organisational Theory": 10.

making increasing the number, diversity and the points of contacts and of co-operation between the state actors. The resulting micro-regions fall under the category of NUTS 2 and 3 and are used for the transfer and implementation of European policies. Regionalisation as part of the EU enlargement strategy also involves decentralisation of state power to the supranational level with the creation of macro-regions which designate regional clusters of states bound by political and economic ties. In addition, macro-regionalisation has an institutional dimension that cannot be ignored, dividing member states into clusters according to policy priorities, such as the Schengen zone or the Eurozone²⁴.

In both cases, the construction of a system of supranational governance is translated into a policy of debordering. Debordering eliminates borders considered to constitute hindrances to political communication between states. Borders are political constructions that form an important source of identification and of alienation or othering between neighbours²⁵. As a consequence, from the advent of the ECSC, the forefathers of the EU have strived to decrease the significance of borders in order to go beyond nationalist divisions and gather Europe's peoples under a same meta-European identity²⁶. Debordering is an inherent part of the construction of a supranational system of governance. It defines the process of erosion of the state frontiers by the superposition of additional decision-making structures and the devolution of state power to supranational and subnational structures of authority. It results in the multiplication of policy areas dealt at the transnational level.

The enlargement of the EU led irremediably to the dilation of the macro and micro dimensions of regionalisation and of regional integration. EU enlargement is an example of macro-regionalisation. European enlargements have invariably proceeded in blocks in order to preserve the existing synergy between a state and its neighbours during the accession negotiations and after joining the EU. In spite of their individual course to the EU, each applying state is bound by webs of ties to its neighbours at different levels, binding individual state ascension with progress in the negotiations at the macro-regional level. In 2004, the EU enlarged by ten members at once. Eight of them, or ten including Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, formed a new political and geographic region: Central and Eastern Europe. Another more recent example of macro-regionalisation is the creation of the Western Balkans, a term coined merely for the purpose of the EU enlargement in the rest of South-East Europe.

The increasing economic discrepancies encountered at the national level between the member states led to devolving greater decision-making power to the regions in order to address local issues and to smooth inequalities over on the periphery through micro-regional integration. Micro-regionalisation refers here in terms of enlargement policy to

²⁴Schmidt, Vivien A., *Democracy in Europe – The EU and the National Politics*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2006, 15.

²⁵Yndigejn, Carsten., "Between Debordering and Rebordering Europe: Cross-Border Cooperation in the Oresund Border Region", *Eurasia Border Review*, (2009): 48 and Tamminen, Tanja., "Cross-border cooperation in the Southern Balkans: local, national or European identity politics?", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 4:3 (2004): 414-5.

²⁶Yndigejn, Carsten., "Between Debordering and Rebordering Europe", (2009): 47.

the creation of decentralised administrative units for a better absorption of the cohesion funds. The term micro-region is also inspired from the idea advanced by Anssi Paasi that borders are political constructs and can thus be erased with the conception of new regions, a phenomenon best described as the edification of a Europe of regions²⁷. Regionalisation redefined the meaning of regions transcending ethno-nationalism and encompassing economic institutions and ad hoc units of governance²⁸ leading to the erosion of traditional state sovereignty²⁹. The decentralisation of power to the regional administrations contributes to the building of a structure for cross-border contacts. Essentially following the same logic as macro-regionalisation, micro-regions carry out the debordering dimension of regionalisation by enabling local administrations to make and implement policies responding to challenges encountered locally in co-operation with neighbouring regions. Regionalisation leads to the construction of a mosaic of smaller regions with permeable walls wearing away traditional political, economic and social state borders. The EU emphasizes the prominent role of the micro-regions in weaving a cross-border social fabric and alleviating issues encountered on both side of the border through co-operation between municipal authorities, local civil society and individuals. Hence, regionalisation contributes to the institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation.

1.1.2.2. Institutionalisation of CBC: the determining role of cultural co-operation

The establishment of a system of supranational governance generates a dynamic of horizontal institutionalisation by providing a structure favourable to cross-border contacts³⁰. This study argues that CBC has emerged as an institution in its own right from the EU's enlargement policy. As aforementioned, an institution is a set of observed rules and practices that conditions action in a normative pattern³¹. In addition, Stanholtz and Sweet define institutionalisation as the process of constructing and sustaining linkages between social, economic and political actors based on European integration and norms³². Subsequently, cross border co-operation results well from an on-going process of institutionalisation of regional integration within the EU and in the applicant states and from the edification of a system of multilevel governance.

This thesis emphasizes the clout of cross-border co-operation in the cultural sector on the institutionalisation of CBC locally and as part of the EU's enlargement policy at

²⁷ Paasi, Anssi., "Place and Region: Regional Worlds and Words", *Progress in Human Geography*, 26: 6, (2002): 804.

²⁸ Paasi, Anssi., "Region and Place: regional identity in question", *Progress in Human Geography*, 27: 4 (2003):476-478. DOI: 10.1191/0309132503ph439pr

²⁹ Popescu in Nadalutti, Elisabetta., "Cross-border-cooperation in the Upper Adriatic: A new kind of Citizenship?", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, (2012): 2 DOI: <http://eur.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/06/15/0969776412445828>

³⁰ Deutsch, Karl. In Stanholtz, Wayne and Alec Stone Sweet, *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship, 1998), 5.

³¹ [Schnimmelfennig and Sedelmeier. "Theorizing EU enlargement": 503.](#)

³² Stanholtz, Wayne and Alec Stone Sweet, *European Integration and Supranational Governance*. (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship, 1998), 9.

large. Cross-border co-operation touches upon many different areas of activity. However, co-operation in the culture and youth involves a greater number of diverse actors and relies almost solely on its potential for socialisation, guaranteeing sustainable co-operation in the long-run through the erection of epistemic communities.

Cultural and youth organisations³³ are agents of cross-border cultural co-operation and consequently norm entrepreneurs. The initial phase in the institutionalisation of CBC is the internalisation of CBC as a set of norms by the cultural organisations. Internalisation results from both internal and external stimuli. In the case of CBC at hand, co-operation arises from the necessity to address the lack of connections between communities and the laggard social reconstruction in the Western Balkans. Finding a response to a common transnational issue constitutes a solid point of contact and of interdependence between the agents³⁴. The pressure exerted by the European Commission to foster CBC and to create a corresponding institutional framework can be interpreted as an external stimulus for co-operation. In addition, sociological institutionalism defines the rapprochement between European and domestic actors as a learning process leading to the insertion of new ideas and norms into the domestic discourse³⁵.

Internalisation of CBC as part of the enlargement policy goes further, because it also implies adapting to a whole set of guidelines and administrative procedures set by the European Commission. Following the principal-agent scheme, cultural and youth organisations are accountable directly to the Commission. As a consequence, these norm entrepreneurs form networks around the idea of cross-border co-operation but also diffuse EU's procedural norms within these networks of interest. Socialisation forms the basis for interaction between cultural organisation since projects of co-operation are inspired from the constant evolution of shared ideas, meanings and interest resulting from long-term mutual trust and communication. Accordingly, Nadalutti demonstrates in her analysis of cross-border co-operation in the Upper Adriatic region that shared values between actors across the border stimulate transnational initiatives based on mutual understanding³⁶.

As the network of interest expands, an increasing number of organisations takes part in CBC projects and in turn contributes to widening the network. Inspired by Haas' definition of epistemic communities, Börzel and Risse explain the transcending role of these communities in their reflection on sociological institutionalism in forming a collegial core and rhetorical coalition on which norm entrepreneurs can rely and appeal to in order to promote their interest amongst policy-makers³⁷. Cultural organisations participating in cross-border projects come thus to form local epistemic communities around the shared value of access to culture and rapprochement of communities through culture. Cultural organisations as norm entrepreneurs and representatives of this epistemic college spread this message in society at large, extend the network of interest to

³³ In this research, cultural organisations describe civil society organisations dealing with culture and youth, also referred to as CSOs in the text.

³⁴ Law and Callon, in Britz. "European Integration and Organisational Theory": 14.

³⁵ Börzel and Risse., "Conceptualizing the domestic impact of Europe", in Featherstone Kevin and Claudio M. Radaelli., *The Politics of Europeanization*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 74.

³⁶ Nadalutti, "Cross-border-cooperation in the Upper Adriatic", 1.

³⁷ Börzel and Risse., "Conceptualizing the domestic impact of Europe", 74.

further cultural organisations and lobby for the insertion of cross-border cultural initiatives into the political discourse. The EU plays a key role here, as it enables CSOs to bypass the national and to a certain extent the regional level of decision-making. Institutions dealing with cross-border activities are integrated into the regional institutional framework and are filled with the local administration. Nevertheless, their leeway is relatively restricted since they are under direct supervision of the Directorate General on Enlargement and depend on the funds allocated by the European Commission.

1.2 Influence of Cultural CBC on deepening European integration: civil society organisations and regional identity

Anssi Paasi wrote extensively on regions, borders, regional identity and the role of the EU as a source of identification for its inhabitants. In his works, he defines regional identity as a mosaic of identifications stemming from the symbolism carried by the regions' boundaries and embodied in a narrative of Othering of the neighbours³⁸. The region as a symbol is constructed through the place accorded to the region in daily discourses and practices in all spheres of life (culture, politics, and economic institutions). He adds that borders and regions are elastic social constructs that are constantly being reinvented throughout the history and hence influencing the formation of collective identity accordingly³⁹. In addition, regional identity consists of a superposition of layers of identification. Subsequently, the redefinition of territoriality by drawing new regions or shifting border leads to a redefinition of regional identity with the addition or subtraction of a layer of identification depending on whether the region is enlarged or reduced. In the Western Balkans, territoriality is an important source of identification and a foundation of statehood⁴⁰. One can recall the importance of territorial gains and unity as a rallying call for the Serbian paramilitaries in Eastern Slavonia and in Bosnia during the Civil War. Territoriality manifests itself also as the attachment to a particular location disregarding the fact that it encompasses several ethnic groups. This is the case of the Pannonian plain with the more flagrant example of Vojvodina. It is often asserted in the literature and in the interviews conducted for this study that Croats and Serbs from this region shared more common cultural features amongst each other than with their fellow nationals located in other regions. Vojvodina is a case of its own having enjoyed historically a great deal of autonomy visible to this day and with its regional identity based on multiculturalism, as it is the home to 26 different ethnic groups⁴¹.

³⁸ Paasi, Anssi. And David Newman. "Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography", *Progress in Human Geography*, 22: 2 (1998): 187-91; Paasi, "Region and Place", 480.

³⁹ Paasi, Anssi., "Place and Region: Regional Worlds and Words", *Progress in Human Geography*, 26: 6 (2002): 802, 805.

⁴⁰ Tamminen, Tanja., "Cross-border cooperation in the Southern Balkans: local, national or European identity politics?", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 4:3 (2004): 414.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1468385042000281620>

⁴¹ Saracevic, Jovana., "Vojvodinian Regional Identity: A Social Fact or a Modern Construct", Master Thesis, (Central European University, 2012): 5, 23-5.

Cross-border cultural co-operation builds cross-border regional identity through a discourse of social cohesion reasserting commonalities shared between communities across the border. In the literature on cross-border co-operation, shared history, traditions and memory of the region constitute strong linkages shaping the perception of a common identity⁴². One could suppose then that CBCC increases cohesion between the regions by stressing the complementarity of cultural diversity and their common underlying attributes. Cultural co-operation erodes cultural barriers by increasing the mobility of artists or youth and access to culture. Furthermore, CBCC increases the resonance of the perception of a common cultural heritage by promoting regional identity in local communities. Moreover, it elevates participating members of local society as the guardians and curators of a common culture by involving them directly in the process of identification.

As a result, cross-border regional identity aims rather at enlarging social boundaries and building new levels of cultural identification within the region than eliminating elements of identity altogether. Contacts across the border entail overlapping subnational and supranational elements of identity onto traditional national and ethnic belonging. Cultural co-operation redefines regional identity through debordering and redefining the borders of the region. It also deepens European integration by institutionalising practices of cross-border co-operation in a two-pronged process. Firstly, CBCC encourages the formation of a cross-border epistemic community in charge of promoting cultural co-operation. Secondly, it fosters interactions at the societal level, enshrining cross-border co-operation into daily practices.

EU enlargement policy aims at empowering the civil society organisations⁴³ by encouraging the formation of partnerships with local authorities (LDA) for a better distribution of the pre-accession funds and as a basis for the prospective allocation of the structural and cohesion funds upon accession. Regionalisation narrows the scope of decision-making down to the smallest administrative units, reducing thus the numbers of state and non-state actors involved and enhancing the chances of contacts between them.

The IPA funds are distributed at the level of NUTS 3 (at county level in Croatia and of districts in Serbia). Furthermore, the component of CBC in IPA provides an institutional structure (Joint-Monitoring Committee) fostering socialisation between representatives of CSOs and local civil servants regionally and cross-regionally around the administration of the IPA funds. Moreover, financial assistance allocated to CBCC are distributed on basis of regional programming resulting from long-term committed partnerships between different actors including EU authorities, regional administrations and non-state actors⁴⁴. This institutional structure forms a hybrid polity enabling the transfer of EU policies down to the local level and gathering subnational state and non-state actors under the supranational monitoring of the European Commission (Directorate

⁴² Perkmann, Markus., "Cross-Border Regions in Europe – Significance and Drivers of regional Cross-Border Cooperation", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 10:2 (2010): 158.

⁴³ Turnock, David., "Cross-border cooperation: A major element in regional policy in East Central Europe", *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 118: 1 (2002): 24.

⁴⁴ Bache, Ian., "Building multi-level governance in Southeast Europe?", *Southeast European & Black Sea Studies*, 10:1, (2010): 118.

for the Regions and Enlargement). Civil society plays thus a central role in cross-border co-operation.

Civil society organisations' influence in CBC is particularly visible in the domain of cultural co-operation where they contribute to enshrining cross-border co-operation in the institutional practices of the local governance⁴⁵. It is in the cultural sector that CSOs enjoy the most autonomy in carrying projects of their own and therefore have greater leverage in shaping the regional cultural agenda. Culture and youth are policy areas often neglected at the local level that could advance as a result from the co-operation between the state cultural institutions and civil society. CSOs benefit from the cultural institutions' capacities and implementation capabilities in terms of authority in increasing the portfolio on culture and providing logistical support. For their part, CSOs' experience in project writing and absorption of funds could increase access to EU funds or grants from other donors. In addition, CSOs enjoy broader networks of interest and play the role of catalyser for societal mobilisation, increasing the level of participation in cultural co-operation. As a consequence, CSOs are genuine actors of Europeanisation and support the deepening of European integration at least in the cultural sector by linking greater portions of society with regional cultural institutions on a cross-border basis. Moreover, they do not harbour socialisation solely at the institutional level but also spread it within society and contribute to the creation of a transnational society.

IPA is the instrument designed for facilitating the EU enlargement in the Western Balkans and aims at fostering cross-border co-operation through vertical and horizontal institutionalisation. The institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation rests on the theoretical footing of European integration theories. Based on the theory of multilevel governance, vertical institutionalisation refers to the construction of a model of supranational governance supported by policies of regionalisation and political decentralisation. Sociological institutionalism as a psychosocial approach to the internal functioning of administrations has helped defining the underlying principles of cross-border co-operation initiatives and isolating the dynamics that have led to the horizontal institutionalisation of CBC in the EU's enlargement policy. The creation of a multilevel power structure enables inherently the horizontal institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation by encouraging socialisation between state and non-state actors. Increased socialisation furthers the Europeanisation process and thus deepens European integration.

⁴⁵ Grix, Jonathan and Vanda Knowles., "The Euroregion as a social capitalizer: the German-Polish Euroregion Pro-Europa Viadrina", *Regional & Federal Studies*, 12:4 (2002): 163.

Chapter 2: Shift in the Enlargement policy: social reconstruction for the Western Balkans

2.1. Enlargement to the Western Balkans: Security and Stability

Until the launch of IPA in 2007, the European engagement in the Western Balkans was influenced by the enlargement process taking place in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The pre-accession instruments Phare⁴⁶ and CARDS⁴⁷ prepared the ground for vertical and horizontal institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation as part of the EU's enlargement strategy. In response to the violent dismemberment of Yugoslavia, the European action followed an agenda of security and stability. Stemming from the parallel enlargement process in CEE, the EU's enlargement strategy for the Western Balkans inserted the institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation into this double agenda. It resulted in a gradual shift from regional economic co-operation and economic cohesion to a greater emphasis on social reconstruction in IPA.

2.1.1. Parallels with CEE: institutionalisation of CBC & economic cohesion

The course of the EU's enlargement in Central and Eastern Europe determined the EU's engagement and integration process in the Western Balkans. Vertical and horizontal institutionalisation of CBC in Central and Eastern Europe under Phare was aimed at achieving economic cohesion in the enlarged union. Attention was devoted to building a functioning internal market and subsequently to reducing the amount of cohesion funds transferred to the new member states after accession. The programme Phare launched in 1989 focused primarily on economic restructuring in Poland and Hungary⁴⁸. This pre-accession instrument carried three main objectives as part of the implementation of the Accession Partnerships⁴⁹: institution building, convergence with the EU *acquis* and economic and social cohesion. Following the conclusion of the Copenhagen Council in 1993, Phare was extended to all applicants from Central and Eastern Europe and included countries from the Western Balkans from 1997 onwards.

Cross-border co-operation was integrated to the EU's enlargement policy as a component of Phare in 1994 and gradually became institutionalised as a key element of the EU's enlargement policy. This component meant to foster contacts between the old and new member states in order to build economic continuity between the regions on the periphery, namely through the construction of transport infrastructures and legal harmonisation facilitating the movement of labour, regional development and the prolongation of the common market. In 1997, the Luxembourg Council re-divided Phare's

⁴⁶ PHARE stands for Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies.

⁴⁷ CARDS stands for Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation.

⁴⁸ Originally designed for Poland and Hungary it was then extended to all the candidate countries.

⁴⁹ Accession Partnerships define the framework for accession of each candidate state by defining the key priority areas to reform and by outlining the allocation of pre-accession assistance. These documents are legally binding, as secondary law in EU public law.

priorities, concentrating the largest share of available funds on the harmonisation with the *acquis* (70%) and devoting the rest to institution building in the candidate states. The introduction of ISPA⁵⁰ for projects related to infrastructure building and SAPARD⁵¹ for agricultural development⁵² under the Agenda 2000⁵³ relieved Phare from some of the pre-accession priorities. In addition, the Agenda 2000 marked at once a breakthrough in the institutionalisation of CBC by enshrining Interreg⁵⁴ 3 as part of Phare and extending this financial assistance to applicant states with the purpose to keep the enlargement dynamics going in South Eastern Europe. The programme Interreg was launched in 1990 with the purpose of stimulating cross-border co-operation and development between the peripheral regions in the EU. The fusion of cohesion and enlargement priorities prompted the vertical and horizontal institutionalisation of CBC. Vertically, Phare's CBC component decentralised the European integration process to the lower administrative units NUTS 2 and 3 within a delineated institutional structure, whilst it contributed to strengthening horizontally the local institutional capacities and interdependence of these micro-regions.

2.1.2. The security narrative in the EU's regional approach

Helpless in front of the blood spill resulting from the breakup of Yugoslavia, the international community responded to the post-conflict challenges from a macro-regional perspective. It applied an undifferentiated reconstruction design addressing the core issues supposedly ingrained in the region's historical fabric, namely a virulent nationalism caused by ethnic imbalance, economic disparities and political instability⁵⁵. However, over time the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans gradually departed sensibly from the strategy adopted for the consecutive enlargements in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) in 2004 and 2007, and revolved around on a double agenda of security and stability.

As a result of the securitisation of the enlargement discourse concerning the Western Balkans, the vertical institutionalisation of CBC was translated into a policy of regionalisation bringing the focus of the EU onto the border areas. Regionalisation was carried out in two phases. Firstly, the Stability Pact (SP)⁵⁶ and the Stabilisation and

⁵⁰ISPA stands for Instrument Structurel de Pré-Adhésion (from French).

⁵¹ SAPARD stands for Special Accession Programme for Agricultural and Rural Development.

⁵² EU enlargement policy :

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/2004_and_2007_enlargement/l60001_fr.htm

⁵³ Agenda 2000 is an action programme of the EU for the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and Regional Policy. It established a new financial framework for European Enlargement in Eastern Europe.

⁵⁴ Interreg funds provide funding for interregional co-operation across Europe and constituted the precursors to today's cohesion funds. The succession of Interreg programmes in 1990, 1994 and 1999 contributed to the definition of cross-border regions and led to the construction of local cross-border governance dealing with the absorption of European funds and in charge of supervising the implementation of cross-border integration. < http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/cooperate/cooperation/index_en.cfm >

⁵⁵Elbasani, Arolda., "EU enlargement in the Western Balkans: strategies of borrowing and inventing", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 10: 3, (2008): 300. DOI: 10.1080/14613190802493600

⁵⁶ International initiative launched in 1999 as a comprehensive strategy aimed at fostering peace, democracy, respect for Human Rights and economic prosperity in South Eastern Europe. It provided a framework to stimulate regional co-operation and accelerate the integration of those countries into the European and

Association Process (SAP)⁵⁷ dealt with these countries as a single territorial entity and laid the foundations of a framework of regional co-operation for European integration. The enactment of the Stability Pact in 1999 under international governance and American lead indicated the urgency to bring security to the region. Additionally the following year, the international community encouraged the Europeanisation of the reconstruction process as a mean to foster reconciliation and ensure regional stability and lasting peace. The Stability and Association Process saw the day in 2000 and absorbed the Stability Pact in 2006. The SAP emphasized regional co-operation as a channel for finding solutions to intra-regional issues through dialogue and economic and political interdependence. Up to this point, the EU member states had demonstrated reserved involvement in the Yugoslav crisis. They receipted favourably the international and American pressure to take the lead in the reconstruction process and opened the accession negotiations with the Western Balkans on the justification of preserving the EU's own internal security⁵⁸. European integration was perceived as the only long-lasting guarantee for European stability and conflict deterrence in the region⁵⁹. The EU counted on the transformative power of enlargement and its leverage during the pre-accession negotiations to build security and stability in the region⁶⁰. Regional co-operation as spelled out in the SAP served two purposes. On the one hand, it contributed to regional stability by renewing inter-state communication and by encouraging compromise on regional issues already before accession. On the other hand, it guaranteed European security by preventing these issues to be transposed at the EU level and to undermine the EU's internal stability after accession⁶¹.

The allocation of structural aids and the emphasis on regional co-operation in the enlargement discourse marked the beginning of the second phase of regionalisation from 2000 onwards. Building on the institutionalisation process of CBC initiated under Phare,

Euro-Atlantic structures.

<http://www.stabilitypact.org/>

⁵⁷ The Stabilisation and Association Process enacted in 2000 during the Feira European Council recognized and confirmed by the Thessaloniki European Council in 2003, the European perspective of the Western Balkans. It laid out the blueprint for the EU's enlargement strategy for the Western Balkans. The SAP is a comprehensive approach to the post-conflict situation aiming at building political stability and economic recovery. The SAP opened possibilities for accession with the signature of Stability and Accession Agreements upon qualifications of the requirements for candidacy. The SAAs are determining documents in European law that set the terms of membership for the candidate state. The SAAs are binding agreements between the European Commission and the candidate member state: it is the formal guarantee that the candidate state will accede to the EU upon the complete fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria and the transfer of the *acquis*. The principles and objectives spelled in the Stabilisation and Association Agreements as secondary law are considered as elements of conditionality. In addition, upon signature of the SAA, the candidate state is eligible to structural aids and other funds aimed at alleviating the costs of reforms and constituting the backbone incentive in the accession process.

⁵⁸ Higashino, Atsuko., "For the sake of Peace and Security? The role of security in the European Union enlargement eastwards", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39: 4, (2004): 347. DOI: 10.1177/0010836704047579

⁵⁹ Belloni, Roberto., "European integration and the Western Balkans: lessons, prospects and obstacles", *Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies*, 11:3, (2009): 315.

⁶⁰ Elbasani, "EU enlargement in the Western Balkans", (2008), 293.

⁶¹ Seroka, Jim., "Issues with regional reintegration of the Western Balkans", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online*, 10:1 (2008): 17. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14613190801895912>

CARDS became the main pre-accession instrument for the Western Balkans in 2001. As part of the Stability and Association Process, CARDS was designed especially as to build stability and reconciliation in the Western Balkans through regional co-operation. Influenced by the concurrent enlargement process in CEE, CARDS soon departed from its original intention to prompt post-war reconstruction directly, preferring to take the road of economic and democratic stability as a recipe for regional stability. In the same vein as Phare, CARDS furthered the vertical institutionalisation of CBC by pressing for structural and legislative reforms in order to strengthen the capabilities of the smaller administrative units. Political decentralisation to the NUTS 2&3 channelled European democratic norms to the lowest layers of decision-making. Top-down decentralisation paved the way for horizontal institutionalisation of CBC by emphasizing the determining role of regional co-operation in stimulating economic recovery and thus cementing peaceful relations.

Nevertheless, the implementation of CBC under CARDS faced severe difficulties. Firstly, most projects of cross-border co-operation were conducted along the border with the EU and very few took place within the region proper. As a consequence, although both Croatia and Serbia had been involved in CBC projects under CARDS, they never engaged in CBC projects together before IPA. Furthermore, in the few cases where local administration of CSOs took part in CBC, these projects were mostly oriented toward Hungary, which remained their focus to this day. Secondly, managing the programme from Brussels posed major problems for carrying out projects responding to the specific regional requirements. The projects were drafted by the European Commission and the national governments and as a result lacked insights on the needs and obstacles met on the ground. IPA attempted to resolve these obstacles by accentuating political decentralisation amongst its main prerogatives.

In spite of the fact that CBC projects were the exception rather than the norm, CARDS made a major contribution in terms of increasing the socialisation potential within local administrations. The transfer of know-how from the EU member states and reinforced administrative capacity resulting from CBC under CARDS for instance enabled Croatian and Serbian partners to prepare and to implement independently CBC projects with one another under IPA. One of the main achievements of CBC projects lied essentially in its socialising capacity resulting in the transfer of knowledge and procedural norms across the border and from the EU. To a large extent, these initial positive results encouraged the definition of a component on cross-border co-operation in IPA and to place it high on the enlargement priorities.

2.1.2. The stability agenda and the institutionalisation of CBC

Stability became the primary requirement for the maintenance of security in a prospective Europe that would include the Western Balkans. Yet, stability goes beyond mere European integration revolving around the adoption of European legislation. It is intrinsic to the construction of peaceful and friendly relations between the member states. Stability deepened the territorial dimension of European integration by emphasizing the importance of social reconstruction in the border areas. Defining stabilisation into

applicable and testable policies was a thorny exercise that was termed in the SAP as following the implementation of proactive peace-building policies adapted to post-conflict situation in the Western Balkans and pursuing political stabilisation and economic recovery. Political stabilisation covers compliance with the peace agreement, reconstruction, reconciliation, the return of refugees and co-operation with the ICTY⁶². Stabilisation is thus a process oriented inwards involving regional integration through economic co-operation and reconstruction programmes, and outwards concentrating on integration with western economic and security structures. Stabilisation is defined as the gradual institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation. CBC as part of CARDS and IPA has pursued different objectives oscillating between economic recovery and social reconstruction.

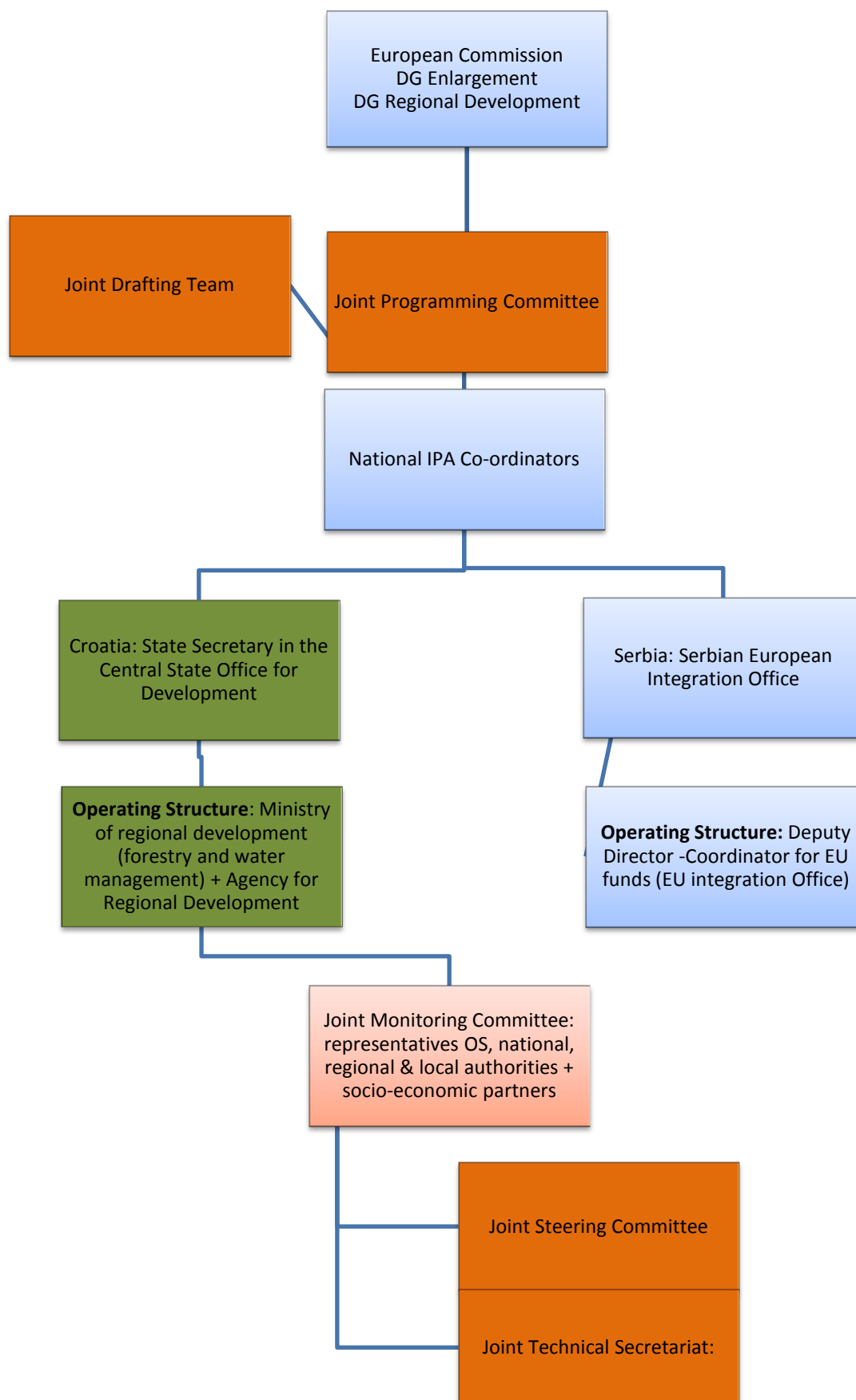
Vertical institutionalisation of CBC is a chief priority under IPA. Firstly, it pushed regional co-operation further by shifting the scope of focus onto the regionalisation of the peripheries. The IPA CBC aims at bridging regions that suffered from the wars and of their disruptive consequences on the intra-regional contacts by establishing an institutional framework for co-operation at the level of the smallest administrative units. Henceforth, it was made available both to candidate states and applying states in order to increase regional contacts and to foster the enlargement synergy in the region. Secondly, IPA devolves decision-making power to an independent institutional set-up consisting of the municipal authorities, civil actors and representatives of the European Commission. The organisational structure of the CBC programme under the IPA Croatia-Serbia is particularly representative of the system of multilevel governance resulting from the regionalisation policy. The organisation chart below gives a graphic representation of the institutional set-up for IPA CBC.

Organisation chart of the structural framework of IPA⁶³



⁶² Gordon in Talani, Leila Simona., *EU and the Balkans: Policies of Integration and Disintegration*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 98.

⁶³ This organisation chart is my own contribution and is meant to give a clearer understanding of IPA's institutional set-up.



Throughout most of IPA I (2007-2013), Croatia enjoyed the status of a candidate state and Serbia of an applicant. The difference in status entailed different obligations and institutional regimes. Subsequently, Croatia's Operating Structure was decentralised whereas in Serbia the programme was managed directly by the EU integration office. In the case of Croatia, the Operating Structure managing and overlooking the implementation of CBC was directed by the ministry of Regional Development, Forestry and Water Management as well as by the Agency for Regional Development for Slavonia (RDA). The RDA was empowered through decentralisation as the chief Implementing Agency supervising and guiding CBC on the ground. The Agency reported the results to the Ministry that then compiled them in a report sent to the European Commission. The EU conferred much of its management power to the different levels of power in Croatia, intervening only *ex-ante* in the decision-making process during the Joint-Programming Process. The European Commission participates at all stages of drafting and implementation of CBC in its advisory capacity.

The decentralised management of IPA encouraged the horizontal institutionalisation of IPA. The Joint-Monitoring Committee (JMC) is the product of complete decentralisation of state power, as it is composed of representatives of the Operating Structures (from regional authorities and EU integration office), and representatives of national, regional, local authorities and of socio-economic partnerships from both Croatia and Serbia. The JMC is the key coordinating body of CBC IPA and is in charge of implementing CBC on the ground. It supervises the selection of the projects and the progress achieved in their results. The JMC is further assisted by the Joint Technical Secretariat (JTS) that deals with all the administrative tasks. The JTS works under the direct supervision of the Operating Structures and plays an important role in cementing multilevel governance by linking the national and regional levels of authority to the CBC institution (JMC) in Croatia and with the European Commission in Serbia, establishing connections between the supra and sub-national levels.

The presence of non-state actors in the decision-making process and implementation mechanisms is an important feature of decentralisation prominent in IPA CBC. It is stated in the introductory guidelines to CBC that this IPA component aims at involving a wider number of organisations from the private sector (chambers of commerce, company associations or NGOs) alongside with the ministerial and regional development authorities in order to ensure a more effective implementation at the political and operational levels⁶⁴. However, non-state actors play a more significant role in the implementation phase than in the Joint-Programming Process headed by representatives of national and regional authorities. The inclusion of partners from the private sector and civil society in the Joint-Monitoring Committee stimulates socialisation between different actors around the focus of cross-border co-operation. Internal co-operation and the evolution of shared practices contribute to the institutionalisation of CBC in the local institutional landscape. The credibility of this institution is reinforced by the number of new actors involved in the process.

⁶⁴ Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), *Cross-Border Programme Croatia-Serbia 2007-2013*, 9.

2.2. Component 2 of IPA: transformation of CBCC into a European project of Social Reconstruction

The evolution of the European Union is characterized with path dependency, steeped in the fundamental narrative of Schuman's declaration on the advent of the ECSC. Concluding half a century of internal peace, the EU was confronted once again to war on its continent, to which it applied its funding precepts: economic recovery for social reconstruction. The IPA's objectives are spelled out as following: "diversify and improve the regional economy in a socially and environmentally sustainable way, whilst at the same time improving good neighbourly relations across the border". The European economy no longer relies on metallurgy and therefore industrial pooling no longer represents the precious reconciliatory bond it constituted between communities involved in the fabrication of weapons for generations in the Rhine valley.

Economic hardship encountered on the periphery of Slavonia and Vojvodina is representative of the state of the economy throughout the Western Balkans, crippled by war, ill-equipped with obsolete economic structures and further burdened by the economic crisis that touches the European common market. Economic recovery presupposes cross-border co-operation and a responsible management of the regional resources. Yet, it also requires greater investment and human capacities that IPA can provide. The grant scheme for CBC in IPA I⁶⁵ amounts to 10.7 million euros for the whole working period. Yet, in spite of this large sum at hand, IPA does not have the financial and fiscal capacities of a bank for instance to stimulate economic recovery effectively and to invest into the diversification of the economic sectors. Furthermore, IPA encourages co-operation between actors featuring different financial capacities: companies, local authorities and CSOs which burdens effective project coordination. As a consequence, although IPA's economic dimension demonstrates the EU's efforts to address tangible issues and whose economic impulse should not be disregarded, the IPA grant scheme for CBC is more adapted to projects pertaining to measure 1.2 (sustainable protection of the environment) and 1.3 (people to people initiatives), since applicants for these last two priorities mostly rely on grants for the implementation of projects.

Moreover, CBCC spurs sustainable social rapprochement by encouraging exchanges between people on shared topics and by deconstructing prejudices against the other ethnic group. The CBC programme for Croatia and Serbia highlights that numerous cultural exchanges between the two countries occur at the national level, but remain scarce at the local level⁶⁶. A large body of literature on post-conflict reconciliation underlines that peaceful coexistence relies on broad citizen participation and co-operation stretching over time⁶⁷. Cultural co-operation fulfils these principles by aiming at involving a greater portion of society and thus generating rapprochement between ethnic

⁶⁵ IPA I defines here the first working period of IPA 2007-2013.

⁶⁶ Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), *Cross-Border Programme Croatia-Serbia 2007-2013*, 9.

⁶⁷ Bronéus, Karen., "Reconciliation – Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation", *Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)*, (2003), 53; Lederach, John Paul., *Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, (Washington: United States Institute for Peace, 1997), 42.

communities. Furthermore, it ensures a more sustainable and a deeper form of stability than sole economic co-operation that revolves principally around short-term economic gains and personal interests. IPA's three priorities are interconnected and are conditional for the complete socio-economic recovery of the region, yet, it is in measure 1.3 that the EU can make its greatest contribution by empowering local actors in weaving a strong social fabric stretching across the border.

People-to-people projects rely on grassroots leadership and coordination between the local authorities and non-state actors (civil society and society at large). This falls in line with the literature on reconciliation and Lederach's contribution to this school of thought. He argues that reconciliation involves bringing local leaders or representatives of different segments of society to communicate together and deal with the trauma of war on a daily basis. Social interdependence between local key actors is the root for building points of contacts between communities⁶⁸. People-to-people projects aim precisely at fostering co-operation between local authorities and CSOs and forming partnerships and networks linking institutional capacities with human involvement. Moreover, it is important to note that the empowerment of civil society is part of the enlargement strategy and increases society's direct participation in the enlargement process.

In addition, study shows that CSOs enjoy greater administrative capacity and flexibility for the absorption of funds⁶⁹ and tend to apply more to financial assistance programmes, shifting thus the balance of projects selected toward smaller projects. As a result, cultural co-operation is best served by small-scale projects constantly drawing the attention of the public on CBC by multiplying points of contact through a diversity of events. Cultural exchanges mobilise the local population around new issues, bring them to dialogue and re-discover the other community. The use of regional belonging as a common denominator to inter-ethnic dialogue is very prominent in the people-to-people projects in Slavonia and Vojvodina. The sentiment of common cultural heritage is instrumentalised in order to build the idea of a common future and at stimulating curiosity in the Other and embracing the cultural diversity inherent to the Pannonian plain.

Moreover, people-to-people projects rivet vertical and horizontal institutionalisation of CBC through their socialising capacity. As demonstrated previously, establishing a partnership implies a high level of mutual trust generated by long-term socialisation. Hence, cultural co-operation under IPA supposes the existence of networks of co-operation. Instead of creating new ones, it mostly serves to the horizontal expansion of existing connections within civil society. Likewise, IPA fosters new relations by encouraging collaboration between local state actors and non-state actors, which results in transposing cultural co-operation into the local political discourse. Enhanced horizontal and vertical co-operation has thus two major consequences. Firstly, vertical co-operation creates an institutional framework for co-operation over time. Secondly, greater

⁶⁸ Lederach, John Paul., *Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, 42-51.

⁶⁹ Balkan Civil Society Development Network: "Enabling Environment for Civil Society Development & EC Enlargement Strategy Paper and Progress Reports 2012", (2013): 3. <http://www.balkancsd.net/>

horizontal co-operation translates an expansion of the networks of interests and thus of greater impact on society indicating growing stability in the inter-ethnic relations.

Equally important, sustainability and local ownership of European integration and Europeanisation are central elements in the EU's enlargement strategy. However, in the case of cross-border cultural co-operation, IPA has led to somewhat opposite results and one could argue that EU has eclipsed other donors from the region and taken the monopole of cross-border co-operation as a European project. CBC initiatives are financially dependent on EU funds due to the small size of the projects and to the large portion of the participants coming from civil society. Subsequently, much attention is devoted to adopting EU procedural codes and to abide to EU instructions on drafting project proposals and monitoring implementation. On the one hand, the adoption of European procedures contributes to the professionalization of project proposals, on the other hand it generates procedural misfits with other donors or a mismatch in co-funding that as a consequence eliminates other donors.

The Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance stems from a security narrative and the necessity to re-establish stability in the Western Balkans in view of prospective accession. Already a key element in the 2004 enlargement, cross-border co-operation became central in the enlargement policy for the Western Balkans and aimed at furthering the reconstruction and reconciliation processes started under CARDS as part of the Stabilisation and Association Process. Economic recovery and democratic stabilisation were first envisaged as the strongest pillars for regional stability. IPA's first working period (2007-2013) demonstrated a shift of focus toward cross-border co-operation projects. In the face of the difficulty to alleviate economic hardship on the periphery, it soon appeared that social reconstruction would also necessitate a change in the mentalities in order to establish long-lasting peaceful relations between communities across the border. Cross-border cultural co-operation appeals to a sentiment of common identification. Fostered by people-to-people projects, CBCC engages a broad range of actors spurring partnerships between regional and local state authorities, and CSOs. In addition, the scope of people-to-people projects increases the points of contact between communities and raises awareness and interest for CBC in society.

As a consequence, IPA contributes to the vertical and horizontal institutionalisation of CBC by providing an institutional and financial structure for socialisation of actors invested in cross-border co-operation. The formation of a compound polity in smaller territorial clusters placed social recovery at the centre of local politics. It imposed greater responsibility on the local political actors and civil society to collaborate towards reconciliation between the different ethnic groups along the border. Enjoying greater devolution of power from the centre, counties and municipalities were encouraged to work toward a shared vision of peace and to stimulate the redefinition of regional identity through inter-ethnic co-operation. Furthermore, local authorities were de facto compelled to work concomitantly with civil society that meanwhile had gained solid experience throughout the nineties with project writing and the absorption of grants. It is further argued that IPA has become the sole platform for CBC due to strong incentives emanating from the state level to pursue European integration in view of accession to the

EU. Admitting that CBCC has become a European project of social reconstruction, IPA has led to the professionalization of CBC projects and implementation capacity of the local democracy agencies and CSOs. IPA has become the main donor for CBC projects and increased the dependence of CSOs on this financial windfall. This is partly due to the withdrawal of donors throughout the 2000's and partly due to pressures from the European Commission to adapt to European practices and procedures for access to cohesion funds.

Chapter 3: Modelling cross-border co-operation in culture and youth in IPA

3.1. Assumptions based on the conceptual and theoretical framework

The following assumptions are inherently limited by the accuracy of the conceptualisation of IPA's cross-border co-operation component and its theoretical impact on regional stability in Slavonia and Vojvodina. The assumptions will lay out theoretical elements that should be taken for granted in order to preserve the continuity of the argumentation when analysing the results in the last chapters.

Assumption 1: Stability is the main objective of the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans.

The Stability and Association Agreement emphasizes stabilisation as a key goal of the EU enlargement strategy in the Western Balkans. As a consequence, the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance aims at building regional stability by deepening European integration during the pre-accession negotiations and weaving economic, political and social interdependence between the states in the Western Balkans. It is thus assumed that cross-border co-operation targets long-lasting regional stability.

Assumption 2: Regionalisation and institutionalisation of CBC under IPA provide an institutional structure for cross-border co-operation.

IPA's strategy for encouraging cross-border co-operation entails a three-pronged process: political decentralisation, socialisation and institution-building, and financial assistance. Multilevel governance demonstrates that decentralisation of power from the state level to smaller administrative units empowers local democracy authorities to respond adequately to local issues. Regionalisation in the EU enlargement policy is supported by processes of vertical and horizontal institutionalisation that contribute to spreading European norms within the state administration and to society at large. Vertical institutionalisation leads to the construction of new institutions or to strengthening existing ones at the local level. IPA provides clear guidelines in its statutes on the creation of institutions facilitating cross-border co-operation, such as the Joint-Monitoring Committee and the Joint-Technical Secretariats. Horizontal institutionalisation relies on socialisation to anchor institutions in the practices of the civil servants. This process enjoys greater resonance in society, as it involves numerous non-state actors such as CSOs and experts (academics, professionals and so on). IPA contributes to creating cross-border co-operation as an institution by encouraging contacts between state and non-state actors and regulates their interactions through a number of set norms. In addition to providing the institutional backbone to CBC, IPA also stimulates cross-border projects through financial incentives.

Assumption 3: CBC in the sectors of culture and youth relies on networks of interest and existing co-operation between CSOs.

This assumption pins down the limits of IPA in generating co-operation by making CBCC dependent on the existence of networks of interest for these sectors in civil society and the local administrations. As demonstrated previously, IPA stems from the evolution of the EU's enlargement policy and international reconstruction programmes carried out in the nineties in the Western Balkans. International involvement prepared the ground for cross-border co-operation by building the capacities of the civil sector and strengthening interest for social reconstruction in border areas. Hence, cross-border cultural co-operation can only emanate from a general interest for cross-border contacts and from existing co-operation between cultural organisations and associations forming a network of interest for cultural exchanges.

Assumption 4: CBCC stimulates the development and empowerment of civil society.

The IPA funds also aim at reinforcing the institutional capacity of the civil society organisations in order to ensure a better absorption of the cohesion funds after accession. By providing financial incentives that are vital to the functioning of CSOs, IPA compels the CSOs to adapt their structure and practices to EU norms with regards to project writing, monitoring and book-keeping. By systematizing their institutional practices, CSOs become empowered actors capable of conducting joint-projects with the local democratic authorities. Furthermore, the institutional structure of CBC encourages the expansion of the CSOs' networks of interest by drawing in more CSOs into partnerships for cultural exchanges and thus promotes interest for cross-border co-operation. As a result, CSOs find more resonance in the public, as the number of projects and their scope involves more participants. Moreover, since increasing the partnership potential between CSOs and local state authorities is part of the IPA's objectives, one can suppose that a project involving both civil society and local state institutions will benefit from a more positive assessment in the selection procedure. As a consequence, it can be held as a basic assumption in this study that greater chances of selection magnify incentives for partnership.

Assumption 5: CBCC fosters regional stability by redefining regional identity and stimulating social reconstruction.

It is assumed that cross-border cultural co-operation stimulates social reconstruction by increasing contacts between local communities across the border and by eroding inter-ethnic prejudices. Cultural co-operation also favours the deconstruction of antagonistic relations and of the "Other" by shedding light on shared commonalities constituting the regional identity such as cultural heritage or linguistic proximity.

3.2. Testable hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been retrieved from the conceptual framework presented in the previous two chapters. They are interconnected with the assumptions covered in the previous section and address the research question from different angles. The research question is thus two-fold: to what extent does CBCC funded by IPA integrate to local initiatives of cross-border co-operation and therefore, stimulates social reconstruction between local communities in Slavonia and Vojvodina. This question has been divided into six sub-questions in order to address all the facets of the issue in the most comprehensive manner.

On IPA integrating to local civil society's landscape and initiatives:

- 1) How is characterized the local dynamic of cross-border co-operation?
- 2) To what extent has IPA become the sole institutional platform and financial windfall for CBC?
- 3) To what extent has IPA favoured socialisation between CSOs?

On CBCC fostering social reconstruction:

- 1) To what extent has IPA led to the professionalization of civil society and empowered it as an (political) actor of social reconstruction?
- 2) To what extent has IPA breathed in incentives for cross-border co-operation in the cultural sector?
- 3) To what extent has CBCC under IPA achieved rapprochement between Croats and Serbs?

These sub-questions have been transposed into testable hypotheses taking into account the different variables pertaining to the origin of co-operation, duration of partnership, funding, results obtained and obstacles encountered. The hypotheses have been formulated so as to paint an accurate picture of the state of social reconstruction in the region and as to include a maximum of the information collected from ground-level experience. These variables are covered in greater detail in the methodology chapter.

Hypothesis 1: IPA has become the main platform for CBC by integrating most of local initiatives of CBC into its structure.

This hypothesis relies on the fact that the EU has become the main donor in the Western Balkans following the gradual withdrawal of international donors since the late nineties. In addition, accession to the EU has become a chief goal trickling from the state level down to the level of the smallest administrative units and civil society. The shift of focus of the national strategy towards integrating the EU has generated adaptational pressures to adopt EU's procedures for project writing and monitoring and has led to increasing incompatibilities with other donors and gradual eviction of smaller

organisations. Attracted by the financial windfall and the institutional structure provided by IPA, actors for cross-border co-operation have turned their attention and efforts toward IPA. This research will thus investigate whether IPA has become the main platform for cross-border co-operation creating incentives for new co-operation projects and swallowing up existing CBC networks.

Hypothesis 2: The small grant scheme (people-to-people) has favoured CBCC.

The funding scheme adopted by IPA for its first working period is under scrutiny and it will be investigated whether it gave the adequate financial means for achieving the objectives it had set for itself in terms of cultural co-operation. It will establish a relation between the objectives spelled in the projects, their scope and an assessment of the achieved results. Based on the results, it will help deducting the extent to which CBCC is dependent on IPA's financial windfall.

Hypothesis 3: IPA has strengthened civil society and increased connections between CSOs.

The empowerment of the CSOs is central to the EU's enlargement policy. It will be thus tested whether IPA has lived up to its own objectives and whether its financial assistance and procedural guidelines have empowered CSOs in Slavonia and Vojvodina. It will not address the question whether new CSOs have come to light thanks to IPA, instead it will look on IPA's capacity to professionalize civil society and to empower it as a full-blown actor in the enlargement process. Hypothesis 3 also examines whether IPA has contributed to building new channels of co-operation between the CSOs disregarding of existing cross-border relations. The capacity of IPA to foster co-operation between CSOs will shed light on its potential for the systematisation of socialisation.

Hypothesis 4: IPA has furthered co-operation between CSOs and local democratic authorities.

Increased partnership between CSOs and local democratic authorities is assumed in IPA's guidelines. However, it is necessary to see whether co-operation between the civil society organisations and local authorities has materialized already by the end of IPA's first working period. Results in co-operation with the regional institutions tell about the effective empowerment of the CSOs as participants in the EU enlargement. On the other hand, it also demonstrates how local politics relate to CBC and what place it occupies on the political agenda. In addition, it will also give insight on the extent to which multilevel governance is embedded in the local political landscape and to which local democratic authorities are capable of integrating non-state actors in the decision-making process.

Hypothesis 5: IPA has promoted interest for social reconstruction.

An immediate conclusion stemming from the conceptual framework is that IPA has created incentives and spurred interest for accelerating social reconstruction between Slavonia and Vojvodina. This hypothesis looks into the motivational power of IPA in placing social reconstruction as a priority for project writing amongst the CSOs and in the local political agenda. It will not dive into a discourse analysis of the regional politics, but intends rather to see whether more projects have focused on rapprochement between Serbs and Croats as a result of IPA. The second underlying component of this hypothesis studies whether more CSOs have shifted their focus on projects pertaining to social reconstruction thanks to IPA. This second aspect involves a short chronological analysis of the local civil society.

Hypothesis 6: IPA CBCC has fostered rapprochement between Croats and Serbs in the region.

The capacity of cultural co-operation to generate social reconstruction is the key interrogation lying at the heart of this research. The nexus of this study will investigate whether co-operation in culture and youth funded by IPA has accomplished its main goal and fostered rapprochement between Croats and Serbs. Although social reconstruction cannot be measured in a scientific manner, perception of rapprochement in cross-border relations provides in-depth insights on the overall relations across the border. Stability is a social construct and thus a matter of perception that can be studied as such.

Chapter 4: Methodology

As the purpose of this research is to assess the role of the EU's enlargement on building social reconstruction based on a ground-level experience, the objective is defined as two-fold, firstly to test a model of cross-border co-operation devised from EU integration theories and post-conflict studies and, secondly to provide an accurate picture of the cross-border initiatives in Slavonia and Vojvodina. This study intends to provide a comprehensive assessment of the achievements and drawbacks of IPA in terms of generating cross-border co-operation and of its capacity to integrate to the local institutional landscape. Furthermore, this work aims at understanding the relations between IPA and local CBC initiatives and at providing a clear picture of the dynamics of cross-border co-operation based on ground-level experience.

Regional stability is a primordial aspect of the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans and is a guarantee for the EU's internal peace and security once these countries will join the European Union. Co-operation in the cultural sector is an important element of social reconstruction, as it favours contacts and the erosion of antagonistic prejudices against the other ethnic group. Moreover, cultural co-operation mobilizes both civil society and the local state authorities ensuring the concentration of efforts on social reconstruction, continuity in the implementation of the projects and a greater resonance in the public.

4.1. Research framework for the field research

The research framework was based on qualitative research methods in order to cover effectively the extensive depth and richness of material at hand. It relied on a combination of desk research focusing on secondary sources on cross-border co-operation in the Western Balkans and in Europe and of primary research based on semi-structured interviews and electronic questionnaires with civil society organisations, civil servants from local state institutions and representatives of the coordinating bodies for cross-border co-operation establishing the connection between local actors and the European Commission.

4.1.1. Stages of research

The first stage of the research consisted in a desk research on secondary sources in order to identify the gaps in the literature. It covered a wide spectrum of scholarly works ranging from regional co-operation in EU integration theory, IPA in the European studies literature, the role of border and the periphery in identity formation, social reconstruction in post-conflict studies, CBC in the Western Balkans and local relations between Slavonia and Vojvodina to the role of culture in the deepening of European integration. As a result, it identified the limitations of present literature in European integration theories on cross-border co-operation in the enlargement phase and its role in deepening European

integration. Subsequently, these theoretical considerations on European studies served as an inspiration for creating a conceptual and theoretical framework explaining the underlying logic for cross-border co-operation. The model created aimed also thus at comparing and contrasting existing academic findings with ground-level experience.

In the second stage of the research, a pilot study was conducted in June 2012 in Eastern Slavonia. Prior to the study trip, I established a list of the non-governmental organisations and civil society organisations susceptible to be involved in cross-border initiatives and of the participant organisations in CBC under IPA. During this pilot study, I have conducted a total of nine semi-structured interviews, most of them with IPA participants. The questions I asked during this pilot study aimed at covering the topic of cross-border co-operation in the broadest manner and to get first-hand knowledge about the relations between Croats and Serbs since the Civil War (**Appendix 5**). Upon returning from this field trip, I reworked my research questions and drafted the theoretical model based on selected literature on EU integration theories and on the information collected on the ground. In the third phase of the study, I conducted extensive research in Eastern Slavonia and Vojvodina between June 2013 and October 2013.

4.1.2. Sampling design for empirical qualitative research

Based on the pilot study, I have narrowed the focus of the research to CSOs, civil servants from cultural state institutions and representatives of the EU coordination bodies for CBC. The civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations and cultural associations were filtered through a number of online databases so as to assure that all relevant actors are included at the onset of the research. The sampling of research intended to include a maximum of respondents in order to provide the most complete picture possible of local initiatives of cross-border co-operation. The respondents were selected on basis of published projects involving CBC activities or potential for cross-border co-operation. Furthermore, in order to respect the homogeneity of the sample, the research targeted only registered cultural and youth organisations. It excluded for instance groups of performing arts or art museums on basis of eligibility for applying to IPA projects.

Due to the geographical distance and limited financial resources, I forwarded an electronic questionnaire via e-mail to the aforementioned sample of respondents in order to narrow the focus of the interviews to the most relevant respondents. During the research on the ground, I conducted a second round of sampling based on the snowballing technique. This type of sampling served the exploratory purpose of this research and gave me the latitude to sophisticate my research question without tainting the objectivity thereof. In this way, the sampling became increasingly more appropriate and the target population more accurately defined.

4.1.3. Protocol for data collection June–October 2013

After preliminary selection, respondents were sent an electronic open-ended questionnaire via e-mail. The questionnaire was written both in English and in Croatian or Serbian depending on the interlocutor. The first sampling round of interviewees was selected on basis of the responses received to the questionnaires.

Most of the data was collected through recorded semi-structured face-to-face interviews with three groups of respondents. In-depth interviews involve conducting intensive individual interviews (**Appendix 7**). This method is most appropriate when gathering information on the participants' thoughts, perception and experience. It is often used in order to get a complete picture of the situation at hand⁷⁰. Representatives from the CSOs contributed the most to understanding the dynamics of cross-border co-operation and provided insights on collaboration with local authorities and EU representatives. Their input was very valuable in getting a full grasp of the relations between the ethnic communities. Being actively involved on the ground, they could depict more accurately achievements related to social reconstruction in the border areas. The second group of respondents comprised of civil servants from the local municipalities dealing directly with cross-border co-operation (mostly on economic and environmental projects) and with representatives of local cultural institutions. Their responses were most insightful on the remaining structural difficulties hindering further involvement of the municipalities in cross-border co-operation and cultural exchanges. The third group of interviewees targeted representatives of the coordination bodies dealing with the implementation of CBC as part of IPA. Due to time constraints, some of the interviews had to be conducted by phone. The phone interviews followed the same pattern as the face-to-face ones.

For the semi-structured interviews, a script was produced based on the questions provided in the questionnaires, taking into account the responses received, so as to facilitate comparison during the interpretation of the collected data (**Appendix 7**). The questions were designed in such a way to be sufficiently open for the interviewees to provide the most information related to their work as possible and covering all the different aspects of the research question⁷¹. I chose to conduct as many face-to-face interviews as possible, firstly due to the insufficient response ratio to the questionnaires and secondly in order to get the most possible insights on the situation. Meeting with the respondents enhanced the quality and amount of information gathered, allowing the interview to take a more conversational tone and the respondent to feel more comfortable⁷². As a result, the method for primary data collection provided for detailed and diverse information in a consistent manner.

Furthermore, bearing in mind the different obligations and restrictions imposed on the respondents, I included a clause on ethics in each of my interviews. I asked the

⁷⁰ Boyce, Carolyn and Palena Neale., "Conducting in-depth interviews: a guide for Designing and Conducting In-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input", *Pathfinder International*, (2006): 5.

⁷¹ Gillham, Bill., *Case Study Research Methods*, London & New York: Continuum, (2000):65
Boyce, and Neale., "Conducting in-depth interviews":5.

⁷² Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods*, 21, 62.

Boyce and Neale., "Conducting in-depth interviews", 6

respondent's consent before recording the interview and a preliminary approval to diffuse the information collected and his/her permission for any direct quote⁷³.

4.2. Experimental design for data analysis

The IPA guidelines provide benchmarks and indicators for assessing progress and achievements for most of the areas covered by the CBC component. However, the output indicators laid out do not provide satisfying tools for analysing the state of cultural co-operation in the most comprehensive manner. As an illustration, the output indicators for the category 1.3 for people-to-people projects under which falls cultural co-operation are the following:

“Number of joint community programmes
Number of cross-border youth and cultural partnerships
Number of cultural exchange events organized”.

In addition, the result indicators do not correspond to the output indicators or at least it is fairly difficult to establish a sound ground for comparison.

“Improved access to community-based social services by vulnerable groups/local populations,
Decrease in number of ethnic based incidents
Increase in the success rate of court cases related to marginalized groups”⁷⁴.

Although it is evident that social reconstruction remains a core objective under this priority, the tools at disposal for assessment are rather weak and inadequate. As a consequence, an analysis grid covering the different aspects of the topic was designed for this study in order to isolate the chief tendencies observed in the data collected and to draw more solid conclusions for generalisation and for comparison with similar cases of cross-border co-operation in prospective researches.

Interviews provide a large amount of information that is often difficult to analyse in a systematic manner. Moreover, in-depth interviews produce information that result seldom in sweeping conclusions. However, the size of the sample of respondents allows the findings of this study to be generalised⁷⁵. Very few clear guidelines are found on analysing semi-structured interviews in the methods literature. Nevertheless, I attempted to design an analysis method that would ensure means for consistent comparison and contrast of the data gathered. The data collected during the interviews has been thus divided up in an analysis grid translating the different variables studied in the research question (**Appendix 1**). The variables used for analysis of cross-border projects are the following:

⁷³ Boyce and Neale., “Conducting in-depth interviews”, 6.

⁷⁴ Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), *Cross-Border Programme Croatia-Serbia 2007-2013*, 41.

⁷⁵ Boyce and Neale., “Conducting in-depth interviews”, 7

- 1) IPA/Not IPA: this variable studies whether the project of CBC belongs to IPA or is part of another programme or a local initiative.
- 2) Partner in CBC: it determines who are the partners of the project and the nature of the relation with the respondent.
- 3) Duration of partnership: it gives a timeframe to the partnership and determines whether CBC emerged as a product of IPA or from previous programmes or endeavours.
- 4) Previous CBC projects: it highlights whether the respondents have participated in previous CBC projects, when and with the same partners. It aims at tracing back the interest for CBC.
- 5) Motivation for CBC: it aims at determining the extent to which IPA was a trigger or has enabled CBC and alternatively to isolate the motives for co-operation for the initiatives outside of IPA.
- 6) Co-operation with local democracy authorities/CSOs: it investigates the relations between civil society and the local authorities in order to define the support/resistance that CBC encounters locally.
- 7) Obstacles encountered: it studies the nature of the obstacles encountered in the realisation of the CBC projects, related to IPA and in general.
- 8) Source of funding: financial windfall can represent an important incentive for engaging in CBC, it is thus essential to determine the extent to which IPA funds constitute the main source of funding for the respondent and the other alternatives (national or local grants or other donors).
- 9) Results assessed against objectives: the respondents were asked to evaluate the results achieved with regards to the objectives stated in the project proposal. This subjective evaluation is intrinsically connected with the last two variables.
- 10) Inspired more CBC: this variable explores the potential of CBC and of IPA to generate interest for cross-border co-operation and to enlarge the networks of interest.
- 11) Perceived impact on social reconstruction: this last point analyses the impact of the project on rapprochement between Croats and Serbs, given the scope and the results of the project.

The methodology adopted for the data collection and analysis aims at addressing the various dimensions of the problem under study and to give the reader a comprehensive picture of the state of cross-border co-operation in Slavonia and Vojvodina. It also attempts to provide ground for a preliminary assessment of the results achieved by IPA in fostering social reconstruction.

Part II. Analysis of the ground-level empirical data

Chapter 5: Presentation of the results: trends and misfits

This introductory chapter to the second part of this research will present the main trends observed from the answers to the semi-structured interviews performed for this work. I have performed 33 interviews with cross-border participants in the culture and youth sectors comprising of both CSOs (20) and representatives of the department of culture from the regional authorities (2), representatives of local authorities and JTS (5) and with other IPA beneficiaries (6)⁷⁶. The information gathered has been distributed in

⁷⁶ Interviews with CSOs:

- Local Democracy Agency, Miljenko Turniski, Osijek (04.06.2012).
- Nansen Dialogue, Suzanna Agotić, Osijek (04.06.2012) and follow-up interview (24.09.2013)
- Centar za Mir, Branislav Tekić, Vukovar (06.06.2012)
- PRONI, Goran Jelenić, Vukovar (06.06.2012), follow-up interview in Osijek (24.09.2013)
- Volunteer Center, Mirta Kovacević, Osijek (24.09.2013)
- PGDI, Mirela Alagić, Beli Manastir (phone interview) (06.11.2013)
- RARE Movie Fans Association, Toni Sarić, Vinkovci (phone interview) (24.11.2013)
- CK13, Anica Stojanović, Novi Sad (06.09.2013)
- Kultura Nova, Milan Vracar, Novi Sad (06.09.2013)
- Volunteer Center Vojvodina, Sonja, Novi Sad (06.09.2013)
- Cinema City, Ivana Todorović, Novi Sad (22.03.2014)
- EDIT, Milica Paskulov, Novi Sad (1.10.2013)
- Belgrade Open School, Ivana Bartulović, Belgrade (27.09.2013)
- Danilo Kis, Danjela Mamuzić, Subotica (12.09.2013)
- Agency for Local Democratic Democracy, Silvja Patarčić, Subotica (12.09.2013)
- CZOR, Danjela Radić, Novi Sad (Phone interview) (29.10.2013)
- ENTER, Dejan, Bač (Phone interview) (30.10.2013)
- Kino, Foto I Video, Boris Radivojkov, Novi Sad (20.09.2013)

Interviews with representatives regional authorities for culture:

- Zavod za Kulturu Novog Sada (department for culture of Novi Sad), Dragan Ilić, Novi Sad (06.09.2013)
- Department for Culture of the Regional Government, Slavko Matić, Novi Sad (1.10.2013)

Interviews with Regional authorities and JTS

- Joint-Technical Secretariat of IPA, Ivana Zelić, Zagreb (phone interview) (18.03.2014)
- Joint-Technical Secretariat of IPA Serbia, Darko Cvejić, Sremska Mitrovica, (exchange of emails) (24.03.2014)
- Regional Development Agency of Slavonia, Ivana Gurić, Osijek (04.06.2013) and follow-up interview (24.09.2013)
- Interviews with 4 civil servants during the conference organized as part of the project SNET.EU (Stari Jankovci, 13.09.2013).

Interviews with other IPA beneficiaries:

- Zeleni Osijek, Dinko Pesić, Osijek (04.06.2012)
- Zelena Akcija, Zagreb, Eugen Vuković (21.05.2013)
- SLAP, Sonja Vuković, Osijek (phone interview) (25.09.2013)
- Poljoprivedni Institut (Agricultural Institute), Kristina Zdunić, Osijek (04.06.2012)

an analysis grid covering the different dimensions of the initiatives pertaining to cross-border co-operation according to the variables spelt above in the methodology section.

Due to the vast amount of information collected for this research, the study will illustrate the main trends observed by focusing on six main projects in particular: three being funded through IPA and three others stemming from local initiatives. These partnerships shed light on different aspects of cross-border co-operation and are considered illustrative of the process of social reconstruction. The following projects will serve as case studies for analysing the trends in CBC.

The first set of partners selected consists of the association of movie fans RARE based in Vinkovci (Slavonia) organising the famous festival of music documentaries DORF and their two projects: “Crossovers” connecting the DORF⁷⁷ festival in Vinkovci with the well-known European film festival in Palić (near Subotica, Vojvodina) and “Film it Loud⁷⁸” with the movie association Cinema City in Novi Sad (Vojvodina) both funded under IPA⁷⁹. Additional details will be inserted from the tour of the festival throughout the region, called “DORF on the road”. “Crossovers” was an IPA project meant to establish stronger co-operation between regional young movie-makers and artists through a set of joint-workshops and movie-making projects. The main beneficiaries of this project were the movie association RARE and the Open University in Subotica, with the close collaboration of the chief executive of the European film festival in Palić. The project lasted for twelve months. “Film it Loud” follows the same concept of bringing 40 young movie-makers to cooperate on single movie projects through workshops and the organisation of two movie festivals: one in Vojvodina (Novi Sad) and one in Slavonia (Osijek, Vukovar and Vinkovci).

The project “Hands across the border – Identity and Cultural heritage in the Danube region”⁸⁰ is the third endeavour under focus. The supporting agencies were Nansen Dialogue based in Osijek and CZOR (Centar za Omladinske Radi – Center for Youth Work) based in Novi Sad in co-operation with the municipalities of Tompojevci (Croatia) and Bač (Serbia). A total of thirty young people aged between 15-25 years old took part in the project. The aim of the project was to re-establish inter-ethnic dialogue and cross-border co-operation between the youth in the post-conflict and multi-ethnic communities in Slavonia and Vojvodina. The project consisted in bringing high school students together through the organisation of a common exhibition retracing their individual family history and their connection to the region. The participants also attended a series of seminars on inter-ethnic tolerance and post-conflict reconstruction. By investigating their own personal history, the youngsters were brought to deconstruct

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- Business Incubator BIOS, Ivo Koski, Osijek (24.09.2013)
 - Center for Entrepreneurship, Vedran Ostojić, Osijek (24.09.2013)

⁷⁷ Festival of Documentary Rock Films, <http://filmfestivaldorf.com/en/>.

⁷⁸Description of the project “Film it Loud”. <http://filmfestivaldorf.com/filmitloud/>

⁷⁹ Description of the project Crossovers: http://www.croatia-serbia.com/hr/?option=com_content&view=article&id=102
<http://www.openunsubotica.rs/news/happening/the-project-crossovers-is-one-of-the-15-best-ipa-cbc-projects.html>

⁸⁰ Description of the project: “Hands across the border/ Ruke preko granice” : <http://ruke-preko-granice.com.hr/>

the stereotypes of the Other and to reflect on their own implication in the region and relations with the community across the border. The travelling exhibition was then meant to reach a wider audience and encourage reflection on social reconstruction outside the family and local circles.

The following cross-border initiatives were not funded through IPA and present interesting features for this study portraying the existing synergy of cross-border co-operation outside of European framework.

The project “Prijeko-Preko”⁸¹ is merely an example of a longer tradition of co-operation between the NGO PRONI (Center for Social Education) based in Osijek and with a branch in Vukovar and the Youth Association Enter, in Bač (Serbia). PRONI has been involved since the early nineties in building youth capacity in Slavonia through youth associations and providing support and information to the local youth. The cross-border initiative stemmed from the initiative of young people from Bač who appealed to PRONI’s support and experience to build their own youth club in Bač. As a result of this first contact, PRONI carried in collaboration with the burgeoning youth association three projects “Prijeko-Preko 1, 2 and 3” that meant to empower the capacities of the local youth civil society with project writing skills, foster collaboration with the local authorities and develop a programme of activities running all year-round. This first project was followed by co-operation initiatives (such as youth camps) between youth clubs in Slavonia and ENTER in Bač with and without PRONI’s guidance.

The second project “Slama koja spaja, a ne razdvaja”⁸² is a local initiative between PGDI⁸³ based in Beli Manastir (Slavonia) and the Association Matija Gubec in Tavankut (near Subotica, Vojvodina) and Li Women in Livno in Bosnia and Herzegovina, funded by the Ekumeniska Inicijativa Zena⁸⁴ in Subotica (Vojvodina) grouping women chiefly from Slavonia and Vojvodina in traditional straw braiding activities, a key feature of the regional folklore. This initiative is meant to perpetrate the traditional skills of straw braiding and empowering women from small local communities in time of economic hardship.

Kultura Nova is not taking part in a cross-border co-operation project per se at the moment, but invites regularly Croatian artists in its cultural programme in Novi Sad. It carried a CBC project “Pannonian Conference” in 2009 involving the creation and projection of joint-documentaries on youth unemployment in the border regions. The interview shed light on the daily aspects of cross-border co-operation in the cultural sphere outside of programmes aimed directly at social reconstruction.

⁸¹ Webpage of the project “Prijeko-Preko”: <http://www.proni.hr/index.php/en/finished-projects/Youth-link-2.html>, Prijeko : across in Croatian, Preko : across in Serbian. This word means “much” in English but has a double meaning in this context, referring to “across the river” or bridging the gap.

⁸² “Slama koja spaja, a ne razdvaja” (straw that connects us instead of dividing us). Webpage of the project: http://www.pgdi.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=198:slama-koja-spaja-a-ne-razdvaja&catid=1:novosti

⁸³ PGDI stands for Udruga Projekti Gradjanske Demokratske Inicijative, Associative Project for Civil Democratic Initiative.

⁸⁴ Ekumeniska Inicijativa Zena in English: Women’s Ecumenical Initiative.

5.1. Partners of Cross-Border Co-operation

A striking trend from the results of the interviews is the central role played by a few key CSOs around which CBC initiatives seem to revolve. These stronger NGOs have acquired the capacities necessary for writing successful projects and attracting funds. They seem to form some collegial core around which other CSOs are affixed, constituting an epicentre for CBC. In Slavonia, this core consists of CSOs such as: Zeleni Osijek (Green Osijek dealing with ecology), PRONI, YPGD (Youth Peace Group Danube), Nansen Dialogue and the Volunteer Center Osijek. In Vojvodina, the main CSOs engaged in cross-border co-operation are the Open University in Subotica, CZOR, Green network Vojvodina (for ecology) and Cinema City.

Looking at the nature and duration of the partnership in the projects selected above, one notices that these projects rely mostly on personal contacts and a long history of co-operation. This is particularly visible for the three projects financed through IPA, where both beneficiaries have known each other personally for a longer period of time and collaborated on common projects in the past. For instance, CZOR and Nansen Dialogue have carried projects pertaining to social reconstruction already back in the late nineties as part of the first programme of post-conflict reconstruction. The manager in charge of CBC projects for CZOR is also native from Slavonia, adding a note of personal attachment to the CBC initiatives. Personal contacts are also quite central to the CBC initiatives that are not funded through IPA.

Nevertheless, the trend suggests an alternative conclusion as well: the sharing of common interests encouraged the search of partners in the same field and led to tighter personal interactions. Closer interpersonal communication between PRONI and ENTER started after PRONI was contacted by the local youth in Bač. Artists coming to Novi Sad under the wings of Kultura Nova and the project of a “Pannonian Conference” stemmed from a common interest in culture. The project carried by PGDI provides another insight on the socialisation process taking place within the CSOs. This project is the result of repeated interactions and meetings between participants from the PGDI associations in other CBC projects, mostly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The participants from Slavonia and Vojvodina came to address the question why such a co-operation or joint-projects did not exist between their neighbouring regions, when they themselves were taking part actively in CBC programmes outside of their region.

The answers collected confirm the idea that cross-border co-operation relies on long-term partnerships resting on strong personal connections and commitment to shared interests cultivated through meetings during social cultural events or dating back to the early instances of civil engagement after the end of the Civil War as part of the reconstruction programmes.

5.2. Previous CBC projects

The questions posed to the respondents meant to address whether the on-going CBC projects have been preceded by other similar initiatives and/or with the same

partners. It aimed at placing cross-border initiatives into a coherent timeframe. The results were quite mitigated in terms of previous experience with cross-border co-operation. A majority of the interviewees took part in CBC initiatives either as part of CARDS (this is the case of the Poljoprivredni Institut – Institute for agriculture in Osijek), other IPA programmes, notably with Hungary (such as the Local Democratic Agency in Subotica, Danilo Kiš) or in cultural programme involving all the Western Balkans (Kultura Nova, CK13, LDA Osijek, Zeleni Osijek, PGDI, RARE, Cinema City). However, very few respondents had conducted officially CBC projects with partners from Serbia or vice-versa from Croatia.

Interestingly enough, although most of these partners have known each other for a long time, CBC initiatives are quite recent and/or seem to have concretised with IPA. For instance, despite the close relations between the organisers of the project, “Hands across the border” became the first official CBC project between the two countries. The project “Prijeko-Preko” results from the long-term involvement of PRONI in strengthening the local youth on the border region since 1998. The collaboration between LDA Osijek and Subotica is somewhat different, as both CSOs belong to the same organisational network.

5.3. Motivations for cross-border co-operation

In the course of the research, I have attempted to identify what were the sources of motivation for engaging in cross-border co-operation exploring the personal component, shared interest for the same sector of activity, the financial and institutional opportunity provided by IPA and so on. The responses collected in this research confirmed the aforementioned expectations. The idea that the CBC projects were part of a broader effort to foster rapprochement and rebuild a stable social fabric was prominent in the interviews. This stood especially true for respondents having grown up before the Civil War and who shared common cultural references and memories⁸⁵. The second most prominent response from respondents from cultural organisations participating and not having participated in IPA CBC projects pointed out towards a common attachment to spreading culture and enriching the local cultural life (RARE, PRONI, Cinema City, Kultura Nova, CKA 13). It was reasserted that nationality did not matter in culture, only good-will and good ideas and that therefore the lack of co-operation stemmed rather from structural problems than sheer unwillingness or inter-ethnic animosity. Thirdly, having a trusted partner proved to be decisive for applying commonly to donors⁸⁶ (IPA and others). Hence, in addition to pre-existing strong partnerships, IPA enabled the concretisation of CBC ideas and projects, but was not the main source of inspiration for cross-border co-operation. IPA is thus a catalyser for CBC initiatives already present at least in the civil society.

⁸⁵ Interview with PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13), Nansen Dialogue (Osijek 06.06.12 and 24.09.13), RARE (Vinkovci, 24.11.13), CZOR (Novi Sad, 29.10.13) and EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13).

⁸⁶ Interviews with RDA (Osijek 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13), Centre for Entrepreneurship (Osijek, 24.09.13), SLAP (Osijek, 27.09.13), Kultura Nova (Novi Sad, 06.09.13) and Danilo Kis (Subotica, 12.09.13).

5.4. Co-operation with Local Democratic Governance and with other CSOs

Understanding the synergy between the local authorities and the CSOs is crucial for comprehending the place that CBC holds in the public discourse and the support it receives from the local political authorities. The results differed per country. In Croatia, the CSOs benefit from greater financial and institutional assistance from the Ministry of Youth and Sport and the related regional departments, whereas there is very little collaboration between the government agencies and the CSOs in Serbia⁸⁷. In Vojvodina, CSOs may benefit from the tacit approval from the local government, but with limited financial windfall.

In addition, there is very little inter-institutional co-operation between the regional departments on culture in Vojvodina and Slavonia, mostly stemming from political unwillingness to carry out common projects. For instance, the regional department of culture in Novi Sad maintains close co-operation with its counterpart in Istria, whereas it has virtually no contact with the one in Osijek.

Moreover, political support for CBC (and for IPA) lies in its electoral potential. Regional governments in Slavonia and Vojvodina strongly support CBC through IPA and actively spread awareness from a top-down perspective. However, according to the JTS in Croatia and CSOs⁸⁸, it is widely perceived that there is a tendency to privilege infrastructural projects for the purposes of visibility by the public and increasing the political credit of the local politicians. As a result, there is little official political endorsement for non-lucrative projects, especially in culture and youth. Furthermore, it is important to note that political affiliations constitute a major hindrance for realising projects pertaining to social reconstruction⁸⁹. Both regions are political bastions of supporters of nationalist rhetoric: HDZ⁹⁰ in Slavonia and DS⁹¹ in Vojvodina. As a consequence, one may deduce that nationalist political sentiment impacts on the official endorsement of CBC projects in culture and youth. It is also important to note that municipalities with large Serbian or Croatian minority are more likely to engage in CBC or to support initiatives in this sense. Support rests both on the necessity to solve technical issues on the administrative level and to attract political popularity from the local electorate. Additionally, the project conducted by LDA Osijek and Subotica aiming at building interpersonal contacts and relations between young civil servants from the municipalities along the border demonstrates that eventual support for CBC within the

⁸⁷ Interviews with the JTS Serbia (Sremska Mitrovica, 27.03.14) and the Regional Department for Culture of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina (Novi Sad, 1.10.13).

⁸⁸ Interviews with PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13), CZOR (Novi Sad, 29.10.13), RARE (Vinkovci, 24.11.13) and EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13).

⁸⁹ Interview with Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 06.06.12 and 24.09.13) and civil servants at the LDA conference (Stari Jankovci, 13.09.13).

⁹⁰ HDZ: Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica: Croatian Democratic Union, conservative - center right on the political spectrum.

⁹¹ DS: Demokratska Stranka, Democratic party, Christian-democrat party, center left. It is the main opposition party to the Serbian Progressive Party -SNS.

local administration stems chiefly from personal involvement. The young civil servants taking part in the project SNET.EU that I interviewed felt personally engaged in facilitating CBC and fastening the social reconstruction process. However, they also mentioned that this was not an opinion shared at all levels of the administration.

The projects selected in this chapter provide concrete examples of such trends. In the case of the DORF festival and projects carried in co-operation with movie festival in Palić and Cinema City, it was said that regional authorities express very little interest in financing non-lucrative projects. The low potential for re-election is translated into little funds available for cultural initiatives. The interview with Nansen Dialogue showed that cross-border co-operation received increasing encouragement from local authorities but heavily depended on personal endorsement and informal approval. With regards to establishing youth clubs in Bač and co-operation with Croatian youth associations, the municipality of Bač responded positively to the initiative of the local youth providing them with facilities and small grants for running their programme. In this regards, it neither interfered nor supported openly CBC, demonstrating thus limited interest in initiatives involving CBC between youth.

5.5. Obstacles encountered

The respondents highlighted the following problems hindering cross-border co-operation. Firstly, many found difficult to find a partner outside of the already established partnerships due to the underdeveloped capacities of the CSOs⁹² in Serbia and the lack of cultural organisations in Croatia⁹³. Secondly, political resistance and manipulation of ethnic divisions for electoral purposes have already been mentioned above. On this note, political affiliations also hinder co-operation between municipalities from a same region and do not only concern CBC⁹⁴. Thirdly, a major obstacle in propagating CBC lies in the economic difficulties encountered by the local populations⁹⁵. High unemployment and limited municipal budgets have several negative consequences on efforts towards social reconstruction. The municipalities do not have the means to finance projects of secondary importance such as cultural and youth co-operation in the face of economic hardship. In times of crisis, potential participants are less interested in taking part in cultural activities. High unemployment is often accompanied with isolationist attitudes and thus less receptiveness to projects of cross-border co-operation. This trend was particularly visible

⁹² Interviews with RDA (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), Zeleni Osijek (Osijek, 04.06.12), PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13), Volunteer Centre Osijek (Osijek, 24.09.13), Zelena Akcija (Zagreb, 21.05.13), Volunteer Centre of Vojvodina (Novi Sad, 06.09.13) and LDA Subotica (Subotica, 12.09.13).

⁹³ Interviews with Kultura Nova (Novi Sad, 06.09.13) and Danilo Kis (Subotica, 12.09.13).

⁹⁴ Interviews conducted with civil servants as part of the project EU.NET by LDA Osijek and Subotica (Stari Jankovci, 13.09.13).

⁹⁵ Interviews with Center for Peace Vukovar (Vukovar, 06.06.12), Centre for Entrepreneurship Osijek (Osijek, 24.09.13), BIOS (Osijek, 24.09.13), Zelena Akcija (Zagreb, 21.05.13), RARE (24.11.13), Department for Culture of Novi Sad (Novi Sad, 06.09.13), EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13) and Kino Foto I Video (Novi Sad, 20.09.13).

in the few interviews that related to economic co-operation between small producers⁹⁶. In addition, economic lethargy is reflected in the passivity of the younger generations as well⁹⁷. Moreover, the first round of projects selected for IPA demonstrates that projects with an economic scope are given a higher priority than those on social reconstruction. Economic hardship constitutes thus a major if not the most important obstacle to CBC and social reconstruction.

The six projects selected illustrate this trend. For RARE, the war erased common cultural bonds between the young generations who now do not share the same cultural references as they used to in the past. The absence of common cultural identity and the lack of means deployed by the municipalities to encourage young people to take active part in the life of the local community constitute major obstacles. Nansen Dialogue pointed out the political manipulations of ethnic divides for personal political benefits, especially in Vukovar and its surroundings. PRONI emphasized the lack of civil society tradition in Serbia as a major hindrance and the lack of available funds for CSOs in the region with the withdrawal of international donors over the past decade. Kultura Nova denounced the concentration of the cultural programme in Zagreb and subsequently the relative absence of CSOs dealing chiefly or solely with culture in Slavonia.

5.6. Sources of funding

A critique to CSOs and the NGOisation of sectors of activity found in the literature relates to the financial dependence of CSOs on donors and therefore on the particular vision and objectives of these donors⁹⁸. Evaluating the level of dependence of CSOs on European funds seemed thus crucial in order to expose the interrelations between IPA and CBC initiatives.

As expected, EU funds have come to represent the largest share of funds for CSOs in the region following the departure of international donors and as a result of cuts in the municipalities' budgets for the financing of civil initiatives⁹⁹. There is also a general trend towards IPA taking a more prevalent space in project financing over other programmes such as Youth in Action¹⁰⁰. The precedence taken by IPA over the financing of CBC initiatives has strengthened existing and well-established CSOs but did not favour the

⁹⁶ Interviews with IPA beneficiaries: poljoprivedni institut (Osijek, 04.06.12), Business Incubator Osijek BIOS (Osijek, 24.09.13), SLAP (Osijek, 27.09.13), Center for Entrepreneurship (Osijek, 24.09.13), Regional Development Agency Slavonia (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13) and from the answers collected via open questionnaires to enterprises in Slavonia and Vojvodina.

⁹⁷ Interview with RARE (Vinkovci, 24.11.13).

⁹⁸ Gosh, Biswajit., "NGOs, Civil Society and Social Reconstruction in Contemporary India", *Journal of Developing Societies*, (2009): 229-52; Stubbs, Paul., "Aspects of Community Development in Contemporary Croatia: Globalisation, neo-liberalisation and NGO-isation", *Revitalising Communities*, (2006): 9 & 11.

⁹⁹ EU funds (IPA, Youth in Action and other structural aids combined) represent the main source of funding for 14 CSOs interviewed.

¹⁰⁰ The programme "Youth in Action" is a programme of the European Commission for education, training, youth and sport. < http://ec.europa.eu/youth/index_en.htm>

creation of new ones¹⁰¹. IPA's procedures (especially pre-financing) require from the applicants strong financial and organisational capacities that many younger CSOs have trouble fulfilling.

Henceforth, although IPA represents an attractive source of funding, its grant scheme is not yet optimal for the course of social reconstruction. As demonstrated in the follow-up interview with PRONI, EU funds and thus IPA only provide funding on a project basis whereas social reconstruction is an incremental process that requires financing on a long-term basis. The German Marshall Funds (US) has provided them with the means to carry their co-operation with their Serbian partners (based on follow-up projects) for more than 6 years.

5.7. Results and local resonance

Determining the quality of the results of these projects is prone to subjectivity. For that reason, I have approached the question of performances from three different angles asking the interviewees about their perception of the results accomplished, whether their project has led to further co-operation (follow-ups or with other partners) and how they perceived the impact of this project and their involvement on the (sustainable) rapprochement with the neighbouring community.

Respondents were in general very positive about the results of their projects pointing out to the exchange of know-how acquired as a result of this partnership, the resonance amongst the participants, their family circles and positive responses from the local authorities. On several instances, it brought CSOs and regional authorities together (highlighted in both projects with Nansen Dialogue and LDA), transcending thus levels of power on an individual basis. The impact of these projects on deconstructing prejudices and breaking the ice between the participants (especially between local authorities) was a first step towards establishing contacts between people who had not met during the war¹⁰². In this regards, personal contacts took prevalence over contacts between organisations and institutions. Hence, CBC projects brought social reconstruction to the level of the individual, fostering greater co-operation between CSOs. Conversely, it involved regional democratic authorities only marginally.

For a majority of the respondents involved in CBC projects, this has been a positive experience and led to follow-up projects mostly with the same partner¹⁰³. Moreover, projects funded by IPA have generated greater interest for CBC amongst CSOs, with more than half of the applications stemming from CSOs for the second open call for IPA (in

¹⁰¹ Interviews with RDA Slavonia (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13) and JTS Slavonia and Vojvodina (18.03.14 and 27.03.14).

¹⁰² Interviews with both JTS (18.03.14 and 27.03.14), RDA (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), Zeleni Osijek (Osijek, 04.06.12), Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), LDA Osijek and Subotica (Osijek, 04.06.12 and Subotica 12.09.13) and CZOR(Novi Sad, 29.10.13).

¹⁰³ Interviews with Poljoprivedni Institut (Osijek, 04.06.12), Zeleni Osijek (04.06.12), PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13), LDA (Osijek, 04.06.12 and Subotica 12.09.13), Center for Entrepreneurship (Osijek, 24.09.13) and PGDI (Beli Manastir, 06.11.13).

large minority during the first call)¹⁰⁴ and with the beneficiaries selected during the first round being actively searched and sought as partners for CBC projects.

The perceived impact of the projects and their involvement on rapprochement between Serbs and Croats remained mitigated. On the one hand, CBC projects have fostered closer co-operation between the Croatian and Serbian civil society. It has strengthened existing co-operation and enlarged the networks of interests amongst participants and their relatives. Cross-border co-operation has gained resonance in the local political and societal discourse and was received positively. In addition, IPA has brought a wide variety of stakeholders to the same table and established a first connection between people who had not met since the war and the dissolution of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, differences persist and the connection between communities across the border remains weak. It has been pointed out that the youth does not share common references that would constitute a bond for co-operation. Political resistance and electoral concerns confine support for CBC amongst civil servants to the individual level. Although the regional government actively support IPA and CBC, the same sentiment is not shared at the lower decision-making levels where opposition parties (DS), or nationalist tendencies are often stronger than the ones projected from the top (HDZ), hold determining position in the decision-making process. In several instances, the protests in Vukovar during spring 2013 (at the time of the interviews) over the use of Cyrillic were used to illustrate the unfavourable climate for cross-border co-operation from the Serbian perspective¹⁰⁵. Lastly, rapprochement is difficult to evaluate solely on basis of projects, since it requires repeated interactions stretching over a longer timeframe.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with JTS Slavonia and Vojvodina (18.03.14 and 27.03.13), relevant information provided by JTS Serbia:

1st round: 110 applications; 30 applications by CSOs, projects selected for measure 1.3: 2/11.

2nd round: 154 applications;

Projects on measure 1.3: 49 applications (71 applicants amongst CSOs) and selected: 11/22

¹⁰⁵ Interviews with Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), the Regional Department of Culture of Vojvodina (Osijek, 1.10.13) and Kino Foto I Video (20.09.13).

Chapter 6 : Testing the hypotheses

6.1. Hypotheses on synergy between IPA and CSOs

6.1.1. IPA as the main platform for CBC

Hypothesis 1: IPA has become the main platform for CBCC integrating most of the local initiatives of CBC into its structure. This hypothesis responded to the first sub-question addressing the local dynamics of cross-border co-operation and the extent to which IPA had swallowed up the existing networks of cross-border co-operation into its structure.

Hypothesis 1 is verified on the overall. Firstly, IPA has become the main platform for CBCC to the extent that it has become a referent instrument when dealing with CBC and has posed itself as an alternative to the public sector in the areas of culture and youth. By becoming the chief source of financial windfall for CBC, IPA has ingrained the idea and eagerness to pursue CBC in the local civil society. Subsequently, based on the positive answers from most of the respondents on the prospective of applying to IPA, it appears that the key leading CSOs¹⁰⁶ concentrate their efforts towards getting IPA funding in addition to their regular donors.

Secondly, as the longevity of partnership in CBC demonstrates it, there is an on-going transposition of existing networks of co-operation into the IPA structure, which then by ramification draws in the rest of the civil society organisations. As aforementioned, the first open call for IPA projects relied mostly on existing partnerships of CBC¹⁰⁷, whereas in the second and third calls, these forerunners were sought by other potential applicants for forming new partnerships¹⁰⁸. There is thus a recrudescence of CBC projects being presented on basis of new partnerships involving either one of the main regional CSOs or previous participants to IPA¹⁰⁹.

Nevertheless, the importance of IPA as an overarching framework should not be overestimated. Although new partnerships have arisen throughout the working period (2007-2013), most of the successful projects were carried by partners already enjoying if not regular co-operation at least personal connections with their partner¹¹⁰. IPA CBC projects (especially in youth and culture) stem from long-lasting co-operation. Furthermore, although IPA has become the main platform for CBC in terms of intention

¹⁰⁶ Based on the interviews with: in Croatia: Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13), PGDI (Beli Manastir, 06.11.13), Zeleni Osijek (Osijek, 04.06.12), SLAP (Osijek, 27.09.13), RARE (Vinkovci, 24.11.13).

In Serbia : Kultura Nova (Novi Sad, 06.09.13), EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13), LDA (Osijek, 04.06.12 and Subotica, 12.09.13), CZOR (Osijek, 29.10.13), Enter (Bac, 30.10.13).

¹⁰⁷ In the first open call: the following partnerships were successful: Nansen Dialogue – CZOR: have known each other for over 15 years and conducted a common project in 1999-2000; RARE – Open University Subotica: long personal relations.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.13).

¹⁰⁹ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.13).

¹¹⁰ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.13) and follow-up interview with the Regional Development Agency (24.09.13).

of application noted amongst CSOs, it still remains to be proven that it fostered incentives for CBC in culture and youth at large. Not only the number of selected people-to-people projects aiming at social reconstruction remains marginal, but there is not a single CBCC projects being carried out by LDAs. Disengagement from the local authorities in this area is thus visible.

As a consequence, one can conclude that in the sphere of youth and culture, IPA is primarily an additional channel for already existing co-operation between CSOs that has become a platform for enlarging CBCC to other CSOs regionally.

6.1.2. IPA's grant scheme is not optimal for CBCC

Hypothesis 2: The small grant scheme (people-to-people, measure 1.3) has favoured CCBC. The second hypothesis addresses the question of dependence of CBC activities on IPA as its sole financial windfall and institutional structure. It attempts to solve this question by assessing whether IPA funding scheme provide sufficient means for achieving the goals stated in the CBCC projects proposals and its objectives of social reconstruction (as spelled in measure 1.3).

The absence of evaluation reports on the project performances and of an impact assessment of IPA represents a serious limitation for the generalisation of the following conclusions establishing a correlation between the funding of the projects and the results obtained in terms of rapprochement through CBCC. Assessing the project performances for each project is thus largely subjective. Formally, all the IPA projects have been fulfilled, since no contract has been terminated or beneficiaries had to reimburse the money received for not having completed their project¹¹¹. Another indicator lies in the overall perception of the respondents that the results obtained were positive. Two major conclusions on performances recorded arise from the interviews. IPA has helped deepening co-operation with their partner creating tighter networks of co-operation. It has also encouraged establishing a first connection across the border not only between CSOs and LDAs but by engaging larger portions of society as well.

Subsequently, the correlation between structure of measure 1.3 and the projects' performances can be established as following. IPA has become the main institutional umbrella for CBC providing facilities, financial capacities and setting the dynamic towards greater CBC by bringing together different stakeholders. There is however a dichotomy in terms of quantity and quality between the capacities deployed under measure 1.3 and its objectives to generate social reconstruction at the people's level. On the one hand, the rising interest amongst CSOs in applying for IPA funds demonstrates the appeal of the instrument and has led thus to an increase in the number of project proposals related to CBCC¹¹².

¹¹¹ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.13).

¹¹² Projects on culture and youth represented a third of project proposals for round 2, against a fifth for round 1.

On the other hand, IPA 1.3 does not favour CBCC per se due to its cumbersome procedure and its marginal weight in the allocation of funds¹¹³. Several aspects inherent to the structure of IPA 1.3 had a negative impact on the quality of the results. The instrument has been criticized for its fastidious procedures of monitoring at all stages of the project implementation, delaying and complicating the actual implementation of the project. In addition, co-financing proved to be a hindrance for smaller CSOs to apply for a project cutting a portion of the civil society from participating to CBC¹¹⁴. This last point arguably would privilege a qualitative approach to CBC over a quantitative one, yet somewhat contradicting the overall objectives of the creation of large networks of contact. Furthermore, the grant scheme of people-to-people provides the necessary means for small projects involving the local community. In this regards, IPA responds well to the objectives set for social reconstruction. Yet, measure 1.3 is not the main criterion under which funds are allocated in comparison to the majority of projects involving the construction of infrastructures and whose beneficiaries are regional authorities¹¹⁵. The purpose of small grants projects is to multiply the points of contact and interactions between target groups. Henceforth, the relatively low number of projects¹¹⁶ falling under 1.3 undercuts the very purpose of a small-grant scheme.

As a result, the few selected projects, the limited number of participating CSOs coupled with the relative small scope of these projects point out that social reconstruction is not given full attention within IPA and that there is a contradiction between the intentions and the results obtained under measure 1.3.

6.1.3. IPA has stimulated the systematisation of socialisation between CSOs

Hypothesis 3: IPA has strengthened civil society and increased connections between CSOs. This hypothesis addresses IPA's potential of professionalization of the CSOs through the transfer of norms and the systematization of socialisation.

To a certain extent, IPA has contributed to the professionalization of CSOs through the diffusion of European norms by continuing the incremental work on the development of the CSOs capacities carried out by other previous donors and grant schemes. It strengthened their capacities in terms of project writing, systematisation of strategic planning, enhanced capabilities for monitoring and fund management. The solidification of these capacities according to EU norms proved to be determining in the selection procedure according to JTS Croatia. Furthermore, socialisation within and outside IPA has

¹¹³ Projects selected under measure 1.3: 1st open call: 2/11 projects ; 2nd open call: 11/22 under measure 1.3, 8/11 projects dealing with CBCC.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Kino Foto I video (Novi Sad, 20.09.13) and CK 13 (Novi Sad, 06.09.13) and Danilo Kis (Subotica, 12.09.13).

¹¹⁵ Projects under measure 1.1: 9, 7 involving a local authorities or agency for development as partner.

¹¹⁶ For the 1st round of open call, 2 projects were selected under measure 1.3 and 11 for the second call out of 22 projects. Ten projects related to youth and culture have been funded by IPA during the first two open calls.

been an important factor for the transfer of EU norms in project writing and management from Croatian to Serbian partners resulting in the professionalization of civil society organisations in Vojvodina (PRONI –CZOR & ENTER & EDIT; Zeleni Osijek – Green network of Vojvodina; Nansen Dialogue – CZOR; Volunteer Center Osijek – Volunteer Center Vojvodina). The exact opposite is also true in the case of RARE that benefited from its collaboration with the Open University Subotica, the European Film Festival in Palić and with Cinema City.

IPA has stimulated socialisation between CSOs in three stages by setting an institutional structure for contact, by organising socialising events and by generating a snowballing effect in the formation of new relationships. IPA as a European institution provides guarantees for the availability of funds and of a consistent institutional framework. Firstly, the reliability of this institutional framework stirs general interest for participation amongst CSOs, becoming thus a vector for interaction. Secondly, socialisation is a key objective of IPA and a precondition for its functioning. The JTS plays an important role in forging new relations and bringing people together¹¹⁷. For this purpose, the JTS organises meetings for all potential beneficiaries after the opening of each call for applications and for regular information sessions. As a result of this systematic repeated interaction, new contacts and partnerships for project proposals have been formed. The role of the JTS as a socialising platform for potential partners was further demonstrated after the first two rounds of open calls. Potential participants seeking participation turned to the JTS in order to find a partner amongst the previous beneficiaries. Thirdly, snowballing also took place outside of IPA itself and stemmed from the core CSOs in the region. It materialised through the incorporation of already existing co-operation networks into IPA and through the creation of partnerships with third parties via personal recommendations. Carrying joint-projects involves a high level of trust and the stakes are high if the project is not completed. Hence, new partnerships have also been concluded on basis of personal contacts between CSOs, enlarging and weaving tighter interconnections between CSOs in the region¹¹⁸.

On the overall, the hypotheses translating the synergy between IPA and local CSOs have met mitigated results. On the one hand, IPA has become the main overarching financial and institutional structure for CBC in the region. The increase of projects (proposals and selected) devoted to social reconstruction translates both IPA's capacity to foster interest for CBC and an on-going professionalization of the CSOs that are now capable of presenting better structured proposals. In addition, IPA has strengthened existing co-operation and enhanced the role of CSOs already well-established in the region by expanding their networks of interest.

On the other hand, the CSOs with smaller capacities did not benefit from the professionalization process engaged by IPA because of their insufficient capacity for

¹¹⁷ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.13).

¹¹⁸ Interview with RARE (Vinkovci, 24.11.13), EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13), CZOR (Novi Sad, 29.10.13), PRONI (Vukovar, 06.06.13 and Osijek, 24.09.13), ENTER (Bac, 30.10.13).

applying and co-financing the projects, and therefore are virtually left out of CBC. Moreover, the grant system does not ensure sustainable rapprochement that needs constant funding over a longer period of time. Hence, IPA has come to monopolise the attention of a wide variety of stakeholders but it should be understood as an addition to already existing networks of co-operation and other sources of funding in the region. The combination of incremental rapprochement and people-to-people projects would bolster effectively social reconstruction coupling a long-term approach with a multitude of points of interaction.

6.2. Hypotheses on IPA stimulating social reconstruction

6.2.1. IPA has increased contacts between LDAs and CSOs but failed to foster co-operation

Hypothesis 4: IPA has furthered co-operation between CSOs and local democratic authorities. This hypothesis explores to what extent CBC is reflected in the local political discourse by observing the level of co-operation between the local authorities and CSOs. Local ownership of CBC would point towards a greater involvement of the CSOs in the decision-making process.

IPA has brought CSOs and LDAs within a same institutional structure especially during the meetings organised by the JTS¹¹⁹. The Regional Development Agency in Slavonia has demonstrated deep involvement in the management of the programme and actively promoted IPA alongside the JTS amongst the local authorities and CSOs¹²⁰. Furthermore, several employees of the RDA come from CSOs and push for more co-operation with the civil society¹²¹. According to the JTS, IPA provides financial incentives for co-operation between LDAs and CSOs and it is expected to observe further co-operation in that direction in the coming working periods¹²².

However, presently, co-operation channels exist at the regional level but are still absent at the municipal level¹²³. In general, CSOs benefit from the tacit support from the LDAs¹²⁴. The RDA highlights the relative slower involvement of the municipalities in taking part in IPA and underlines delays in implementation of the projects in the local administrations¹²⁵. As a result, there has not been established so far a strong collaboration between LDAs and CSOs within the region and even less across the border. Resistance to co-operation is equally observable in Croatia and in Serbia.

¹¹⁹ Interviews with JTS Croatia (18.03.14) and RDA (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13).

¹²⁰ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.14).

¹²¹ Follow-up interview with RDA (24.09.13).

¹²² Interviews with JTS Croatia and Serbia (18.03.14 and 27.03.14).

¹²³ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.14).

¹²⁴ Interviews with Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.05.13), PRONI (06.06.12 and 24.09.13), RARE (24.11.13) and Cinema City (24.03.14).

¹²⁵ Interview with the Regional Development Agency of Slavonia (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13).

The main reason lies in the difference of interest and in the clash of priorities. In response to local economic hardship and electoral objectives, regional authorities privilege infrastructural projects over people-to-people initiatives in order show to the electorate that they make effective use of the funds at hand¹²⁶. Moreover, the war has torn the regional social fabric and pursuing CBC in culture and youth might not only meet resistance amongst voters but also affect the popularity of the local politicians in times when economic prerogatives should occupy the top of the agenda. In addition, the municipal budgets for culture are limited, which implies that municipalities are willing to invest even lesser funds in CBCC¹²⁷. On this note, ignorance of the possibilities that IPA offers is not to be excluded. IPA could enhance the quality of the agenda on culture and youth by pooling municipal financial resources and inject additional money in it.

The second reason lies in the fact that CSOs are not considered as serious partners for joint-projects and do not have the sufficient financial capacities to conduct a common project¹²⁸. Although a few CSOs have managed to carve a place for themselves locally, civil society is still nascent and their role is still not understood very well by the local politics¹²⁹. In addition, the lack of synergy between the local authorities and the CSOs is partly due to the fact that the key CSOs in Slavonia have been established by foreign donors in the nineties¹³⁰ when the weakness of the local political authorities did not allow them to support actively civil initiatives¹³¹. Both parties have thus developed and strengthened in parallel to one another, resulting in disrupted communication and defiance.

Subsequently, although CSOs have gained in capacities, there is no sign that they have increased their political resonance or formed an influential lobby group in the regional politics. Hence, there is no evidence of the creation of epistemic communities around CBC comprising both CSOs and LDAs which would attest of the CSOs significance in the decision-making process at the regional and local political levels.

6.2.2 IPA has helped the concretisation of CBC

Hypothesis 5: IPA has promoted interest for social reconstruction through exchanges in the sectors of culture and youth. This hypothesis aims at determining IPA's influence in creating incentives for CBC by exploring the genesis of the CBC initiatives.

Based on the interviews and the trends observed in chapter 5, most of the IPA CBC projects stemmed from previous projects of co-operation or from an existing interest in

¹²⁶ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.14), EDIT (1.10.13), RARE (24.11.13) and Kultura Nova (06.09.13).

¹²⁷ Interview with the Department for culture of Vojvodina (06.09.13).

¹²⁸ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.13) and Regional Development Agency for Slavonia (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13).

¹²⁹ Interview with LDA (Osijek, 04.06.12)

¹³⁰ Interviews with PRONI (Vukovar 04.06.12 and Osijek 24.09.13), Nansen Dialogue (05.06.12 and 24.05.13), Voluntary Center (Osijek, 24.09.13), LDA (Osijek, 04.06.12).

¹³¹ Despotovic, Mirela *et al.*, "NGO Development in Croatia: De facto interdisciplinary practice", *Interdisciplinary Community Development*, (2007): 171-191. doi:10.1300/J125v15n01_08; Stubbs, "Aspects of Community Development in Contemporary Croatia", 9 & 11.

co-operation. As a consequence, IPA has contributed to the concretisation of cross-border co-operation projects in a three-pronged process.

As a first step, IPA has initially helped towards the concretisation of projects that were already underway and build on existing interest for CBC. This is translated into three tendencies. Firstly, IPA stepped on the founding blocks laid by CARDS and provided the structure to carry out CBC projects that could not have been realised under the precedent mechanism due to the difference of status and procedures (application and implementation) between Croatia and Serbia. The Regional Development Agency in Slavonia pointed that several projects such as Apple.01 engaging the agricultural institute of Osijek and the University of Novi Sad could not have been carried out under CARDS, because this instrument was never fully open in Serbia. The RDA could also not take part in any project as a direct partner, which affected the coordination between the agency and CBC projects related to economic development. Secondly, IPA has been perceived as an opportunity to renew inter-ethnic dialogue and the tradition of co-operation. The projects filed by CSOs for the first round of applications demonstrate a continuation of the CSOs activities in reconciliation and social reconstruction at the cross-border level¹³². This is particularly the case of the project with Nansen Dialogue and CZOR, which became their first joint-project though both CSOs had been involved in post-conflict social recovery throughout the nineties. IPA provided the institutional structure and financial backing for engaging cross-border co-operation as a steady and stable process. Thirdly, IPA furthered CBC by encouraging follow-up projects to endeavours started under CARDS as in the case of Zeleni Osijek, which has been very involved in nature protection and the sustainable development of tourism in the region with a variety of Serbian partners (Green network of Vojvodina, tourist board of Sombor).

Secondly, IPA has bolstered interest in CBCC and encouraged CSOs dealing with culture and youth to add a cross-border perspective to their projects. This is mostly visible with the increase of project proposals in that sense over the last two calls for applications¹³³. IPA represents a non-negligible financial windfall for CSOs, which certainly had a positive impact in developing the direction of the project proposals toward expanding the CSOs activities to the cross-border level or to join existing CBC partnerships (or seeking partnership with previous beneficiaries).

Thirdly, all respondents stated that either they have applied for IPA funding or are considering it. As a consequence, IPA has promoted and become an incentive for CBC over time. Moreover, EU funds represent the biggest share of source of funding for a majority of the responding CSOs, leading to a focalisation of their activities and project proposals towards CBC.

¹³² Interviews with LDA Osijek (04.06.12) and Subotica (12.09.13), Nansen Dialogue (04.06.12 and 24.05.13) and CZOR (29.10.13).

¹³³ Out of the 264 projects filed over the first two open calls for applications, 71 were presented by CSOs and 50 projects related to culture and youth (source: JTS Croatia and Serbia). According JTS Croatia and the relevant information provided by JTS Serbia, a majority of the applications for the second call were filed by CSOs (roughly 40%).

6.2.3. IPA has fostered rapprochement between CSOs and LDAs across the border

Hypothesis 6: IPA CBCC has fostered rapprochement between Croats and Serbs in the region. This hypothesis dives in the perception of rapprochement generated by cultural exchanges within the framework of IPA. Yet, evaluating rapprochement in objective terms is a thorny question that goes beyond the scope and the means of research of this study. The subsequent analysis will rest on the respondents' perception on rapprochement.

IPA CBC and CBC projects in culture and youth have led to positive steps towards rapprochement. Firstly, IPA was accompanied with political endorsement at the regional level. It has been pointed out that endorsement is not fully shared in the lower levels of power, yet there is an increasing support for CBC from individual civil servants and amongst the new generations in the administration as demonstrated by the project carried by LDA¹³⁴. Secondly, it has mobilised the attention of CSOs towards cross-border projects and contributed to establishing tighter working and personal connections between the Croatian and Serbian civil societies. Thirdly, as reasserted several times during the interviews, IPA has brought under the same roof, people who had had no contact with the other side since the war¹³⁵. It represented thus a first step towards easing the relations and start communicating. Fourthly, if the first project proposals were characterised with opportunism and minimal interactions especially at the level of regional authorities, co-operation has become more genuine since and regional authorities and development agencies encourage local ownership of the CBC and contact between the different target groups¹³⁶. Fifthly, respondents perceived that their project had contributed to reducing ethnic divisions and prejudices during and after the end of the project¹³⁷. In most projects involving youth, participants kept in contact through social networks and e-mail list after the project had terminated¹³⁸.

Nonetheless, despite these positive preliminary results, the success of CBCC in fostering rapprochement has to be addressed cautiously. Firstly, co-operation in culture and youth does not hold the highest priority either on the political agenda or in the expressed societal needs on the ground. Secondly, people involved in culture or working with youth are more likely to co-operate together because they share similar interest in spreading culture and seek to expand their activities in all possible directions¹³⁹. They are thus not representative of society at large. Thirdly, cultural initiatives and exchanges take

¹³⁴ Interviews with LDA and with civil servants taking part in the project (4) (Stari Jankovci, 13.09.13).

¹³⁵ Interviews with the Agricultural Institute in Osijek (04.06.12), the Regional Development Agency in Slavonia Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.09.13), Nansen Dialogue (04.06.12 and 24.05.13), Volunteer Center in Osijek (Osijek, 24.09.13), the Center for Entrepreneurship in Osijek (Osijek, 24.09.13), Business Incubator BIOS (Osijek, 24.09.13), LDA in Osijek (Osijek, 04.06.12) and Subotica (Subotica, 12.09.13), EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13), CZOR (Novi Sad, 29.10.13) and the two JTS.

¹³⁶ Interview with JTS Slavonia (18.03.14).

¹³⁷ Interview with Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.05.13), CZOR (Novi Sad, 29.10.13), EDIT (Novi Sad, 1.10.13) and PRONI (Vulovar 06.06.12 and Osijek, 24.09.13).

¹³⁸ In particular, "Hands across the border" and "Priješko-Preko".

¹³⁹ Shared interest in culture and good-will are reasserted as the only key bond: interviews with RARE and PRONI.

place between large cultural hubs (bigger cities and capital cities)¹⁴⁰. Hence, the visibility of cross-border co-operation by the public is limited in Slavonia. Fourthly, the positive results concern small target groups and have been observed on a project basis. There exists unfortunately no data establishing the sustainability of the rapprochement observed.

The results of the test of the hypotheses demonstrate mixed performances with regards to the level of local ownership of CBC and IPA's capacity in generating rapprochement through exchanges in the areas of culture and youth. On the one hand, IPA is well integrated into the local political discourses and amongst the CSOs. Efforts are being deployed by the JTS in increasing its acquaintance with a larger circle of CSOs and small and medium enterprises (SME) for the next working period¹⁴¹. Furthermore, IPA has encouraged rapprochement between Croats and Serbs, notably between the local democratic authorities and within the civil society. IPA's capacity in generating incentives for CBC has materialized through greater co-operation between municipalities (especially under measure 1.1) and through the continuation of existing co-operation between CSOs. Well integrated in the regional institutional landscape, IPA has also contributed to expanding networks of co-operation between CSOs.

However, two major shortcomings stand out from this preliminary analysis: the lack of co-operation between LDAs and CSOs (within the region and across the border) and the relatively limited impact of IPA on generating cross-border co-operation in culture and youth and thus on creating the conditions for sustainable rapprochement. The causes to these two phenomena are interconnected. Firstly, the regional economic situation privileges project proposals falling under measure 1.1 for sustainable economic development. This responds to the general needs and expectations of the population concerned with alleviating economic hardship. From an electoral perspective, infrastructural and projects generating economic development strengthen political support for local elections and constitute an additional incentive for LDAs to privilege economic CBC. Feeding off the lack of interest stemming from society for CBCC and limited local budgets, it might also be expected that co-operation in these domains will be ensured under the European financial windfall compensating for the lack of funds coming from the local budgets. Moreover, the limited of interest from LDAs to put forward projects pertaining to culture and youth might find its roots in the conservative colour of the regional and local politics. As indicated in the second interview with Nansen Dialogue on local educational projects in Slavonia including both ethnic Croats and Serbs, culture and youth are sensitive policy areas impregnated with strong sentiments of national sovereignty and nationalism.

Lastly, it appears from the nature of the selected project that IPA CBC has strongly favoured co-operation between LDAs in the allocation of funds. Conversely, the relative absence of projects presented by SMEs presumes the incapacity of IPA to mobilise local economic actors to use IPA in order to carry joint-ventures with partners across the border due to its fastidious procedures that are not in line with a fast-paced economic

¹⁴⁰ Interviews with Kultura Nova (Novi Sad, 06.09.13), the city department for culture of Novi Sad (Novi Sad, 06.09.13) and the regional department for culture of Vojvodina (Novi Sad, 1.10.13).

¹⁴¹ Interview with JTS Croatia 18.03.13).

environment such as trade. In addition, based on the responses collected from the online questionnaires, with regards to economic cross-border co-operation, SMEs have little interest in IPA either because they have already established their own channels of co-operation or because the grant scheme and procedures of application and implementation do not suit their projects of co-operation. On the opposite, the increasing number of projects proposals filed by CSOs and concerning CBCC indicates an upsurge of interest for CBC amongst CSOs, revealing an expanding and tightening network of interest around cross-border co-operation.

Chapter 7: The results scrutinised through the theoretical prism

The following conclusions have been established from the analysis of the interviews conducted for this research and constituting the primary source of information. For the purpose of clarity and to keep some coherence in the flow of the argumentation, no direct quote has been used in the text, but the key points and information retrieved from the interviews can be consulted in the appendix 1 in the analysis grid. All the respondents provided useful insights on the dynamics of cross-border co-operation between Slavonia and Vojvodina. However, most of the information below has been drawn from the interviews with the both branches of the Local Democracy Agency (in Osijek and Subotica), Nansen Dialogue (including follow-up interview), PRONI (including the follow-up interview), the RARE movie fan association, Kultura Nova, Cinema city, EDIT, CZOR, Enter, the Regional Development Agency of Slavonia (including the follow-up interview) and both JTS.

7.1. Vertical institutionalisation

As described in the first chapters of this study, the establishment of a system of multilevel governance relies on the empowerment of regions and subsequently on the decentralisation of state-power to lower administrative units (NUTS 2 & 3). This process of political regionalisation was coined down in this research as vertical institutionalisation. In the context of the EU's enlargement policy, IPA was expected to deepen the vertical institutionalisation of the enlargement process but also chiefly of cross-border co-operation by accelerating political decentralisation to the regions and edifying a formal institutional framework for CBC. Before examining the results in greater detail, it has been concluded that IPA has generated almost complete verticalisation of cross-border co-operation.

7.1.1. Political decentralisation

Political decentralisation was studied from three different angles. In its primary and most obvious meaning, decentralisation implies the creation of additional layers of authority and of greater decision-making power being devolved to the local level in order to address local issues better. Secondly, in the context of the EU enlargement, it is imbricated with a policy of debordering translated into a gradual erosion of the state's physical border leading to the creation of cross-border policy clusters between local authorities of similar significance on shared issues affecting both sides of the border. Thirdly, political decentralisation also suggests an expansion of the decision-making circles to non-state actors in specific areas requiring expertise and in order to reach a greater portion of society.

Nearing the end of IPA's first working period, it is already possible to note that this instrument has successfully empowered regional authorities and led to complete

ownership of cross-border co-operation at the regional level. From a top-down perspective, most of local ownership is visible at the level of the regions and between the agencies for regional development (RDA). Due to the differentiated management of the program, the involvement of regional authorities is more discernable in Croatia than in Serbia¹⁴².

The important role played by the Agency for Regional Development in Slavonia as the implementing agency for Croatia is particularly striking. The agency is part of the Operating Structure (OS) in charge of keeping an oversight on the management of the programme and presently negotiating the second working period with the European Commission. The agency ensures the connection between the Ministry of Regional Development, Forestry and Water Management based in Zagreb and the implementation of IPA on the ground. In addition, in its quality of implementing agency, it has been conferred important decision-making powers in the Joint-Monitoring Committee. Although the Operating Structures ensure the connections between the beneficiary countries and the European Commission, they have limited oversight of CBC on the ground and most of management tasks and monitoring are performed by two joint-bodies: the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) and the Joint Technical Secretariat (JTS). The JMC is in charge of the management of the programme and is composed of representatives of the regional authorities (counties in Slavonia and regional government of the autonomous province of Vojvodina) and of the regional development agencies. The JMC plays a decisive role in the selection of the projects. It forms a Joint-Steering Committee in charge of reviewing the projects proposals. Based on the reports of the Joint-Steering Committee, the JMC selects the projects. Moreover, the regional development agency can also be a direct beneficiary and be a partner in CBC projects¹⁴³. The transmission of information and coordination with the ministry and the regional actors is ensured by the Joint-Technical Secretariat (JTS). The JTS is constituted of civil servants delegated from the OS dealing with the daily management and monitoring of CBC. The extensive decision-making capacities delegated both to the regional development agency in Slavonia and to the joint-bodies attest of the devolution of power from the state level to the regional administrative units. In contrast, decentralisation of power has not yet reached this extent in Vojvodina, since the European integration office in Serbia is in charge of the management and monitoring of IPA and take on the role of Operating Structure and implementing agency.

Furthermore, based on the responses collected from the interviews¹⁴⁴, the regional development agency in Slavonia appears to be playing a major role in steering deeper involvement of the regional and municipal authorities in CBC. The RDA has contributed to anchoring IPA in the regional institutional landscape and to encouraging municipalities in presenting projects with limited involvement of the Ministry in Croatia or guidance from the EU in general. It fully endorsed the position of regional coordinator by

¹⁴² Due to differences in the stage of accession, IPA is managed by the European Delegation office in Vojvodina.

¹⁴³ During IPA I, the RDA has been either a partner or a direct beneficiary in 4 projects out of 21.

¹⁴⁴ Interviews with JTS Slavonia (18.03.14), Poljoprivedni Institut (Osijek, 04.06.12) and with civil servants from SNET.EU (Stari Jankovci, 13.09.13).

seconding the JTS in diffusing information and technical support: providing premises and facilities for holding information sessions, raising awareness amongst potential participants and target groups and dispensing advices and guidance in project writing and monitoring. IPA has thus furthered political regionalisation in Slavonia and Vojvodina concerning to the management of EU funds.

7.1.2. Debordering and cross-border policy clusters

The process of debordering and of creation of cross-border policy clusters is under progress. It has been identified in the precedent chapter that there is a visible trend towards genuine co-operation between regional and local authorities especially in terms of expanding the number of common infrastructures. However, there is a dichotomy between the tight co-operation observed across the border amongst the regional authorities and the respective development agencies (as part of the JMC), and the relations between municipalities and the lower levels of administration that tend to maintain stiffer relations and whose form of co-operation is still very much opportunistic.

The lack of solidarity and co-operation between municipalities from a same region attests of the difficulty to extend co-operation across the border at the municipal level. Intra-regional co-operation or the lack thereof is mostly rooted in the differences in political affiliations¹⁴⁵. The political climate also affects cross-border co-operation, as conservative and nationalist sentiment prevails in the local administrations in Slavonia and Vojvodina. Furthermore, the ethnic homogeneity of the inhabitants is determining for the level of co-operation between municipalities. As aforementioned, municipalities with large minority groups tend to engage more in cross-border co-operation finding common ground with localities across the border and forming a bond that they do not share with municipalities from the same region.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the consolidation of a single political region comprising Slavonia and Vojvodina is far from being underway, IPA has contributed to engaging municipalities in cross-border co-operation. According to both JTS and RDA in Slavonia, the increasing number of projects presented by municipalities and between municipalities is a major achievement of IPA. This sets the trend for deeper local ownership at the lowest administrative levels. In addition, the positive results accomplished under the project conducted by LDA Osijek & Subotica demonstrates the willingness of individual civil servants in meeting, networking and forming partnerships with municipalities on the other side of the border. The participating civil servants were on average young and chiefly delegated to the implementation of CBC, attesting of a burgeoning interest amongst younger generations of civil servants to pursue more CBC activities.

Lastly, although IPA has contributed to establishing a system of (cross-border) multilevel governance, cross-border governance has chiefly materialised into a pragmatic choice of cross-border policy clusters mostly involving the construction of common

¹⁴⁵ Interviews with civil servants participating to the project SNET.EU (Stari Jankovci, 13.09.13) and regional cultural department and center of Vojvodina (Novi Sad, 1.10.13).

infrastructures or falling under measure 1.1 (sustainable economic development). On the one hand, these projects dealing with economic hardship respond to the local needs and fit in the logic of multilevel governance. Moreover, these joint-ventures aiming at increasing the potential for joint-production, trade and export rely on deep legal harmonisation and a high level of coordination, confirming the construction of cross-border governance. However, on the other hand, IPA has not led to the creation of joint policy clusters in culture or youth. These areas remain dealt with exclusively within the regional institutions. As demonstrated in the interviews with the regional department of culture in Vojvodina, there exists no direct co-operation in these domains, largely due to insufficient budget capacities and to a lack of interest. In addition, a distortion in the selection of projects is not to be excluded. The regional development agencies enjoy significant decision-making power within the JMC and thus in the nomination of the Joint-Steering Committee and therefore enjoy a tremendous say in the selection procedure, explaining perhaps a stronger tendency towards projects falling under measure 1.1.

7.1.3. Formal institutional framework for CBC

In the theoretical framework introduced in the first part of this research, the creation of institutions depends on a normative structure constantly evolving alongside with the socialisation of its agents. Vertical institutionalisation engaged by IPA rests on the constitution of a structural edifice for cross-border co-operation composed of joint decision-making mechanisms. The construction of an institutional framework for CBC meant to reflect the level of political endorsement it received from local authorities and their capacity to integrate non-state-actors. On the whole, IPA was met with full political endorsement from the regional authorities, as demonstrated by their active contribution to incorporating IPA into the regional institutional landscape. In Croatia, the Ministry of Forestry and Development has delegated one of its departments to the management of IPA and empowered the Agency for Regional Development for supervising the monitoring on the ground.

In addition, the legislative adjustments enacted by both countries to ensure continuous and uniform implementation of the CBC projects confirm the full endorsement of IPA as a local institution. Legal harmonisation is an essential aspect of co-operation and is determining for the circulation of goods and services. Further adjustments resulting from IPA concern the work of the Joint-Technical Secretariat, a hybrid body necessitating common governance and legislation. As pointed out during the interview with the JTS from Croatia, ensuring smooth co-operation between ministry's structure and its Serbian partners is a difficult task that requires bending several rules of procedures and enacting new ones¹⁴⁶.

With regards to the third aspect of vertical institutionalisation, IPA has had limited impact in enlarging the local decision-making structures to non-state actors. On the one

¹⁴⁶ Interview with JTS Croatia (18.03.14).

hand, this institutional framework has increased the flexibility of contacts between local governments and CSOs by organising formal socialising events and by encouraging municipalities to support CBC projects as associated partners. In addition, participating CSOs are involved formally in the decision-making process at the level of the Joint Monitoring Committee and in the feedback process. On the other hand, the CSOs remain outside of the realm of decision-making in IPA as demonstrated by their relative marginal role in shaping IPA and guiding its management. The limited co-operation between the CSOs and local governments in project proposals translates the lack of reception from the local political structures to engaging non-state actors in the enlargement process.

Several underlying causes explain the low level of direct co-operation between CSOs and LDAs and hence, the limited political resonance of CSOs in the decision-making structures. Firstly, civil society organisations are mistrusted as serious partners. Secondly, differences in project interest and imbalance in capacities further hinder co-operation. Municipalities prefer investing in big projects that are visible to the electorate and thus impacting on their popularity. Henceforth, they perceive projects pertaining to social reconstruction as secondary matter. Due to limited financial capacities and divergent interests, CSOs are thus excluded as direct partners. Thirdly, although local authorities came to support increasingly CBC initiatives in culture and youth as associated partners, LDAs do not seem to be taking part actively in this kind of projects. This attitude could be motivated by the prospective of political benefits of supporting at least publicly and tacitly the projects without spending their own capacities in the projects' implementation.

7.2. Horizontal Institutionalisation

Horizontal institutionalisation refers to the process of socialisation, phenomenon that is cardinal to the establishment of an institution. It is best described as systematic socialisation between agents sharing common interests. These agents act as norm entrepreneurs by diffusing norms and interest by enlarging their networks of interest. The constant renewing and evolution of the institution relies on the socialisation of a wide range of actors each making its contribution to the institution. Horizontal institutionalisation consists of three phases: internalisation of CBC as a norm, creation of epistemic communities and expansion of the networks of interest.

The results obtained from the analysis of the interviews are mixed. CBC has become an institution in the formal sense but failed to acquire societal resonance. Horizontal institutionalisation occurred at each level of interaction: between local governments and CSOs. The socialisation process took place both top-down and bottom-up. The Agency for Regional Development was very active in mobilizing parts of the regional administration and local municipalities in getting involved in CBC and also contributed to spreading the information to a wide range of target groups, mostly entrepreneurs and state institutions. This socialisation process ensued thus top-down. Bottom-up socialisation developed already after the first open call for projects when participants to IPA were actively sought for forming new partnerships or taking part in

project proposals. Hence, horizontal institutionalisation was successful in expanding the networks of interest around CBC. However, it failed to constitute solid epistemic communities. IPA CBC has led to tighter relations between CSOs that could possibly form the basis for epistemic communities at a later stage of the co-operation. Yet, these collegial cores do not enjoy political resonance and include neither local governments nor large portions of society.

7.2.1. Internalisation of CBC as a norm

Norms constitute the vectors for socialisation. They stem both from the structure itself and from subsequent interactions between the agents of that structure. Internalisation results thus from external and internal stimuli. IPA as a structure for cross-border co-operation is external to the region and to the regional actors. It is the result of a learning process originating from the European Commission that has been transposed onto the local level. As a structure it sets the basic norms for CBC. CBC has been internalised as a set of new norms mostly with regards to the formal aspect of co-operation: project writing, systematic planning, monitoring capacities, quality of the proposals and of reporting of the results. EU norms in these domains have penetrated the conception of CBC at local level thanks to IPA. This learning process and normative adjustments did not arise solely from this particular IPA programme, but are the culmination from previous CBC programmes (post-conflict reconstruction programmes, CARDS).

However, IPA's potential in creating incentives for cross-border co-operation should not be overestimated. It has been shown rather that it integrated into an existing network of co-operation and built on an existing interest for CBC. IPA did not per se bring a new norm but by helping concretising projects of co-operation already underway, it publicised the idea of successful and profitable cross-border co-operation. As a structure, it shaped the interest and institutional identity towards CBC of a portion of participants at a later stage of institution-building namely after the second open call.

As an internal stimulus, socialisation between the agents enlarged the number of norm entrepreneurs horizontally, top-down and bottom-up. Horizontal socialisation is the most immediate form of socialisation and involves agents from a same sector of activity. Based on the interviews with the JTS and RDA in Slavonia, local government agencies have been very active in encouraging regional and municipal administrations in taking part in CBC. The Agency for Regional Development and the municipalities of Osijek, Vukovar, Subotica and Novi Sad are present either as direct beneficiaries or as partners in a majority of the projects¹⁴⁷. Trends of socialisation amongst CSOs can be observed through the increase of applications presented by CSOs for the second and third calls representing a third for the first call and constituting over half for the third one. Based on the interviews, all the CSOs have either already applied once, are in the process of

¹⁴⁷ They are present in 10 out of 21 projects for IPA I (preliminary results published in January 2014 on the website of the RDA).

applying or are considering applying to IPA. Projects are mostly formulated between CSOs maintaining close working and personal relations or having been personally recommended for partnership.

Top-down and bottom-up socialisation took place within the structural set-up of IPA. The RDA in Slavonia and JTS actively took part in divulging information amongst potential target groups and society at large. The bottom-up socialisation process started after the first call for projects, with potential participants addressing the JTS for a list of potential partners. As aforementioned, there has been limited diagonal socialisation with few rare exceptions of local governments presenting a common project with CSOs as direct beneficiaries. The project carried by LDA on stimulating networking between civil servants in the region belongs to the rare exceptions and relies mostly on personal involvement of these civil servants in deepening co-operation.

7.2.2. Creation of epistemic communities and expansion of networks of interest

Epistemic communities rely on three dimensions of interactions: socialisation based on a shared interest, constitution of collegial core of experts and creation of networks of interest. Although having stimulated socialisation at different levels, IPA CBC did not lead to the establishment of epistemic communities. Despite confirmed socialisation based on shared interest for CBC, the formation of tighter networks of co-operation mostly arose amongst civil society organisations in specific domains of interest. As a consequence, existing networks of interest on culture or youth acquired a cross-border perspective. However, the opposite does not hold true: shared interest in CBC did not become central to the definition and constitution of networks of interest. In addition, these networks of interest have mostly been secured within civil society and are poorly reflected in society at large and henceforth hold limited political prevalence. In the case of IPA CBC, it is impossible to talk about the creation of cross-border epistemic communities.

The expansion of the networks of interest is visible in two ways: the number of CSOs applying with CBC projects and whether CBC is a persisting phenomenon after the termination of the project. An increase in the number of CSOs applying to IPA has been noted in the preceding chapter representing half of the project proposals for the third round of open calls. This increase demonstrates the formation of new partnerships as a result of the internal socialisation process generated by IPA and also of the expansion of the networks of interest between CSOs maintaining existing relations and with third party CSOs based on personal recommendations.

Nevertheless, these networks of interest find limited societal resonance and reflect that interest for CBC remains mostly confined to within civil society. In the case of projects involving youth and culture, participants kept contact after the termination of the project¹⁴⁸. They contributed thus to enlarging and sustaining the network of interest for

¹⁴⁸ Interviews with Nansen Dialogue (Osijek, 04.06.12 and 24.05.13), PRONI (Vukovar 06.06.12 and 24.09.13), RARE (Vinkovci 29.10.13) and ENTER (Bac, 30.10.13).

CBC at large within society. Yet, the effects of this socialisation process remain marginal and can hardly represent a general trend observable at the societal level.

7.3. Supranational governance and local ownership of social reconstruction

IPA benefited from the support of the Operating Structures that devolved parts of their administration to the management of this programme. Institutional connections between Slavonia and Vojvodina have translated trends towards genuine co-operation and solutions to regional issues. As a result, local political endorsement constitutes the backbone for cementing the place of IPA amongst the local institutions.

Nevertheless, evident limits on local ownership emanate from the capacity of CBC to be financially self-sufficient. Pre-financing represents a tremendous advantage for CSOs and a good alternative to the smaller and fewer national and regional grants. In addition, the CSOs' dependence on IPA funding is not the only one to be feared. One has to be cautious with the fact that a large part of the funds is directed to measures 1.1 and 1.2 under which regional democratic authorities are the main beneficiaries. Disregarding the potential for fraud, it implies severe dependence of the local budgets on IPA and structural funds which undermine the sustainability of cross-border co-operation over time. Furthermore, leaving the CSOs to take care of social reconstruction is equally hindering the process in the long run and further illustrates the replacement of the public sector by external forces: europeanisation and NGOisation¹⁴⁹.

IPA has brought an additional element of identity to the region. Strikingly, territorial attachment was mentioned in most of the interviews as an argument motivating cross-border co-operation for projects from IPA and outside IPA. The importance of regional identity in cross-border co-operation was translated in the interviews as various forms of motives for pursuing CBC: a tradition of co-operation that needs to be formed again, a sentiment of shared mentality and a need for showing solidarity and as an advantage for CBC unlike with other IPA partners such as with Hungary. It is difficult to estimate to what extent IPA has instilled the idea of regional identity as a mean to foster co-operation or whether this sentiment is genuine. As an indication, most respondents felt a regional belonging and shared common cultural referents with the other side. However, as pointed out in few interviews¹⁵⁰, younger generations who grew up after the war do not share the same cultural points of reference and thus regional belonging does not constitute a major argument for co-operation, especially for projects involving youth. The relative absence of linguistic barrier and lack of cultural activities in the peripheral regions constitute a greater incentive for co-operation.

Moreover, regional attachment was not perceived in all cases as strong enough as to balance out major obstacles to CBC such as the concentration of cultural activities in bigger cultural hubs (Zagreb or Istria), similarity lacking in exoticism and thus generating

¹⁴⁹ Stubbs, "Aspects of Community Development in Contemporary Croatia", 9 & 11.

Gosh, "NGOs, Civil Society and Social Reconstruction in Contemporary India", 229.

¹⁵⁰ Interviews with RARE (Vinkovci, 29.10.13) and Kino, Foto, Video (Novi Sad, 20.09.13).

little interest for CBC¹⁵¹, and social resistance as a consequence of the war¹⁵². Lastly, as pointed out in the interview with PRONI the availability of funds has proven to be a major steering force for the orientation of the projects. In this regard, one could attribute the revival of regional attachment to IPA and its rhetoric on regional identity.

This chapter has shown the shortcomings of the theoretical framework when studied against field case examples. IPA has successfully contributed to vertical institutionalisation of European integration and is well underway to reaching the lowest level of administration. The Agency for Regional Development in Slavonia has played a central role in anchoring IPA into the institutional landscape and raising awareness about IPA amongst local authorities and population. IPA has been a catalyst force for horizontal socialisation amongst LDAs and CSOs. It has contributed to establishing greater co-operation between municipalities especially on projects dealing with economic development. Although few projects are selected under measure 1.3, IPA has expanded the networks of co-operation between CSOs as demonstrated by the visible increase of project proposals presented by CSOs. However, the limited direct co-operation between LDAs and CSOs also demonstrates that social reconstruction is not one of the main priorities on the local political agenda. The lack of political ownership of social rapprochement and its subsequent NGOisation may hinder the sustainability and depth of the process of reconciliation in the long run.

¹⁵¹ Interviews with the regional department for culture of Vojvodina and Kultura Nova ;

¹⁵² Mentioned in 10 interviews.

Chapter 8: Discussion of the Misfits and long-term perspective

8.1. Answering the research question

This research aimed at answering the following research question on cross-border co-operation in the cultural sector as a mean to foster regional stability between Croatia and Serbia in order to find out the extent to which IPA integrates to the local cross-border initiatives in order to understand the role of CBCC funded by IPA on social reconstruction between Croats and Serbs.

It has been demonstrated that IPA CBC integrated into the landscape of local cross-border initiatives. Firstly, IPA CBC has built on existing networks of co-operation between CSOs without however disrupting them and in several cases helping to their expansion. At first, IPA was established as an additional platform for cross-border co-operation. Over time IPA has become embedded in the local discourse creating a synergy with the local CSOs and becoming the main channel for cross-border activities. Most respondents confirmed their interest in applying for IPA funds and associated CBC with IPA. This is explained both by its advantageous funding scheme which subsequently led to the inclusion of a cross-border perspective to the project proposals. Pre-financing contributed to attracting CSOs to the IPA structure and to a large extent helped multiplying CBC projects and enlarging networks of co-operation amongst CSOs. In order to maximise the chances of being selected, CSOs presented several projects with different partners, contributing to expanding the network of cross-border co-operation.

Secondly, IPA has fostered co-operation between local democratic authorities and set the trend towards local ownership of CBC at the level of the regional authorities, forming an overarching structure for cross-border governance. In many ways, it has helped to establish connections locally and helped concretise projects of cross-border co-operation. IPA made a break-through in establishing political connections and co-operation across the border since Serbia was left out of the EU programmes until 2007 (it never opened its CARDS programme).

Thirdly, IPA has demonstrated its potential for socialisation. It has increased the size of existing networks of co-operation amongst CSOs weaving a web of connections between the core CSOs and linking new organisations to their network of interest. It has brought representatives from local governments together and established ground for renewing contacts between municipalities across the border. Top-down political endorsement of CBC has pressured local municipalities in taking part in IPA projects and thus in collaborating together. Although co-operation between CSOs and LDAs remains scarce, IPA has become a platform of contact between civil society and government representatives and contributed to anchoring civil initiatives into the local political landscape. In addition, socialisation was accompanied with a certain professionalization of civil society and to the transfer of EU norms in terms of project proposals and management.

In theory, full local ownership of cross-border co-operation should have resulted in the creation of cross-border policy clusters and of a transnational society. IPA has created incentives for cross-border co-operation, incrementally transforming CBC from an

opportunistic project into genuine collaboration. However, only part of cross-border activities was directed towards social reconstruction. Social reconstruction remains a priority only amongst the CSOs. As pointed out above, local governments see in IPA a financial tool for alleviating economic hardship and for building of infrastructures.

Although local authorities and regional development agencies have established close co-operation, this has not led to the creation of policy clusters and of common channels of decision-making. Moreover, IPA has not furthered local political co-operation in domains of culture and youth. Economic hardship and the necessity to provide better living standards is an objective ranking high on the local agenda and in the electoral promises. In addition, the share of these sectors in the budget is diminishing with each passing year and subsequently, there is little interest from the local authorities to pursue CBC projects on these soft priorities. Political prestige also impacts on the choice of project proposals in favour of infrastructural projects, which are more perceptible for the electorate. Traditionally, culture and youth are subject to tight national control. Henceforth, the nationalist colours of the political affiliations in the regional administration might constitute a hindrance to co-operation in these sectors.

Furthermore, IPA has tightened relations within civil society regionally and expanded the networks of co-operation. However, no transnational society has emerged yet that would connect wider portions of society. The economic situation is cited amongst the chief causes to the lack of interest from the side of the participants to take part in CBC initiatives. The lack of common cultural references more than nationalistic sentiment proved to be a major obstacle in generating interest amongst the younger generations to connect with the other side of the border. Next to these underlying reasons, the structure of the people-to-people scheme privileges width of contacts over depth. The funding system based on projects increases the number of points of contact and the number of participants but over a relative short period of time which does not guarantee the sustainability of the connection after the end of the project. Social reconstruction requires not only repeated interaction but also long-lasting trust which arises only from a longer timeframe. As a consequence, considering the limited availability of IPA funds for cultural and youth projects, CBC outside IPA is likely to remain important for the overall process of social reconstruction in the near future. In addition, the increasing competition for IPA funds and their limited availability might create a mismatch between the high concentration of CBC projects and the number of project concretised.

The lack of co-operation between LDAs and CSOs is representative of the progress of social reconstruction in Slavonia and Vojvodina. There is a tendency towards the NGOisation of the reconciliation process, which undermines the quality and sustainability of the relations between the populations. The CSOs can reach out to more varied target groups but cannot replace the public sector in mobilizing a wider spectrum of society. Admittedly, stimulating economic growth in the region is a priority and cross-border co-operation in culture and youth has a limited impact on the economic situation in the region. Nevertheless, it is an example of reconciliation at large because it rests on deeper bonds than just economic profits and thus requires greater attention from the public authorities.

8.2. Implications and long-term perspective

8.2.1. Implications for future cross-border relations

It has been demonstrated that cross-border co-operation has been met with different degrees of local ownership. CBC in culture and youth is a policy area absent overall from the local political agenda and is mostly dealt with at the level of the CSOs. Nevertheless, unlike the expected conclusion aforementioned in the research question, there are other inherent causes to the lack of endorsement of systematic cross-border co-operation than the rigidity of the EU's enlargement policy.

Firstly, although IPA was built on the precedence of CARDS, it is the first instrument to set cross-border rapprochement as a priority and the first programme involving Croatia and Serbia together. Launched in 2007, it is certainly too early to conclude on the effectiveness of the programme in creating policy clusters and a transnational society.

Secondly, underlying conditions hinder the full concretisation of CBC. Economic difficulties combined with subsequent nationalist discourse in regional and local politics constitute major obstacles for furthering contacts across the border and opening up the fragile economy to the exterior. The limited capacities of civil society in Serbia and the limited number of CSOs dealing with youth and culture in Slavonia are intrinsically linked with the lower number of projects in these domains.

Thirdly, the grant scheme in IPA for projects of social reconstruction under measure 1.3 gets more attention from the CSOs than from the local governments who apply for bigger grants. This leads essentially to an NGOisation of social reconstruction and thus to limited local ownership. These causes add onto the predictions for the evolution of rapprochement between Slavonia and Vojvodina and the EU's strategy.

Complete endorsement of CBC is however dependent on human decisions and involvement. Much emphasis has been put on economic recovery and development through co-operation either as part of IPA or CEFTA 2006. Economic stability and wealth constitute a primary layer of co-operation and the chief interest for interaction. Yet, trust and social rapprochement require deeper personal involvement. Co-operation between youth and cultural associations promote this kind of exchanges and help weaving a social fabric between the two regions. The results highlighted the discrepancies in the nature and degree of co-operation that need to be corrected in order to build sustainable rapprochement. Civil society has been active in setting the ground for such interactions. Nevertheless, the NGOisation of social reconstruction is only a first step and not an end to itself. In the near future, it is expected that CSOs will continue being the main actors of social reconstruction. It is also likely that IPA will become the main source of funding for CBC activities.

Involvement of the local governments in the social reconciliation process will be determining for its overall course. The CSOs are dependent on external donors and IPA is only meant to be of temporary help. Municipalities will be made to contribution once the instrument comes to an end or changes its priorities over time. Much depends on the improvement of the economic situation locally to gather enough funds for financing

second priority projects and generating interest for co-operation. The political climate locally also plays a tremendous role in defining local ownership. The recent elections in Serbia have shown a shift of power towards the progressive party, now likely to also win a majority of the seats in Vojvodina. European integration ranks high on the party's priority and will define the political agenda at the national and local level accordingly. With younger civil servants coming in the administration, there is a high potential for greater attention being devolved to sustainable rapprochement.

8.2.2. Evolution of the European Enlargement Policy

The structure of the second working period for IPA II 2014-20 is currently under discussion by the Operating Structures and the European Commission. Hence, it is still unclear what place social reconstruction and people-to-people projects will occupy under the IPA II. Nonetheless, it is already possible to emit a few assumptions on the evolution of the EU's enlargement policy based on the comments made during the interviews for this research and on the general trend of evolution of the EU's strategy in the region, as stated in the European Commission's proposal for IPA. The outline for IPA II (not only for CBC) puts the emphasis on a simplification of the procedures, a more result-oriented strategy as well as on a more effective financing scheme. It pursues the same objectives of stability, security, prosperity and harmonization with European standards¹⁵³.

In the new IPA, the components under IPA I will be turned into policy areas. Regional cross-border co-operation will thus become one of the dimensions of the EU's enlargement policy alongside with institution and capacity-building, socio-economic and regional development, employment and social policies, and agriculture and rural development. Country and multi-country strategy papers will lay down the objectives and financial plan for each policy for the whole working period, adjusting it where needed during the course of the programme. These documents are compiled at the state level and are meant to engage all the Western Balkans into a harmonized social and economic development and generate greater synergy in regional co-operation based on greater compatibility and coordination between policy areas. Multi-country strategy papers intend to increase national ownership of the European and regional integration process by setting priorities and hierarchical pressures on the regional structures. Local ownership at the regional level is the second objective of these multi-country strategy papers targeting tighter co-operation between regional administrative units on a cross-border level. As a result, the creation of cross-border policy clusters remains a priority for the next IPA. It is still unclear to what extent these policy clusters will accommodate social reconstruction or will focus solely on socio-economic priorities and infrastructures.

¹⁵³ European Commission. Proposal for a Regulation of European Parliament and European Council on the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II), 2011/0404 (COD), (2011); European Commission. Regulation No 231/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing and Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II), Published in the Official Journal of the European Union, 17.03.2014.

The second major change in IPA concerns its financing scheme. Local ownership is spelled out again as a priority. The new instrument will rely on a greater flexibility of financial windfalls in coordination with the European Bank of Investment (EBI) blending EU grants with EBI loans, or public private partnerships (PPP) and a greater financial contribution of state share in the co-financing as spelled out in the strategy papers. Taking into account that the development of civil society and of networks of co-operation between CSOs remains high on the agenda, it can be envisaged that IPA will rely on a differentiated financial scheme for each projects for the next working period. Hence, it would seem logical that infrastructural projects would be funded combining loans and grants and that projects put forward by CSOs would either benefit solely from the EU grants or from co-financing from the local authorities.

The European strategy for enlargement has managed to reinvent itself in order to include a dimension of social reconstruction in its traditional model of economic co-operation for political interdependence and stability. IPA I has built an institutional framework for cross-border co-operation and set social reconstruction amongst its priorities. Only a few projects pertaining to social rapprochement have been selected however, demonstrating a relatively low level of local political ownership on this question despite increasing interest (mostly amongst CSOs) for measure 1.3. IPA II could compensate for these shortcomings to a certain extent.

Although the priority is not on social reconstruction, the new design could maintain social reconstruction high on the local agenda. The new IPA's looser system of policy clusters relieves regional co-operation from major socio-economic priorities that will be now included under other policy areas, redefining the focus on projects alongside the border. On the one hand, local political ownership and stronger emphasis on local co-financing could reinforce CBC on existing projects of economic and infrastructural co-operation that are more visible to the electorate's scrutiny on the use of public funds. On the other hand, it could also mean that a larger portion of the EU grants will be made available for beneficiaries with lower financial capacities such as CSOs that have been carrying until now the process of social reconstruction on the ground. Financial differentiation could thus be an argument for deeper co-operation between the local government structure and CSOs and would subsequently enlarge the range of actors of social reconstruction. This could be beneficial for the process of rapprochement on the overall since as demonstrated above the lack of political ownership undermined the systematisation of cross-border contact and the sustainability of rapprochement.

Nevertheless, although greater political endorsement would add to the construction of stable relations on the local level, the question of the quantity of projects over the longevity of co-operation remains unsolved. As a consequence, the new IPA could provide adjustments favourable to the creation of cross-border policy clusters and of a transnational society. Yet, much will depend on its capacity for generating local ownership on the ground.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the implementation of the EU's enlargement policy in the Western Balkans by addressing the topical issue of cross-border co-operation in the sectors of culture and youth as a mean to foster stability between Slavonia and Vojvodina. The relations between Croatia and Serbia are determining for the European course of the whole region. At the state level both countries enjoy stable and peaceful relations. However, the guarantee for durable peace lies in the relations between people in the local communities along the border, where the legacy of war has left many open wounds. Social reconstruction is a key stone in the process of reconciliation in a region where ethnic groups are further antagonized due to economic hardship and their peripheral location. Cross-border co-operation in the domains of culture and youth is representative of the nature of the relations between the populations on the ground, because it attests of a higher level of trust and interest in co-operating. In many ways, cross-border co-operation pertaining to social reconstruction fosters a more sustainable kind of rapprochement than mere economic co-operation, involving trust between a limited number of actors, relying on opportunistic collaboration and short-term benefits.

The research question for this analysis examined the extent to which CBC under IPA has integrated to the local networks of co-operation in culture and youth and the extent to which it stimulated the social reconstruction process. It meant to determine the level of local ownership of the cross-border co-operation culture and youth in order to assess the EU's capacity to adjust its enlargement policy to the situation in the Western Balkans by incorporating a component on social reconstruction to its traditional framework of economic co-operation for generating political stability. Systematisation of socialisation and full local ownership shape the solidity of the social fabric and sustainable rapprochement between local communities.

This thesis contributes to the debate on the European Enlargement in the Western Balkans in several ways. Its first objective was to fill the existing literature gap in the European Integration theories with regards to the process of deepening European integration in the pre-accession phase. For that purpose, it conceptualised the impact of IPA CBC on the process of social reconstruction in a theoretical model based on multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism. Its second objective was to test the validity of this model against ground-level experience and to isolate the misfits of the theoretical framework based on the data compiled from the field research. The third objective of this study aimed at painting a comprehensive picture of the nature of cross-border co-operation on the ground in Slavonia and Vojvodina. Although focusing primarily on culture and youth, it offered a glimpse of CBC in its entirety by giving an overview of the collaboration in the economic or environment sectors. It also thrived to establish the power relations between the different local actors: regional and local authorities and the civil society, giving thus a complete and comprehensive portrait of the dynamics of CBC in the region. Thirdly, this study provides a preliminary assessment of the performances of IPA at the end of its first working period. The conclusions of this analysis could be used in further research analysing the evolution of the cross-border relations between Croats and Serbs after the end of the second working period of IPA or

after its termination. Lastly, its fourth objective was to open the debate on the means at hand to accelerate the process of social reconstruction. It puts under scrutiny the EU's strategy in fostering the creation of policy clusters and of a transnational society based on CBC that would ensure stability and interdependence in political, economic and social relations. This paper has reviewed the results achieved under IPA against its set objectives and the extent to which the EU can offer alternatives to bridge the two sides of the border.

The first part of this research was devoted to providing a comprehensive explanation of the thought process behind IPA and the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans. It resulted in the construction of a theoretical model based on conceptual framework coupling multilevel governance with sociological institutionalism. The model was composed of three dimensions explaining the institutionalisation process of cross-border co-operation through regionalisation, socialisation and European supranational governance as means to encourage social reconstruction. It exposed the logic behind the EU's involvement in the region relying on CBC to foster social reconstruction and ensure regional stability.

The institutionalisation process of cross-border co-operation undertaken by IPA intends to anchor social reconstruction in the local institutional landscape by establishing a platform for cross-border contact between state actors and non-state actors. IPA strives to encourage local ownership of CBC amongst the local authorities and civil society by providing financial incentives and by reattaching CBC to the overall course of the enlargement. The study of CBC in the sectors of culture and youth is thus representative of the significance accorded to social reconstruction by the different actors involved in IPA. It also highlights the points where the EU's enlargement strategy needs readjustments.

Regionalisation translates the process of vertical institutionalisation of CBC through political decentralisation and debordering. In the context of the Western Balkans, the policy of regionalisation stemmed from security concerns. Regionalisation for the purpose of establishing cross-border co-operation narrowed down the focus on the border regions where the potential for instability is the highest and is fuelled by economic laggardness. Political decentralisation and IPA CBC aimed thus at advancing the enlargement process whilst building stable and friendly relations between neighbouring regions. The enlargement process and the management of IPA take place at the regional level and contribute to empowering lower administrative layers. The joint-management of the programme between both countries leading to the creation of a common institutional platform incrementally erodes the traditional state borders to form a cross-border region. This process is called debordering.

Socialisation between the beneficiaries and potential participants contribute to the horizontal institutionalisation of CBC. This process of repeated interactions defines the nature and content of CBC and leads to its institutionalisation. Subsequently, actors of CBC become norm entrepreneurs spreading interest for CBC within their own networks of contact. Horizontal institutionalisation is part of a process of deepening of European integration by anchoring European norms and values in the relations of a wide spectrum of participants on the ground.

The tumultuous recent history of the Western Balkans and the remnants of political instability shaped the EU's involvement along a double agenda: security and stability. IPA results thus from the combination of these two strategies. In continuation to the preceding enlargement waves, IPA emphasizes cross-border co-operation to encourage economic co-operation and political stability. IPA also incorporates elements from the Stabilisation and Association Process aiming at building peace and security in the region since 2000. As a consequence, IPA CBC translates the EU's new enlargement strategy designed to address the regional specificities of the Western Balkans and spelled out in conditionality as good neighbourliness. IPA CBC strove to integrate a component on social reconstruction to the traditional model of enlargement resting on the construction of political stability through deeper economic interdependence.

This research concludes that IPA has led successfully to the vertical institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation. It contributed effectively to political decentralisation in favour of the regions in Croatia. The Agency for Regional Development played a prominent role in the decision-making and implementation of IPA on the ground by providing both facility support to the JTS and publicising the programme amongst the municipalities. Debordering is under progress, yet the erosion of state borders has not led to the creation of policy clusters. Co-operation between municipalities and regional governments is increasing. Collaboration involves mostly joint-projects of infrastructures and economic development. Inasmuch that co-operation increases in these sectors, there is little interest in engaging on common projects pertaining to softer policy areas such as culture and youth, and even less so to coordinate policy on a cross-border basis. This conclusion confirms the capacity of the EU to transpose its model of multilevel governance, as demonstrated in previous enlargements. However, it also points out inherent shortcomings with regards to fostering full political local ownership of cross-border co-operation visible from the lack of interest and resistance to extend CBC to other areas outside of measure 1.1. Local ownership of CBC in other areas than economic and infrastructural development is necessary for smooth relations across the border after the termination of IPA and demonstrates readiness and willingness to establish their own channels of co-operation functional in the long-run.

IPA has also promoted the horizontal institutionalisation of CBC by building a platform for socialisation between the different stakeholders and by instilling incentives for enlarging the networks of co-operation to new participants from the municipalities and CSOs. Hence, socialisation has anchored CBC in the regional institutional landscape. Local democratic authorities and civil society organisations contributed the most to publicising the idea and interest for cross-border co-operation. Yet, although IPA has encouraged interactions across the border within these two sets of actors, it managed only scarcely to weave co-operation between CSOs and LDAs.

Lateral socialisation with limited interaction and direct co-operation between the two groups points out to several conclusions. Firstly, there is a lack of interest especially emanating from the local authorities to draft common projects with CSOs due to divergent interests and capacities of implementation. Secondly, the limited resonance of CSOs in the decision-making process points out to either incapacity from the CSOs to project their expertise in local political structure or to the unwillingness from the LDAs to

incorporate CSOs in the decision-making process. Thirdly, it demonstrates that social reconstruction and the construction of a transnational society are not the main priorities on the local political agenda. Socialisation between CSOs and LDAs is representative of the local ownership of CBC at the societal level. Complete endorsement of the process of social reconstruction by the local authorities is primordial for its full integration in the social discourse. CSOs work is essential for the implementation of CBC and social reconstruction on the ground, but their activities can only acquire their full effectiveness if LDAs support and propagate actively social reconstruction amongst the population. Subsequently, coordination and co-operation between CSOs and LDAs determine the course of social reconstruction.

The mixed results raise questions about the effectiveness of the European model for enlargement in the Western Balkans integrating a component on social reconstruction to its classical strategy of political stability through economic interdependence. There is an evident mismatch between the objectives laid out in IPA in terms of social reconstruction and the results observed on the ground. In theory, full blown social reconstruction and politico-economic interdependence should be translated into the construction of common policy cluster across the border and a transnational society. Although IPA has favoured the renewal of relations between LDAs and enabled closer co-operation between CSOs, social reconstruction is not being given full priority. This questions thus the EU's capacity to build long-lasting and sustainable peace and the means at hand to ensure deeper co-operation.

The viability of the European enlargement model is not only determining for the reconciliation process in the Western Balkans and their accession to the EU, but also for the whole European Union as well. Pre-accession reforms are meant to prepare the candidate state to integrate the union economically, politically and in the present case peacefully. Relations between the populations and the local authorities along the border are determining elements of political stability in the inter-state relations and of security. In spite of the positive results obtained after the first working period of IPA, it has also become obvious that social reconstruction is not a priority, the means provided by IPA do not push towards greater prioritisation of social rapprochement and hence, there still exists a zone of potential instability on the actual borders of the EU.

This thesis concludes thus that the interest devoted to cross-border co-operation in the sectors of culture and youth is representative of the state of social reconstruction in Slavonia and Vojvodina. Progress has been made towards social rapprochement, yet several conditions hamper its development. Firstly, war and the economic crisis have had severe consequences on the economy of the region. Economic hardship coupled with a conservative electorate favour isolationism. Secondly, IPA sets out many objectives and priorities that are in dissonance with the number of projects selected and concretised. Subsequently, although measure 1.3 aims at strengthening relations between the local communities, very few projects have been selected under those criteria and receive funding. Thirdly, the lack of co-operation between LDAs and CSOs leads to an NGOisation of the process of social reconstruction and attests of a lack of local ownership from the local authorities.

As a result, the limited number and lack of diversification in channels of co-operation delay the overall process of social reconstruction and undermine stability locally and regionally. Social reconstruction is intrinsically connected with the pace of the accession negotiations and both processes require thus complete local ownership at all decision-making levels, to rank as a priority for the engagement of civil society and to be fully integrated in the societal discourse.

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The Stability Pact. <http://www.stabilitypact.org/>

Summary

The relations between Croatia and Serbia are determining for regional peace, stability and for the course of the EU enlargement in the Western Balkans. The Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) emphasizes the role of cross-border co-operation as a method for ensuring regional stability and good-neighbourly relations between the Western Balkan countries by fostering social reconstruction in the border areas. Co-operation in culture and youth is an important element of social reconstruction, as it favours contacts and the erosion of antagonistic prejudices against the other ethnic group.

This Master thesis investigates the extent to which IPA has integrated to the local cross-border initiatives in culture and youth and encouraged social reconstruction between Croats and Serbs in Slavonia (Croatia) and Vojvodina (Serbia). The objective of this work is defined as two-fold, firstly to test a model of cross-border co-operation devised from EU integration theories in order to fill the existing gap in the literature on European integration and, secondly to provide an accurate picture of the cross-border initiatives in Slavonia and Vojvodina based on field research and ground-level experience. The originality of this research lies in the comprehensive use of a large quantity of primary sources. Extensive empirical field research has been conducted with a total of 33 semi-structured interviews with civil society organisations, civil servants and the implementing bodies of IPA. Subsequently, this research provides a clearer understanding of the nature of cross-border co-operation in culture and youth, the relations between civil society and local democratic authorities and of the integration of IPA in the regional institutional landscape.

The first part of the research introduces a theoretical model coupling the theories of multilevel governance and sociological institutionalism that expounds the interaction between the European compound polity and its institutional actors. The model defines the place of cross-border co-operation in the process of European integration relying on the concepts of vertical and horizontal institutionalisation. It explains the institutionalisation process of cross-border co-operation as the result of horizontal socialisation in a multilevel political polity. It designates the process of vertical institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation as a policy of regionalisation and political decentralisation and horizontal institutionalisation as the socialisation process generated by cross-border co-operation. Notions of reconciliation and social reconstruction from post-conflict theories are incorporated to the model's rationale in order to refine the stakes of the European enlargement in bolstering social reconstruction in the Western Balkans. It demonstrates that the EU's enlargement policy for the Western Balkans departs from its previous strategy for Central and Eastern Europe (enlargement 2004) and follows a double agenda of security and stability, resulting in a gradual shift of the enlargement policy's focus from economic cohesion toward social reconstruction

The second part of the work is devoted to the analysis of the data collected during the field research and to the identification of misfits with the theoretical framework. The study focuses on six projects of cross-border co-operation in particular: three IPA projects and three projects originating from local initiatives. The content analysis of the interviews

results in the identification of generalizable trends in the cross-border partnerships. It examines the following dimensions: the origins and duration of the relations between the partners, previous experience in cross-border co-operation, the motivations for the project, the relations with the local authorities, the obstacles encountered, the source of funding, an assessment of the performances of the project and the perceived impact on the rapprochement between Croats and Serbs.

The last chapters discuss the answers to the research question in the light of the misfits with the theoretical framework identified in the content analysis. It determines to what extent the European model enlargement has been implemented in the Western Balkans and met with successful social reconstruction. It verifies whether IPA's component cross-border co-operation has led to vertical and horizontal institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation and dives in the question whether European supranational governance has enhanced local ownership of the process of social reconstruction between Slavonia and Vojvodina. Lastly, it puts under scrutiny the potential for the EU's enlargement policy to reinvent itself and to incorporate social reconstruction to its model of economic co-operation.

This research concludes that IPA has led successfully to the vertical institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation by contributing effectively to political decentralisation in favour of the regions in Croatia. It confirms thus the capacity of the EU to transpose its model of multilevel governance. However, it also points out inherent shortcomings with regards to fostering full political local ownership of cross-border co-operation, which emanates from the lack of interest and resistance to extend CBC to other areas outside of projects pertaining to economic development. Furthermore, IPA has also promoted the horizontal institutionalisation of cross-border co-operation by building a platform for socialisation between the different stakeholders and by instilling incentives for enlarging the networks of co-operation to new participants from the municipalities and the civil society. As a consequence, the work carried by the civil society organisations remains essential for pursuing cross-border co-operation and furthering the process of social reconstruction on the ground. Yet, their activities can only acquire their full effectiveness if the local authorities unequivocally support and propagate actively social reconstruction amongst the population. Co-ordination and co-operation between the civil society organisations and local authorities determine the pace of social reconstruction in the Slavonia and Vojvodina and in the Western Balkans at large.

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Appendix 1: Analysis grid of the results of the field research

Interviewed	Project description	Participants	IPA-non IPA	CBC partner	Duration of partnership	Previous CBC projects
CROATIA						
Poljoprivredni Institut Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Kristina Zdunić.	<u>Apple net 2.0</u> : increase competitiveness of agricultural sector by improved fruit production technology and product quality resulting from established and/or strengthened cross-border linkages between businesses, research and development and academic communities. Falls under measure 1.1: Economic development.	Local farmers specialised in apple production.	IPA	Croatia: Regional Development Agency Slavonia and Baranja, Association Cluster Slavonian Apple // Serbia: Novi Sad institut for agriculture.	1st call proposals: 2007-2008, 24 months	<u>Apple 1.0</u> as part of CARDS: increase capacities of agricultural producers and institutions & foster contacts.
Regional Development Agency Slavonja (04.06.12), Ivana Gurić	<u>Implementing Agency for IPA</u> : Monitoring IPA funds. Involved in drafting and advising on projects. Important role in guiding and coordinating applicants, provide informal advises to applicants. Bring people together for project, help them finding partners.		IPA	Partner in 4 projects		CBC was underway for a long time, already since CARDS but agency was not eligible as a partner and CARDS in Serbia never fully open. In 2006 started setting ground for CBC in prevision of IPA, prepare network of contacts between SMEs

<p>Regional Development Agency Slavonia 2013 (24.09.13), Osijek, Ivana Guric.</p>	<p><u>Implementing agency for IPA:</u> Monitoring and administration IPA funds. Big role in guiding and coordinating applicants, provide informal advises to applicants.</p>					<p>Yes, mostly with Hungary.</p>
<p>Local Democracy Agency Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Miljenko Turniski</p>	<p>Support for networking and twinning at European level – <u>SNET.EU (measure 1.3)</u>: To contribute to networking and co-operation between LDA from Croatia and Serbia. Capacity building activities (3 conferences, 1 training, 2 seminars) Resource centre’s activities (promotional workshops on twinning, partner search, consultations) Thematic networking activities (12 local thematic events in municipalities and cities in border regions of Croatia and Serbia)</p>	<p>Young civil servants from municipalities along the border</p>	<p>IPA</p>	<p>LDA in Subotica, also: Croatian Institute for Local Self-Government (HILS), Evangelic Theological Seminary, Association of Local Democracy Agencies, Open University of Subotica,</p>	<p>September 2012-2014.</p>	<p>project: transborder co-operation Danube Drava Sava Euroregion (funded by Switzerland)</p>

<p>Zeleni Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Dinko Pesic</p>	<p>1) <u>Living Danube</u>: ecotourism, bike road (with Sremska Mitrovica)(12.12 -12-14), measure 1.2. 2) partner of Zelena akcija (Zagreb): <u>Towards recycling Societies</u> (Measure 1.2) 2nd call: in Osijek and Subotica. 3) also campaign with Serbian partners of Danube protection with WWF</p>	<p>Green activists</p>	<p>IPA and other programmes (WWF, other IPAs)</p>	<p>1) Green network in Vojvodina for project in 2005 (Bike road), 2) local self government and tourist board in Sombor (project on ecotourism and reconciliation), 3) CEKOR: towards recycling.</p>	<p>Since 2006 for project on ecotourism as a continuation of project under CARDS to stimulate tourism in the region. Have known the Green network of Vojvodina from before the project, both involved in nature protection of the border areas.</p>	<p>Yes, 1)2005: reconciliation and development project between Osijek and Sombor (USAID: bicycle route 3 events for each branch: eco, cultural and sport co-operation. Route opened in 2006. 2) CARDS 2004: Development of CBC tourism in Central Danube Region, Tourists association Osijek & City of Sombor: follow-up from first project: compile lists of touristic sights and activities: ecotourism.</p>
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<p>Nansen Dialogue (05.06.12), Osijek, Suzanna Agotić.</p>	<p>1) <u>Hands across the border</u> (measure 1.3) 1st call: exchange between youth (15 from each side) documentary film and foto exhibition about their family history, cultural heritage. strengthening inter-ethnic dialogue and cross-border co-operation between the youth in post-conflict and multi-ethnic communities of Eastern Croatia and Western Vojvodina as a basis for social revitalization & democratization process on the path towards the European Union 2) <u>Intercultural curriculum</u>: 8 schools involved in that project but only in Croatia</p>	<p>30 young people between 15-25y.</p>	<p>Non-IPA: mixed school in Vukovar with Serbs and Croats; IPA: hands across the border</p>	<p>Center for Youth (NS, Bač, Bačka Palanka) Centar za omladinski rad, (CZOR), municipalities Tompojevci and Bač.</p>	<p>12 months, 2011.</p>	<p>Not really with Serbia because of isolation after the war but have participated every year in courses on peace building: Bulgaria, Prishtina where young people from the whole region would attend. 1) Co-operation with CZOR 1999-00, 2) untold stories (BiH) 2009.</p>
<p>Follow up Nansen Dialogue (24.09.13), Osijek, Suzana Agotić.</p>	<p><u>The new school project</u>: Integrated school including Croat and Serbian children in the same school premises.</p>	<p>Primary school pupils.</p>	<p>non-IPA (non CBC): integrated school</p>			
<p>Centar Za mir Vukovar (06.06.12), Vukovar, Branislav Tekić.</p>	<p>Are not currently involved in CBC projects. Mostly provide legal aid and assistance for all marginalised groups in Vukovar (including ethnic Serbs)</p>		<p>.</p>			

<p>Proni Vukovar (06.06.12) Goran Jelenić/ involved in capacity building of young people. Goran also founded Youth Peace Group Danube (PRONI: swedish org for peace started with northern Ireland) then worked in co-operation with Netherlands.</p>	<p><u>Prijeko-Preko</u>: Creation of youth organisation in Bač, networking between youth, empowerment of local youth in Slavonia and Vojvodina. Help youth being more connected with local community and local political institutions. Now ongoing project (youth in action programme) as partner: Youth link3 (2012-3): summer camp between youth from C and S: exchange of knowledge on management of youth organisations.</p>	<p>Local youth in Vukovar and Bač. Summer camps: about 20 people (Youth Link 3)</p>	<p>NON-IPA:, youth organisation initiative, second project part of Youth in Action programme</p>	<p>ENTER (Proni youth club and local club merged together) in Bač and youth organisation in Pirovac (Croatia), under supervision PRONI</p>	<p>Since 2009</p>	<p>1)Pilot project: youth from Bač have been visiting other youth organisations in Slavonia: exchange information (vice versa), get know-how on to get support from local authority. 2) Work on their capacity building, promotion in local community and wider, and CBC with PRONI's youth club: officially opened youth club. 3) ongoing: Youth link 3</p>
<p>Proni Osijek (24.09.13)</p>	<p><u>Prijeko-Preko</u>: PRONI plays the role of a mentor: as a platform for contacts between youth clubs. Exchange knowledge on capacity building and networking between youth across the border. Training course in Pirovac with the youth clubs in Slavonia and Vojvodina.</p>	<p>Youth clubs around Vukovar and Osijek (5-6) and the one in Bač (and surroundings)</p>	<p>non-IPA; but planning on applying.</p>	<p>Bač ENTER Youth organisation. On general basis: co-operation with cultural center in NS, Center for pedagogy (support to teachers) in Belgrade. Also CZOR, Young explorers (Belgrade)</p>	<p>6years since started (4years of active project)</p>	

<p>Volunteer Center / volonterski centar Osijek (24.09.13), Osijek, Mirta Kovacević.</p>	<p>Volunteers without borders (measure 1.3), 2nd open call: Build capacities for voluntary community work: 1) mechanisms for long-term co-operation, 2) Stronger infrastructures for voluntary work, 3) transfer of Croatian model to Serbia: education and management course, 4) pilot activity: exchange of volunteers from Novi Sad, 2 weeks).</p>	<p>Volunteers from Slavonia and Vojvodina</p>	<p>IPA (2012)</p>	<p>City of Osijek, Agency for Regional Development of Vojvodina // Serbia: Humanitarian center in Serbia (NS) and Fond of development of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina</p>	<p>since 2012, officially: 03.14- 10.14.</p>	<p>no</p>
<p>Center for Entrepreneurship Osijek (24.09.13), Osijek, Vedran Ostojić, interview conducted in Croatian</p>	<p>1) <u>Tradicija za buducnost Tradition for the future</u> (measure 1.1), 1st open call: Stimulate ecological production and local handicrafts (ethnotourism); set up a market with traditional products with stands with C & S producers 2) <u>Mapping local SMEs</u>. Create network between SME: stimulate joint-production. 3) <u>Pannonia Organica</u> (2nd open call): increase production and competitiveness of organic food.</p>	<p>Small and Medium Entreprises</p>	<p>IPA</p>	<p>1) Eco rural net/ ERNET (Croatia) Municipality of Apatin. 2) Pannonia Organica: Green Network of Vojvodina (participates in project with Zeleni Osijek).</p>	<p>3 years.</p>	<p>no</p>
<p>Business Incubator BIOS (24.09.13), Osijek, Ivo Koski.</p>	<p><u>CBC.Net</u> (measure 1.1) 1st open call: creation of educational curriculum at technical universities on export possibilities (opportunities and obstacles for export to EU), seminars & workshop, advertise online and webtrade. Organised fairs. published guidebook.</p>	<p>Local small and medium enterprises, 270 SMEs</p>	<p>IPA</p>	<p>Office for local development in Novi Sad; Open University in Subotica. Municipalities in Vojvodina (5-6) city of Osijek and Subotica. Cooperate informally especially</p>	<p>12 months 2011-12. started in 2011</p>	<p>no</p>

				about Croatia experience with conditionality.		
PGDI in Beli Manastir, (06.11.13), interview in Croatian via skype.	<u>Slama koja spaja a ne razdvaja</u> : Empowering women through traditional handcraft (straw braiding), stimulate ethnotourism.	15 women from the region.	non-IPA	Association Matija Gubec from Tavankut (near Subotica), Ekumeniska inicijativa from Subotica, Li Women from Bosnia and Herzegovina.	since 2013, but have known each other from before, participated at conferences on civil engagement.	1)with BiH (study trips together), 2) organised a pilot project with Ekumeniska inicijativa on woman's rights: training with 15 women from Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia&Herzegovina.
Zelena Akcija Zagreb (21.05.13), Zagreb, Eugen Vuković.	<u>Towards recycling Societies</u> (measure 1.2) 1st open call. Improve waste management facilities between municipalities on the border region, sustainable development and nature protection.		IPA: recycling	CEKOR (Subotica), before Mladi istraživaci, network Friends of the Earth, Zeleni Osijek .		no

<p>SLAP Osijek 2013 (25.09.13), phone interview Sonja Vuković; Promotion of organic food, help small farmers (marketing, advantages of organic food) through microloans (10 000€).</p>	<p><u>Organica.net</u> (measure 1.1) 1st open call: Establish links between C&S producers and small businesses, develop organic food production.</p>	<p>Local small and medium enterprises.</p>	<p>IPA</p>	<p>Open University in Subotica. Terras (Sr), Naša radost - centar za predškolski odgoj, Subotica, Centar za predškolski odgoj, Osijek</p>	<p>7 years</p>	<p>1) Biofest, and fairs (over the last 7 years). 2) Almamon (NS) funded by Vojvodina.</p>
<p>Association of Movie Fans RARE, Vinkovci Toni Sarić, (24.11.13) phone interview. Organize DORF festival.</p>	<p><u>Crossovers</u> (measure 1.3) 1st open call: 2011-12: festival in Palić (Subotica): exchange between C&S, workshops: 5 C&S movie makers, publication of a brochure on film production and production companies in SV and Voj. 2) part of EXIT festival: more activities: workshops and more people, 3) <u>Film it Loud</u> (measure 1.3) 2nd open call: CinemaCity (Novi Sad), 4) series of workshops i C&S for 2014, European cultural funds.</p>	<p>Young movie-makers, people interested in music documentaries, people with experience with film-making (from Slavonia and Vojvodina, outside of the realms of the Capital).</p>	<p>1) IPA: 2011-12: Crossovers 2) IPA: March 2013 (12months): Cinema City Film it LOUD</p>	<p>Open university in Subotica (very active and experienced), Cinema City in Novi Sad = personal contacts, friends from before.</p>	<p>They have known each other for a long time, met in festivals.</p>	<p>2006: festival (non IPA): toured around 58 cities in 5 countries.</p>

SERBIA						
Zavod za kulturu Novi Sad Department of Culture (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Dragan Ilić.	Co-operation with Croatia: Days of Vojvodina in Istria (long-term); Binannual bookfair in Pula; Job-swap project: public libraries in NS and Osijek together in Denmark; other forms of CBC: concerts, exchanges of artists (but on individual basis). No established regular CBC projects.		non-IPA			
CK 13 Novi Sad (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Anica Stojanović: Youth club: concerts and performing arts.	<u>Voyage through forgotten places</u> : Movie: migration (common project with young film makers from all over Ex-Yugo) presented at migranski festival Slovenia.// <u>Slavonica</u> : Band // <u>Literary programme</u> : writers from Croatia come to NS. Other projects not by CK : <u>Vukovar film festival</u> (take part), little global cities)/ <u>Interaktivne otvorene skole</u> : Osijek, Tuzla, NS. BUT not established CBC with Slavonia in particular.	Young people, artists. In project of voyage through forgotten places: 12 young movie-makers.	non-IPA			They are in regular contact with Croatian associations, but have performed only one project together with association Restart (Zagreb): Voyage through forgotten places.

<p>KulturaNova Novi Sad, (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Milan Vracar : Theater, dance, visual arts performances and Youth.</p>	<p>non CBC per se, but involves also Croatian participants. <u>Patriotic Hypermarket</u>: picture stories exhibitions, playwright and performances: mostly with partner from Kosovo, followed by Albanian-Serbian play writing// <u>Manda Cirko</u>: annual project with C, SV, Italy. // <u>Gradionica</u>: foreign artists workshops for a week around unused buildings in NS international artists& <u>100 thousands poet for change</u>: Projects under progress: 1) Design workshop do it yourself (UKRO), 2) Intro Youth: movie making about youth unemployment, // <u>Balkan can contemporary project</u> (funded through IPA: specific call on strengthening CSO)</p>	<p>Young people, artists.</p>	<p>non-IPA// BCC part of IPA.</p>	<p>PRONI (main but mostly focused on youth), UKRO (Osijek: fine arts) Udruga Kreativnost Osijek (fine arts) does not exist anymore; Domino (Zagreb), Mama, Drugomore, Pogon, CBU. Regular contacts with Croatian organisation/artists.</p>		<p>Long tradition of co-operation with croatian associations. Conference in 2009: Pannonian Reunion: youth organisation in Subotica: project writing and cultural policy. UKRO: several exhibitions in Novi Sas, worked with Kultura Nova: mostly workshops (do it yourself), documentary about youth unemployment: employ youth, Pannonian reunion. Pannonian reunion: but didn'tcontinue after the conference.</p>
<p>Volunteer center Vojvodina/ Volonterski Centar Vojvodine (Service civil International) (06.09.13), Novi</p>	<p>European exchanges b/n Volunteer centers and clubs (EVS) & local volunteer service: workshops languages & jewelry. With SCI: volunteer camps.</p>	<p>Young people and older volunteers.</p>	<p>non IPA</p>	<p>Local volunteer organisations and also mostly Service Civil International (Zagreb); not volunteer center in Osijek (open for co-operation: under</p>		<p>CBC between C, BiH and S: young volunteers.</p>

Sad, Sonja.				project but not concretised so far)		
<p>Cinema City Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Ivana Todorović, Interview in Serbian: big cinema festival in Novi Sad: cinematographic, academic, musical program and workshops. International film festival since 2010</p>	<p>Film festival: <u>Film it Loud</u>: with DORF (Vinkovci). New possibilities for young people from the region, create co-productions and new friendships through film-making.</p>	<p>Youth, students, filmmakers and artists. 20 youth from each side and 20 students from the whole region (MN, BiH), 10 film authors (5 from each side), 4 music bands (performed on both festivals), 50 professionals from the region and EU.</p>	IPA	<p>DORF, have been recommended as partner after the project Crossovers with the European film festival in Palić.</p>		<p>The recent projects were the Cinema Contact, the Fresh Danube Films, the Cinema Contact, the Danube Festivals Network. No previous projects together.</p>

<p>Culture department Novi Sad (1.10.13), Slavko Matić, Novi Sad. Interviewed performed in Serbian.</p>	<p>No ongoing CBC projects. Projects more with Istria, dating back from Yugoslavia.</p>	<p>Local artists.</p>		<p>CBC = exchanges of artists, theaters, music bands. Individual actions, nothing really coordinated between the two cultural departments in Slavonia and Vojvodina. Co-operation between Serbian minority in Slavonia.</p>		<p>CBC on basis of ethnic affiliations, between serbian minority and Vojvodina. Individual actions. Slavko goes with his band to Vukovar, Osijek but not organised institutionally.</p>
<p>EDIT Novi Sad (1.10.13), Novi Sad Milica Paskulov</p>	<p><u>Adult education society</u>: project between Bačka Palanka (S) and Ilok (Cr), empowering women in small municipalities, stimulate entrepreneurship (practical help in finding job). Opened youth info center in NS, consulted PRONI on this.</p>	<p>Women from Bačka Palanka and Ilok</p>	<p>non-IPA: but applied to it.</p>	<p>PRONI main partner</p>	<p>many years.</p>	<p>Regular contact with PRONI</p>

<p>Belgrade Open School, Belgrade (27.09.13), Belgrade, Ivana Bartulović. Intercultural and interconfessional projects/ communication.</p>	<p>No particular ongoing CBC project.</p>	<p>Young people (final year of Ma, PhD), scholars, young representatives of political parties.</p>	<p>non IPA</p>	<p>Theological schools, Radio Maria (Slovenia), Center for Interdisciplinary dialogue (Subotica), Center for Peace (Zagreb), Dokumenta (Zagreb), Center za nenasilije (Sesvete)</p>	<p>long-lasting.</p>	<p>1) 2009-2011: <u>people to people action</u> (EU funds): strengthen CSO and EU integration. 2 summer schools: Sarajevo and Podgorica on the role of religion and CSO. Empower young people in dealing with local authorities: project writing. 2) workshops in Osijek and Subotica (organised by OSCE, EU) in 2010 & 2011: published a collection of essays. 3) before that other projects: Religions of the Balkans: lectures for participants coming from media, CSO, religious authorities. 4) Believers for peace: RANO (Sesvete, Zagreb) and 2 representatives from Vojvodina. 5) Awaiting the European Union: the Stabilisation</p>
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						of Inter-Ethnic and Inter-Religious Relations in the Western Balkans
Danilo Kiš Subotica (12.09.13), Subotica, Danjela Mamuzić. City cultural center.	Exchange of artists and writers, exhibitions. CBC mostly oriented to Hungary.	Local artists.	non-IPA	Project on initiative of DK. Mostly with URK (group Movčara), Zagreb. Radio Studentska in Slovenia.		IPA: WAC (2 years) cultural co-operation between villages around Szeged and Subotica.

<p>Agency for Local Democracy Subotica (12.09.13), Subotica, Silvja Patarcic: increase local democracy</p>	<p><u>SNET.EU</u> (measure 1.3) 1st 2nd open call. Support training, capacity building and increase contacts between young civil servants dealing with cbc across the border. Enhance network in project writing for EU, twinning Europe for citizens. Municipalities across the border: Serbia: Apatin, Bac, Beodjin, Indjia, Ruma, Stara Pazora, Subotica. Croatia: Osijek, Stari jankovci, Vukovar, Nijemci, Erdut, Drenovci, Beli Manastir.</p>		<p>IPA 2012-2014</p>	<p>LDA in Osijek</p>		<p>CARDS with BiH.</p>
<p>CZOR Novi Sad (29.10.13), Danijela Radić via Skype. (used to be a regional branch of PRONI).</p>	<p><u>Hands across the border/ Pruži ruke preko granice - Identitet i kulturna baština Dunavske regije</u> (measure 1.3) 1st open call: interethnic dialogue between youth across the border. Get to know each other and themselves by investigating the history of own community and family. Focus on common heritage. Traveling foto exhibition. establish platform for co-operation: between the organisation and for the communities.</p>	<p>40 young people (20 from each country), participants applied for the programme. Targeted participants: Tompojevci, Bac.</p>	<p>IPA</p>	<p>Nansen Dialogue: knew each other personally and each other's projects. Danjela is from Vukovar. Have already done a project together in 1999-2000 (previous working experience) Outside project cooperate with: Youth Peace Danube Group (Vukovar), PRONI, Center for Youth Work (used to be part of PRONI). Kustos</p>	<p>12 months.</p>	<p>CBC in general on an individual basis: personal ties, relatives. Been doing projects with YPGD. Relations with PRONI: co-operation on an individual basis. CZOR used to be a branch of PRONI (established by Swedish). Civil Society: platform for contact btn people sharing same goals. CBC: dependent on own network: because important to have a reliable partner: trust</p>

				Museum Bačka Palanka. Applied with PRONI for IPA but didn't get it, are always thinking of new projects.		and then apply together. JTS (IPA) when opening call: occasion to meet new partners.
Enter in Bač, Dejan (30.10), Interview in Serbian via Skype. Youth organisation created by PRONI (first Udruga Mladih Bac). Also community work.	<u>Youth Link 1&2&3 (Prijeko-Preko)</u> and other joint-events with youth clubs from Slavonia. Aim: bring together people from communities along the border. Organise activities for the local youth all year round.	10 from each country (Vukovar and Borovo Selo, Beli Manastir, Bač). High school kids and young people.		PRONI, Youth club in Pirovac	Since official creation, 3 years ago (was part of another youth club created 9 years ago).	1) Prijeko-Prijeko (PRONI-ENTER), Enter continued on the project after official termination.

<p>Kino foto video NS and kulturni Centar Vojvodine in Sombor, interview in Novi Sad (20.09.13) Boris Radivojkov and Zeljka managers of art network in NS: Artmreza</p>	<p>No ongoing CBC projects. Connect people through foto on social topics. Project support for local young people. Non CBC per se; but involves people from C too. 1) <u>Fabrikart</u>: intercultural learning with Germany: music festival and performances around balkans. But no IPA CBC.</p>	<p>Local youth: from highschool to university.</p>	<p>Has not participated in IPA.</p>	<p>PRONI.</p>		<p>None</p>
<p>LDA conference: local authorities Slavonija and Vojvodina (13.09.13), in opcina Stari Jankovci, Croatia.</p>	<p><u>SNET.EU</u>. Amongst the projects presented at the first LDA conference of the project SNET.EU: Folklore festival: Stari Jankovci/mala Bosna (Subotica); PGDI & Beli Manastir Udruga Matija Gubec & Ekumenske inicijativa zena: empowerment of women and handcraft: Slana. Osijek art festival. Project between municipality of Subotica & Osijek: protection environment and business fairs</p>	<p>Civil servants from the 12 participating municipalities, representatives of local cultural, youth and sport organisations, entrepreneurs.</p>	<p>IPA</p>	<p>LDA Osijek</p>		

Column2	Motivation for CBC	Co-operation with LDA or CSOs	Obstacles	Fundings
CROATIA				

<p>Poljoprivredni Institut Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Kristina Zdunić.</p>	<p>Relied on strong connections between SI & V. Agricultural past. Regional development. Availability of EU funds.</p>	<p>Co-operation with local development agency as part of IPA, + project co-financed by Gov. Incentive of the CBC for LDA to endorse CBC: Important politically to say that participate to large number of CBC projects.</p>	<p>1) insufficient funds for big projects, 2) problems at the border: delay, guards make problems (also bureaucratized), customs on importing things from Serbia and vice versa, especially more difficult for individuals to export things if not going through exporting companies (paper work and permits).</p>	<p>IPA</p>
<p>Regional Development Agency Slavonja (04.06.12), Ivana Gurić</p>	<p>Long tradition of co-operation between the two regions, face economic hardship together, accelerate EU accession process in Serbia</p>	<p>A lot of people in the agency come from CSO and willing to co-operate with CSOs.</p>	<p>Serbia has never opened its CARDS programme; Underdevpt of CSOs in Serbia, co-financing is the main issue, uncompetitive agriculture, paperwork. LDA are starting to communicate but not easy. IPA has brought a big change in bringing LDA together.</p>	<p>IPA biggest source of funding due to cuts in national and regional budgets. EU funds are more profitable to CSO and NGO (solid ones): strengthen them and better standards (strategic planning) and has brought several different stakeholders together.</p>

<p>Regional Development Agency Slavonja 2013 (24.09.13), Osijek, Ivana Gurić.</p>	<p>Increased motivation and interest amongst potential participants. More applicants to IPA CBC. Eager to participate in programming from the Agency side.</p>	<p>Relative lack of co-operation from the local authority, should be more invested, more cooperative and faster in the implementation process.</p>	<p>1) Delay at all stages (call proposals, projects selected, evaluation), evaluation takes too long (operating agency on both sides → delay in allocation of funds). 2) bigger CBC of Croatia with Hungary, because easier procedures with EU MS than Non MS. BUT: Advantage for Non MS: receive money upfront no need for pre-financing; Absence of language barrier (Vs projects with Hungary). 3) Sporadic application (not grouped under 1 project = many applications but few approved)no pooling of projects with same idea: i.e each municipality applies with its own bike route. 4) No forecasted problem after C's accession to EU.</p>	<p>IPA is not the main source of regional funding, but increasing interest. BUT: 1) IPA: not enough money for infrastructures projects, 2) Little fund for CBC with Serbia: 2 Millions € for 150 applicants. Funding not sufficient for bigger project but will become sufficient because Croatia will get access to structural funds // small money in comparison to Hungary.</p>
<p>Local Democracy Agency Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Miljenko Turniski</p>	<p>To build CBC at local level, inspired from French-German reconciliation process, want to change relations in the region by engaging municipalities on the border.</p>	<p>Positive responsiveness from the municipalities and looking forward to taking part in the project.</p>	<p>Lack of understanding what is a CSO and local politics cannot invite them directly as counterparts --> lack of co-operation between civil society and local authorities. LDAgency serves as a platform for contact.</p>	<p>European Commission, IPA CBC Croatia - Serbia</p>

Zeleni Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Dinko Pesić	Joint-efforts in nature protection of the shared area, raise awareness about nature protection among citizens and local authorities (get a maximum of actors involved).	Functional co-operation with LDA: have been delegated activities that are environment related (Croatia), positive reception from LDA on both sides.	Underdevelopment of CSOs in Serbia → difficulty to co-finance projects; tough application process.	EU funds (IPA) 80% more or less.
Nansen Dialogue (05.06.12), Osijek, Suzanna Agotić.	Post-conflict reconstruction; increase intercultural communication, put an end to serbian ghetto in Vukovar.	Increasing co-operation from LDA: received informal support for hands across the border from the local authorities (visited the exhibition and promoted it), important in Vukovar. For the integrated school: mayor of Vukovar supports the project but meets resistance from administration.	Political manipulation of rapprochement or ethnic divisions in local politics, fear of getting in trouble if openly support projects of reconciliation (civil servants, Croatia); political resistance in Vukovar for integrated schools and also from Serbs (provides jobs for Serbian teachers)	Norway (Nansen), but now reliance on EU funds
Follow up Nansen Dialogue (24.09.13), Osijek, Suzana Agotić.		Mixed political support and positive media coverage for the integrated schools. Mayor made an open political statement in support of project but faces resistance from the rest of the board.	County is responsible for school: resistance comes from county administration. Serbian voted against: preserve jobs of Serbian teachers in the area. Main obstacle: relies on city support for implementation and financing it	
Centar Za mir Vukovar (06.06.12), Vukovar, Branislav Tekić.	X	X	Unemployment and economic hardship: major hindrances for CBC contacts and social reconstruction.	X

Proni Vukovar (06.06.12), Goran Jelenić	Part of ongoing rapprochement. Look for youth club in Bač but with few capacities, so decided to transfer Croatian model to Serbia. Project initiated upon request from youth from Bač	After first project, local authorities opened facilities for local youth. Right timing: funds from ministry for youth and sport in Croatia decreased since.	Few youth organisations in Serbia Vs longer tradition in C where municipalities have funds for NGOs + bigger integration and development push from the EU to develop the CSOs, several foundations and EU funds (easier to write projects and get funds in Croatia). In C almost every village has a youth organisation (10/15 for Slavonia that organise things for youth all year round). After the war it was easy to found NGO now much more difficult: now big organisation continue to grow but difficult for small ones to establish themselves.	1) German Marshall funds under Balkan trust funds (US) head office in Belgrade; 2) Youth in Action programme since 2008. 3) Balkan Trust for Democracy
Proni Osijek (24.09.13) (the whole team)	CBC became more the focus in Croatia once became criterion for accession and EU funds made available → projects related to CBC and more support from LDA.	More dialogue with local institutions and NGOs: - provide expertise on youth, more open dialogue in Croatia.	Downsides to IPA: need real and solid partnership = many risks; more oriented towards projects with economic results, little focus on youth and culture; more institutions > NGOs are selected, must provide co-financing (more difficult in the case of Serbian partners, less capacities). CSOs are still underdeveloped in Serbia, also mostly because lack local political support/ help from local institutions. Lack of co-operation between local authorities on the ground. Difficulty to link institutions to projects because different criteria for application.	Youth in action programme. German Marshall funds restricted since Croatia is in EU, cannot apply as a partner → ENTER will carry the project. Not IPA (but have tried and will apply in the future). Prefer German Marshall funds, because the grants are bigger (ensures staff being paid). PRONI is more process oriented rather than projects:

				Marshall funds= more sustainable, funding over longer period of time.
Volunteer Center / volonterski centar Osijek (24.09.13), Osijek, Mirta Kovacević.	Partners have met at international conferences and projected to do something together since they are direct neighbours. Willingness to combine shared experience. Strengthen CSOs in Serbia.	Yes, the centre is part of advisory board and underway to become part of the provincial department for Youth and Work (Croatia); advisory body to national government and strategy for city development.	More experience in Croatia with volunteering than in Serbia.	IPA so far and most important. Also EU social funds; Ministry of Youth, Osijek city programme to support CSO, National fund (4years period). Little money coming from municipalities (→apply at national level, different ministries).

<p>Center for Entrepreneurship Osijek (24.09.13), Osijek, Vedran Ostojić, interview conducted in Croatian</p>	<p>Regional development, no language barrier; mutual capacity building; willingness to bridge the border.</p>	<p>Support from the municipalities involved in the projects (Apatin, Bilje, Osijek).</p>	<p>1) Tradition for the future: Difficult communication with Serbian partners; low commitment: each carries own side of the project but uneven implementation. Misfits in legislation and regulations. Serbia does not meet EU standards Vs Croatia. Many projects stay at project stage because lack of experience and capacity for implementation: need for stronger capabilities.</p>	<p>IPA</p>
<p>Business Incubator BIOS (24.09.13), Osijek, Ivo Koski.</p>	<p>Regional development, to motivate SME s to work together and develop competitiveness.</p>	<p>Good co-operation with municipalities from Vojvodina.</p>	<p>Limited funds for big projects. Economic hardship = little interest for CBC.</p>	<p>IPA</p>
<p>PGDI in Beli Manastir, (06.11.13), interview in Croatian via skype.</p>	<p>Wanted to do something together, no joint-project yet though direct neighbours.</p>		<p>not so far.</p>	<p>Livro, Ekumenska Inicijativa Zena (Subotica)</p>
<p>Zelena Akcija Zagreb (21.05.13), Zagreb, Eugen Vuković.</p>	<p>Raising awareness on water management, environment protection in the Balkans, promotion of national resources.</p>	<p>Depends on political climate. Now HDZ in Osiječko Baranja so more focus on CBC.</p>	<p>Underdeveloped NGO sector in Serbia and limited available funds.</p>	<p>EU funds (IPA)</p>

<p>SLAP Osijek 2013 (25.09.13), phone interview Sonja Vuković</p>	<p>Develop organic food sector in the region, as alternative agricultural development.</p>			<p>Unicredit foundation, IPA</p>
<p>RARE, Vinkovci Toni Sarić, (24.11.13).</p>	<p>To inspire other people in CBC, motivate young people in starting something, help local youth building own CSO.</p>	<p>Not much money from local authority (limited budget and non-lucrative projects). Propose alternative cultural projects and generates no interests amongst local politicians (electoral).</p>	<p>Less money available, especially because not in capital city, little local investment, Non-profit organisations have little financial self-sustainability. Main obstacles: 1) economic hardship. 2) Lack of political interest, 3) lack of creativity & passivity from young people, 4) size of community: base not strong enough for making big projects, 5) lack of means deployed to encourage people to stay. 6) after war little interest from young people in Serbia (turn to Zagreb)</p>	<p>Youth in Action; IPA new source of funds, because lesser funds in Slavonia and on the border.</p>
<p>SERBIA</p>				
<p>Zavod za kulturu Novi Sad (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Dragan Ilić.</p>		<p>Co-operation within cultural institutions and local artists.</p>	<p>Economic crisis: little money available for culture and lesser for CBCC; lack of political will to set incentive for co-operation. 1) Financial, 2) Political, 3) Technical and logistical. Lack of support for EU to foster reconciliation in this area. Also lack of interest, because lack of financial means of the department of culture.</p>	<p>Ministry of Culture of Serbia.</p>

<p>CK 13 Novi Sad (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Anica Stojanović: Youth club: concerts and performing arts.</p>	<p>Open to any project.</p>	<p>Networking mostly taking places between organisations.</p>		<p>German Marshall funds, NED (US), European for peace</p>
<p>Kultura Nova Novi Sad, (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Milan Vracar : Theater, dance, visual arts performances and Youth.</p>	<p>Interest in culture and good will, only things that matter.</p>		<p>Few partner organisations in Slavonia (dealing solely with culture), lack of financial support for CBC. For IPA, you need a strong partner, only comes out with long-standing relations. Lack of organisation mixing culture/youth = hindrance for applying to IPA</p>	<p>Depending on the programme, some funds from the city.</p>
<p>Volunteer center Vojvodina (Service civil International) (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Sonja.</p>	<p>Increase civil engagement, have not carried CBC projects but would be interested.</p>	<p>Limited communication and co-operation.</p>	<p>CSO need to be further developed.</p>	<p>EVS, some grants from the city.</p>

<p>Cinema City Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Ivana Todorović.</p>	<p>Co-operation and concertation with partner RARE in order to create the necessary framework for mutual communication, strengthening the mutual bonds and exchange of experience. Was meant to be an opportunity for young people to learn about movies through curriculums not offered at university and schools.</p>	<p>X</p>	<p>Not really. Would suggest the opening of a local/regional office of the Ministry of finance in Novi Sad where applicants from AP Vojvodina (considering the number of EU projects implemented in the Province) could locally finalize VAT exemption procedures.</p>	<p>X</p>
<p>Culture department Novi Sad (1.10.13), Slavko Matić, Novi Sad.</p>	<p>Co-operation with Istria: because of war and no antagonism, both regions are more developed.</p>	<p>No co-operation with department of culture in Slavonia.</p>	<p>Broken links since the war, deep political divisions (protests against Cyrillic in Vukovar), difficult economic situation. Culture not on top of the agenda.</p>	

<p>EDIT Novi Sad (1.10.13), Novi Sad Milica Paskulov</p>	<p>Address local needs and problems at individual level (housewives).</p>	<p>Not so much, because no funds available for CBC. Cooperated with city councils. CSO approach LDA not the other way around. LDA interest motivated by political publicity.</p>	<p>Limited availability of funds in regional institutions. Dependent on projects in order to receive support from city, and no support if not lucrative. IPA difficult because need to self-finance. --> project cannot be big: because then proportional self-funding. Resistance to change policy locally. Dependence on project = problem of sustainability. Internal dispute between city hall of Novi Sad and Regional government: can get only support from 1 at a time. CSO pro CBC VS lack of political support (Serbia). Less financial support and more procedures (time consuming → implementation).</p>	<p>Youth in action programme: no need to have big financial capacities. USAID (community initiative funds). Ministry of Youth and Sport, city council for youth. Local government (call for project every 1 or 2 years): not big but ensures day to day business, though less and less support for CSOs.</p>
<p>Belgrade Open School, Belgrade (27.09.13), Belgrade, Ivana Bartulović.</p>	<p>Build religious and ethnic tolerance in the region.</p>	<p>80 people from local authorities participated in workshops. provide expertise to local authorities, convene lectures on protection of religious and minority groups.</p>	<p>Religious leaders (Serbian orthodox) need approval before participating and not free to speak their mind. Project dependent hence so far no project organised only between Slavonia and Vojvodina.</p>	<p>Dependent on funding and projects, few grants. Konrad Adenauer, Israeli embassy, Germany, USA. Limited funding from EU.</p>
<p>Danilo Kiš, Subotica (12.09.13), Subotica, Danjela Mamuzić.</p>	<p>Looking for partner for Croatia, a possibility though more focused on Hungarians. Advantage: no language barrier.</p>		<p>lack of partners, underdeveloped cultural sector and resonance in local political structure.</p>	<p>City of Subotica</p>

<p>Agency for Local Democracy Subotica (12.09.13), Subotica, Silvja Patarcic: increase local democracy</p>	<p>Increase contacts between border municipalities, encourage joint-projects and connections between civil servants, promote social reconstruction and co-operation. Develop the place of CSOs in regional politics.</p>	<p>Very positive and motivated civil servants from the participating municipalities.</p>	<p>Design action and achieve expected results: greater co-operation between CSOs and Local government. Different level of development of the NGO sector: stronger in C, more financial support, lesser dependent on foreign aid Vs underdevelopment in Serbia. Deal with small municipalities: less financial and administrative capacities.</p>	<p>EU main donor.</p>
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<p>CZOR Novi Sad (29.10.13), Danijela Radić via Skype. (used to be a regional branch of PRONI).</p>	<p>Stimulate social reconstruction, C&S path to the EU, bring young people together. Wanted to do something with Croatia. Deconstruct prejudices against the Other and have an opportunity to get to know each other and cooperate. 2) wanted to do something with youth in these two regions.</p>	<p>Informal support and endorsement: visit exhibition.</p>	<p>1) IPA funds allocated to institutions rather than CSO: economic development mostly, 2) hence, few people to people projects, 3) need more funds available to carry projects impacting on changing mentalities, 4) difficulty in bringing people together. 5) difficult political situation in Eastern Slavonia (anti-Cyrillic protests) --> has an influence on CBC. 6) Cumbersome administrative procedure of IPA: more difficult for CSO (don't know if have done everything right + more find the additional 15% for co-funding and no pre-funding. 7) little money available for social reconstruction> infrastructures. 8) no quality check for IPA projects; number of projects>quality. --> focus on fulfilling the procedure rather than quality of results. 8) have all the participants present throughout the 12 months (work and study related issues). 9) EU funds not developmental: focus on fulfilling admin procedures, but no quality check.</p>	<p>IPA. Asked financial support from local authorities, provincial secretariats and own funds for pre-financing and co-funding. EU main donor: fewer sponsors now. Was not the first IPA project for CZOR, but first one with Croatia.</p>
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<p>Enter in Bač, Dejan (30.10), Interview in Serbian via Skype. Youth organisation created by PRONI (first Udruga Mladih Bač). Also community work.</p>	<p>Organise things for local youth, youth self-organisation.</p>	<p>Support from the city hall in Bač: facilities and small grants. Positive co-operation.</p>		<p>Local authorities and national grants, German Marshall funds for the First project (reliable already for the last 3-4 years, so no need to look for other funds at the moment), considering applying to IPA.</p>
<p>Kino foto video NS and kulturni Centar Vojvodine in Sombor, interview in Novi Sad (20.09.13) Boris Radivojkov and Zeljka managers of art network in NS: Artmreza</p>	<p>Stimulate intercultural learning and activities locally in Novi Sad and Vojvodina: multiculturalism part of regional identity so ethnic ties is not a bone of contention; CBC 'd be only on basis of art exchanges.</p>	<p>Support from city hall of Novi Sad.</p>	<p>Difficult to organise projects in Serbia, organisation's scope of action is only locally. Problem related to CBC: logistical: higher standards in Croatia, financial disbalance (pay artists), non-profit work so rely mostly on grants. Economic hardship and little funds available/ interest too. War and disconnection with Croatia in all spheres of life for 20 years, especially amongst youngsters who didn't know Yugoslavia. For the scope of this org: logistic issues, too much work to carry CBC alone.</p>	<p>Youth in action programme: Fabrikart.</p>

<p>LDA conference: local authorities Slavonia and Vojvodina (13.09.13), in općina Stari Jankovci, Croatia.</p>	<p>Civil servant Apatin: weight of minorities in encouraging CBC. Municipality Subotica: potential for eco growth, common issues, EU incentives for CBC.</p>		<p>Civil servant from Nemci: incentive for CBC exists but few CSOs, few capacities and knowledge in project writing. Civil servant from Erdut (deals with water distribution): not enough people for projects, lack of training in EU project writing and fund administration. Civil servant from Apatin: when community homogenous (I.e: Vinkovci) less incentives for CBC. // Also political affiliations constitutes barriers for co-operation and within same region. and little solidarity between municipalities. Subotica: procedure for projects too complicated for non-EU partners.</p>	
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Column2	Performance assessed against objectives	Inspired further CBC projects	Rapprochement/ impact on social reconstruction
CROATIA			
Poljoprivredni Institut Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Kristina Zdunić.	Aims: increase networks between producers, better production capacities, increase potential for export (reach EU standards for apples and be competitive on the common market). Results: contributed to standardisation of production, guidebook on production.	It is inspired from Apple.01 and likely to pursue further CBC.	Concretisation of a project already underway, brought deeper relations between the beneficiaries and participating farmers. To be continued however. Limited resonance in the local economy.
Regional Development Agency Slavonja (04.06.12), Ivana Gurić.	Good for networks of co-operation already in place. In case of Apple 2.0: partners had contacts with each other but Agency for regional development brought them together to the table.		
Regional Development Agency Slavonja 2013 (24.09.13), Osijek, Ivana Gurić.	Progress in teaching best practices especially through informal advises and progress in quality of project writing. Has strengthened CSO that were already functional before IPA, fostered networking between strong CSOs and enabled new contacts.	Yes more applicants to IPA CBC. Also between faculties.	IPA has brought positive results, mostly strengthened existing co-operation and favoured expansion of networks of co-operation. IPA brought a dynamic of co-operation. People applying to IPA embraced it as something natural. IPA good opportunity to regenerate something that existed before. IPA did not per se encourage growth of CSO but good opportunity for strong existing organisations, and opportunity for networking.

Local Democracy Agency Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Miljenko Turniski.	Aims: build informal network of contact between civil servants, transfer of EU policies, encourage local democracy.	-	Positive: Brought together people/politicians (cultural institutions, sport organisations, schools/ university) from Croatia and Serbia who had not met or had any contact with other side of the border since the war. Informal contacts created and several joint-projects underway. Fostered co-operation between LDA and CSO (break mental barriers), CSO are more considered as partner.
Zeleni Osijek (04.06.12), Osijek, Dinko Pešić.	1)Success: bicycle road already working and was included in several guide books (bike and bed). 2) it was presented at several Cross-border events 3) not finished at the time of the interview	Applied for 3rd project, but didn't pass. Now, waiting results for the project on recycling (selected)	Positive: the first post-war contacts were triggered by NGOs and now LDA and cities are cooperating well. Co-operation started from the grassroots.
Nansen Dialogue (05.06.12), Osijek, Suzanna Agotić.	Hands across the border: The youth managed the whole project with limited supervision and explored own family and cultural heritage. The exhibition was well received and travelled around the Western Balkans.	Applied for another IPA project with School of Journalism from Novi Sad (2nd Open call)	Generally positive reception. Contributed to get to know roots and past and similarities with young people from the other side. Exchanges between youngsters and kept contact after termination of the programme through social networks.
Follow up Nansen Dialogue (24.09.13), Osijek, Suzana Agotić.		Has applied for another IPA project with the school of journalism in Novi Sad.	Idea of CBC is increasingly popular and receives more support from the local administrations. Protest against the use of Cyrillic in Vukovar brings instability to the region (politically instrumented).
Centar Za mir Vukovar (06.06.12), Vukovar, Branislav Tekić.	X	X	provided help and guidance to all minority groups on the ground. In general: division but co-operation. Even if kinds have different schools: same social life.

<p>Proni Vukovar (06.06.12) Goran Jelenić.</p>	<p>Aims: create connection between youth organisations, increase capacities (project writing and get involved in the local community. Results: creation of youth org ENTER in Bac, Enter organises summer camps with C and S kids, has applied for EU funds (youth in action),as PRONI's partner; visibility action: got some credibility. Get them strong enough to apply for grants and funding at local level: got it and now are funded by municipality: running costs and events. Youth link 3: youth own initiative to work together and build project together.</p>	<p>Yes, 3 projects between youth organisation, Prijeko-preko 2 and planning on carrying on with the co-operation in the future.</p>	<p>Stayed in contact with PRONI and regular contacts between youth clubs. Vukovar signed memorandum/partnership with Bac (esp. Border issue and share island). Ongoing rapprochement (top-down process: city mayors and tourist offices meet regularly).People cross the border: shopping/ relatives, joint-ventures of big companies; less people to people contact in comparison.</p>
<p>Proni Osijek (24.09.13)</p>	<p>Bač youth club ENTER operational and functional: applied for local grants, have applied to German Marshall funds and will be applying for IPA next year. Successful capacity building. Co-operation with youth groups in Slavonia. Have organised with PRONI summer camps in Bač with young people from Croatia.</p>	<p>Yes, now ENTER applies on its own. Co-operation between Enter in Bač and Udruga Mladih in Belisće (Croatia): youth camps and joint projects. 2) PRONI: idea to develop co-operation project with ONO (merged with EDIT: youth education and training): information network.</p>	<p>Common project with youth organisations in Vukovar and Srijem-Baranja. General observations: cultural associations are connected: museum, galleries and tourism. PRONI involved in social reconstruction fostering co-operation between the new generations. Now provide limited supervision, most of the co-operations stems from the Youth's initiative.</p>

<p>Volunteer Center / volonterski centar Osijek (24.09.13), Osijek, Mirta Kovacević.</p>	<p>At the time of the interview project has not started. No problem so far, good communication on daily basis and monitoring of implementation. Training in management with 25 CSOs in Novi Sad: to improve voluntary programme. Biggest problem: from the Croatian monitoring authorities: supporting documentation, parallel to implementation, time consuming monitoring.</p>	<p>Next IPA programme will apply together to deepen co-operation: especially in sector of education, schools, volunteers clubs.</p>	
<p>Center for Entrepreneurship Osijek (24.09.13), Osijek, Vedran Ostojić, interview conducted in Croatian</p>	<p>Average. Have conducted seminars on increasing efficiency of production and entrepreneurship. Positive exchange of knowledge and helped the transfer of EU norms to Serbian partner. Performances of project: TzB: average results: limited communication and co-operation between C and S producers, but established first connections. On-going mapping of SMEs.</p>	<p>Yes. Ongoing second project. <u>Pannonia Organica</u></p>	<p>Not very successful. No connection between producers and general lack of will to cooperate.</p>
<p>Business Incubator BIOS (24.09.13), Osijek, Ivo Koski.</p>	<p>Exchanged know-how and experience, helped develop online tools (marketing, advertising and ordering).</p>		<p>Closer co-operation between offices for regional development and more emphasis on joint-economic ventures.</p>
<p>PGDI in Beli Manastir, (06.11.13), interview in Croatian via skype.</p>	<p>not so far.</p>	<p>1)Yes, will apply for IPA with serbian partner. 2) project</p>	

		with youth: C & S & BiH organisation Novo.	
Zelena Akcija Zagreb (21.05.13), Zagreb, Eugen Vuković.	Successful project but need to be furthered.		
SLAP Osijek 2013 (25.09.13), phone interview Sonja Vuković.	Very professional experience, deepened already long-lasting co-operation, sustainable results: increased competitiveness on regional market.	IPA as a continuation, deepen co-operation.	Limited resonance locally.
RARE, Vinkovci Toni Sarić, (24.11.13).	First festival was a big opening: became seen as official partners. Have learnt a lot from the Serbian partners.	Yes, 2nd IPA project: Film it Loud.	The participants established contacts and made friends: were not connected in the same way, didn't grow up in same context. Nationality is not the main issue between young people
SERBIA			
Zavod za kulturu Novi Sad (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Dragan Ilić.	X	X	Don't know, but CBC could ease relations regionally.
CK 13 Novi Sad (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Anica Stojanović.	X	Co-operate on daily basis: Croatian bands/artists taking part in the regular programme. But expanding regional co-operation is one of the main goals for the upcoming years.	Created network of contact: skype and face to face meetings (not CBC per se), comprises artists and people from all the Western Balkans.

KulturaNova Novi Sad, (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Milan Vracar.	X	X	Tendency in regional government to be nationalistic (only level of power where stayed in power): promote cyrillic/serbian ID and culture. Shift to be expected especially thanks to talks about EU accession. BUT Vojvodina's fabric: multicultural, can only be moderately nationalistic.
Volunteer center Vojvodina (Service civil International) (06.09.13), Novi Sad, Sonja.	short-term, and not lasting contacts between participants.		Inter-ethnic contact between volunteers and organising centers. Increasing popularity of CBC project and apply for IPA.
Cinema City Novi Sad, Novi Sad, Ivana Todorović, Interview in Serbian: big cinema festival in Novi Sad: cinematographic, academic, musical program and workshops. International film festival since 2010	80 000 people in Novi Sad and 5 000 for DORF, 100 media representatives following the project. Brought many people to the region. Satisfied: intercultural exchanges, opportunity to connect professionals and students, smooth co-operation with partner. smooth co-operation between participants. Interaction between visitors satisfactory.	Under consideration.	Deeper co-operation with partner. Created an opportunity for further activities/festivals of this kind and regular attraction of people.
Culture department Novi Sad (1.10.13), Slavko Matić, Novi Sad. Interviewed performed in Serbian.		Not considered at the moment.	
EDIT Novi Sad (1.10.13), Novi Sad Milica Paskulov.	On-going.	Under consideration.	X

<p>Belgrade Open School, Belgrade (27.09.13), Belgrade, Ivana Bartulović.</p>	<p>Established links between CSO and religious structures/ authorities, connection between people from different cultural and ideological background (brought together in essay writing and policy papers). BOS = solid platform for contact. Shape new elite.</p>	<p>Yes, presented several projects on women protection, protection of minorities (not between C&S per se, but also C& BiH, Sarajevo and Novi Sad).</p>	<p>Contributed to breaking down cultural prejudices, participants kept in contact after end of programme. New educated elite more tolerant towards other cultures and confessions.</p>
<p>Danilo Kiš Subotica (12.09.13), Subotica, Danjela Mamuzić.</p>	<p>X</p>	<p>Looking for Croatian partner for IPA.</p>	<p>X</p>
<p>Agency for Local Democracy Subotica (12.09.13), Subotica, Silvja Patarčić.</p>	<p>Not finished at the time of the interview</p>	<p>Under consideration.</p>	<p>First contacts and already first ideas of joint-projects.</p>
<p>CZOR Novi Sad (29.10.13), Danijela Radić.</p>	<p>Success: traveling exhibitions showed differences and similarities. Unique opportunity to meet the other side and deconstruct prejudices transmitted by family. Already setting ground for communication is the basis for further co-operation and deconstruct mistrust through getting to know themselves/others. Participants organised the project with limited supervision.</p>	<p>Yes in a way, since through facebook and social networks, people kept in touch and invite each other in their project.</p>	<p>Established dialogue between young people: using the family background as a first point of contact. Kept in touch through the facebook group, organise events together/invitations. Representatives of local authorities came to see the exhibition, got support from provincial secretariats of Youth and Sport ministry. Strong co-operation b/n CSOs across the border. Strengthen the social fabric by bringing in more people, sensitize local authorities, organise information clusters, found more partners for CBC. In general CSO know each other. PRONI has brought a lot of people together. Create new partnerships: 1) through own partners, personal recommendations 2) through meetings organised by JTS.</p>

<p>Enter, Dejan (30.10.13).</p>	<p>Programme all year round, organisation of youth camps and joint-meeting with youth clubs, create contacts and connections, contact btn participants after project/ camps: mailing list.</p>	<p>Continued on Prijeko-Preko project, PRONI as main parent of project. (na konkurs)</p>	<p>Spread CBC through online social network, snowball effect: brought more people in; hang out and meet more people. Mailing list and people join events.</p>
<p>Kino foto video NS and kulturni Centar Vojvodine in Sombor, interview in Novi Sad (20.09.13) Boris Radivojkov and Zeljka managers of art network in NS: Artmreza</p>	<p>Main success: increased the network of interest and contact between youth.</p>	<p>X</p>	<p>X</p>
<p>LDA conference: local authorities Slavonija and Vojvodina (13.09.13), in općina Stari Jankovci, Croatia.</p>	<p>First meeting: Serbs and Croats still little mingling but few contacts created at the end.</p>		

Appendix 2 : Responses to survey cultural organisations (sent by e-mail)

organisation	contact in Croatia Serbia	CBC projects	professional contacts CBC	other comment
SERBIA			reasons	
CK13	yes, often in contact	only one project with Restart in Zagreb: voyages through forgotten places	yes: Croatian artists take part in daily programme	expand regional cooperation a priority for the upcoming years.
Kulturni Centar Novi Sad, Andrej Fajgel	no	no	yes	planning a project of cooperation
Kultura Nova, Milan Vracar	yes, long tradition of contact	no project at the moment, but one main project running for several years: Balkan Can Contemporary BCC	yes	
Peschanič (HKUDP Stanislav Preprek), Novi Sad, Marijan Sabljak. Drama and theater	yes	not yet as apart of IPA. Several related projects though involving Croatian partners. 1) Drama performance of Croatian playwright under negotiation: "Nora Danas". 2) collection of poems: Preprekovo Proljeće" from 12-16 authors	no direct partner	CBC sounds interesting and could become a project for the future. In cultural projects, only motivation matters not origin.
Zavod za kulturu Novog Sada, Dragan Ilić	yes	no. Only days of Istria in Vojvodina	Yes but all over Croatia (Istria > Slavonia)	

LDA Subotica, Silvija Patarcic	Yes, especially with LDA Osijek	Yes IPA: Podrska umrezavanju i evropskoj saradnji gradova i opstina SNET.EU. LDA Osijek and Subotica have participated to projects together under CARDS, IPA Civil Society Facility, Youth in Action.	Yes	
Danilo Kis, Danijela Mamuzic	yes	not really: had many guests from Croatia taking part in their cultural programme (more recently: Movcara from Zagreb; Subotica express: exchange of artists btn Zagreb and Subotica)	yes	
Kulturni Centar za Mladih, Sombor, Zeljka Milosevic		Partner from Croatia in Youth in Action. Not CBC.		
So open, Sombor, Sava Majsterov	yes	not so far, not enough capacities to participate in IPA.	yes around Osijek	interested in the results of the research
Open University Beograd, Ivana Bartulovic		yes: STAREL with Nansen Dialogue: ethnic and religious tolerance 2009-2011	yes	
CROATIA				

Orchestra Djakovo, Enrih Merdic		no		
Udruga Pannonian, Zdenko Liska	yes	Had planned a project with NGO Svetlost from Sabce, but never concretised		ready to cooperate with anyone on friendly terms.
Orchestra Batorek, Osijek	yes	not really but take part in all Tamburica festival, as part of tamburica international association.		
Volonterski Centar Osijek, Mirta Kovacevic	yes	Yes, IPA project: Volonteri bez granica with Humanitarian center in Novi Sad and Agency for local development in Vojvodina	Yes	
Slavonica Art, Erdut: SART	yes	Serbian partner took part in a festival FEST in erdut in 2012		planning on an art project for 2014

Appendix 3 : Responses to survey companies (sent by e-mail) (out of 150 e-mails sent)

Enterprises	area	Contact in Croatia / Serbia	Customers	joint production/collaboration	Comments
CROATIA					
Mako Osijek,	Textile	no		No, are interested but have not yet opened working cooperation on the Serbian market	
TBG Beton, Osijek	Construction	no	no	no	
Salas IPASA, Vukovar	Food, farming			no	
Saponia, Osijek	Domestic Chemicals	yes	yes	yes: Distributor Alca for the Serbian market. Serbia represent 17% of all exports.	Revenues from export to Serbia are rising. Have known them for some time, opened collaboration as distributor after positive experience with Alca branch in Slovenia
SERBIA					
Javna Skladista, Subotica,	Transport, logistics	no	no	no	
Maksim Gradnja	Construction			yes	Maybe you could look into the political situation of the Serbian minority in Croatia and their becoming after accession
Agrometal, Sombor	metallurgy	yes	yes	no	

Fertil, Backa Palanka	Fertilizers	yes	no	no	only contacts in Croatia with similar companies, maintain contacts but no joint-production so far.
Vagar, Novi Sad	metallurgy	yes	yes, few	no	
Sistem Inzenir, Novi Sad	IT	no	no	no	would be interested in the results of the research
Indas, Novi Sad	metallurgy, pneumatics	no	no	no	
Sintelon, Backa Palanka	textile	yes	yes	yes, part of group Tarkett Gruppe	

Appendix 4: Electronic survey (sent by e-mail): pilot study (June 2012)

E-mail sent to 20 civil society organisations:

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Cassiopée Vienne, I am currently a Masters student in territorial studies at Charles University in Prague. I am presently conducting researches for my Master's thesis on cross-border cooperation between Croatia and Serbia (as part of and outside of the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance, IPA). I will be in Croatia the first week of June and I was wondering whether it would be possible to meet with one of your representatives in order for me to get firsthand information about how your organisation is involved in cross-border co-operation and how this process is carried out on the ground. My knowledge of Croatian being relatively basic, I would be much more comfortable conversing in English.

Thank you very much for your help,

Looking forward to meeting you,

Yours Faithfully,

Cassiopée VIENNE.

Croatian version :

Postovani/a,

Zovem se Cassiopée Vienne i trenutno sam na magisterskom studiju na Karlovom sveucilistu u Pragu (teritorijalni studiji). Za temu svog magisterskog rada odabrala sam istraživanje vezano uz projekte prekogranične suradnje Hrvatske i Srbije (zanimaju me IPA, ali i bilo koji drugi postojeći projekti koji nisu nužno financirani od strane Europske Unije). Planiram posjetiti Hrvatsku u prvom tjednu lipnja i zanimalo bi me da li bih mogla ugovoriti susret s nekim iz vaše organizacije tko bi mi iz prve ruke mogao objasniti na koji način je vaša organizacija uključena u projekte prekogranične suradnje te kako izgleda sama provedba takvih projekata na terenu.

Nazalost, moje znanje hrvatskog jezika je poprilično osnovno, i ukoliko bi sam razgovor mogao biti na engleskom, bila bih vam uzasno zahvalna.

Zahvaljujem vam na vasoj pomoci i veselim se nasem susretu.

VIENNE Cassiopée, 2014, The IPA Bridge on the Danube.

Lijepi pozdrav,

Cassiopée Vienne

Appendix 5: pilot study: questions for face to face interview (June 2012)

I. CSOs contacted by mail before pilot study:

- BIOS, Business Incubator, Osijek
- **Centar za građanske suradnje**, Center for Civil Co-operation, Osijek.
- **Center for education**, counseling & research, Zagreb
- **Centar za mir**, Center for Peace, Vukovar.
- **Ekonomska Skola**, School of Economics, Vukovar
- **Gradanska Organizacija Razvoja Društva**, Civil Organisation for Development, Dalj
- **HMRR**: Croatian Rural Development Network (Zagreb)
- **Lokalna Demokracija Agencija**, Local Democracy Agency, Osijek
- **Nansen Dialogue Network**, Osijek
- **OGI građanske inicijative**, Civil Initiative, Osijek
- **OSI Forum for freedom of education**, Osijek
- **Poljoprivredni Institut**, Institute for Agriculture, Osijek
- **PRONI**, Center for Social Education, Vukovar
- **Regional Partnership for Cultural Exchanges**
- **Regionalna Razvoja Agencija Slavonije**, Regional Development Agency for Slavonia and Baranja, Osijek.
- **SLAP**, Creative Development Network, Osijek
- **Udruga Zena**, Women's association, Vukovar
- **Youth Peace Group Danube**, Vukovar.
- **Zelena Akcija**, Green Action, Zagreb
- **Zeleni Osijek**, Osijek

II. Respondents interviewed:

- 1) Agencija Lokalne Demokracije, Agency for Local Democracy, Osijek
- 2) Regional Development Agency for Slavonia, Osijek.
- 3) Centar za mir, Vukovar
- 4) Center for Peace, Vukovar.
- 5) Nansen dialogue, Osijek
- 6) Poljoprivredni institut, Agricultural Institute, Osijek.
- 7) PRONI, Vukovar
- 8) United Nations Development Programme, Vukovar (Ivan Grgurić).
- 9) Zeleni Osijek, Osijek.

Questions :

a) General :

- 1) Could you introduce your organisation/association/agency?
- 2) Could you tell me a bit more about the project?
- 3) What were the motivations for this project?
- 4) Have you worked with Serbian partners on other projects before?
- 5) What is target group for this project?

b) On IPA

- 6) Have you participated in other cross-border cooperation projects outside of IPA?
- 7) What CBC projects have been set up within and outside of IPA?
- 8) What is the share of funds from the EU in the financing of the projects?
- 9) What are the results to this day and how would you assess them?
- 10) What were the main obstacles you have encountered during its implementation?
- 11) How would you assess co-operation with local authorities?

c) CBC

- 12) Could you tell me a bit more about local networks of co-operation? And to what extent the EU takes part in their organization?
- 13) Is there a will for CBC on the local level?
- 14) How is the local society receptive to CBC?
- 15) What constitute the basis/motivation for CBC?
- 16) How are CBC projects promoted to society at large?
- 17) How do NGO favour cohesion between the local and regional level?
- 18) What role plays NGOs in institutionalizing CBC?
- 19) What is the potential of CBC for the development of Slavonia/ Vojvodina?
- 20) What impact will have Croatia's accession on CBC?
- 21) What exchanges/trade/co-operation existed between farmers in Croatia/Serbia before the war? What are the main obstacles to co-operation today?
- 22) How effective is CBC in improving relations between Croats and Serbs?
- 23) Do people cross the border often or interact with the other community across the border? Is this organized locally?
- 24) What still remains to be done?

Appendix 6: Electronic survey sent via-email to cultural organisation and companies (Summer 2013)

Text sent in English:

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Cassiopée Vienne and I am Master student at Charles University in Prague. I am currently conducting researches on cross-border co-operation between Slavonia and Vojvodina in the cultural and economic sectors. These two sectors of activity are essential to the reconciliation process between the two communities. There has not been in-depth study on cross-border co-operation in this region so far. I would thus be most grateful if you could take the time to answer the following questions in English, Croatian or Serbian.

- Has your organization/company already been involved in a joint-project with a Serbian/Croatian partner?
- Could you provide all possible additional details on the nature of the project (nature, duration, partner)?
- (What is the share of your customers in Serbia/Croatia)?
- Do you have professional contacts with Serbian/Croatian partners?

Thank you very much for your help and your time. In the event you will be interested by the result of this research, I will make sure to send you a copy of the final text.

Yours Faithfully,

Cassiopée VIENNE.

Version 1: Croatian

Poštovani/a,

Zovem se Cassiopee Vienne, Francuskinja sam, i trenutno sam na magistarskim studijama na Karlovom sveučilištu u Pragu. Glavni fokus mog istraživanja je prekogranična suradnju i zajednički projekti između Hrvatske i Srbije u kulturnoj i ekonomskoj sferi. Smatram da se pomirenje dveju zajednica zasniva na ovakvim aktivnostima te da je relevantno pokazati da postoje inicijative i napredak u ovom pogledu. Takođe, kako do sada ne postoji istraživanje ovakvog tipa, bila bih Vam veoma zahvalna ukoliko biste mogli da mi izadete u susret i odgovorite na sledeća pitanja bilo na engleskom, hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku.

- Da li je Vaša organizacija bila ili je trenutno uključena u neki projekat zajedničke prirode s hrvatskom ili srpskom organizacijom/kompanijom?

- Ukoliko je odgovor potvrđan, da li biste mi mogli napisati detaljnije o kakvom projektu odnosno suradnji je riječ?
- Da li su Vaši klijenti iz Hrvatske/Srbije?
- Da li imate poslovne kontakte u Hrvatskoj/Srbiji?

Zahvaljujem Vam unaprijed za pomoć i suradnju, i ukoliko budete zainteresirani, svakako ću Vas obavijestiti o napretku svog istraživanja.

Srdačan pozdrav,

Cassiopee VIENNE.

Poštovani/a,

Zovem se Cassiopee Vienne, Francuskinja sam, i trenutno sam na magistarskim studijama na Karlovom sveučilištu u Pragu. Glavni fokus mog istraživanja je prekogranična suradnju i zajednički projekti između Hrvatske i Srbije u kulturnoj i ekonomskoj sferi. Smatram da se pomirenje dveju zajednica zasniva na ovakvim aktivnostima te da je relevantno pokazati da postoje inicijative i napredak u ovom pogledu. Takođe, kako do sada ne postoji istraživanje ovakvog tipa, bila bih Vam veoma zahvalna ukoliko biste mogli da mi izadete u susret i odgovorite na sledeća pitanja bilo na engleskom, hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku.

- Da li je Vaša tvrtka bila ili je trenutno uključena u neke aktivnosti zajedničke prirode sa hrvatskom kompanijom?
- Ukoliko je odgovor potvrđan, da li biste mi mogli napisati detaljnije o kakvoj aktivnosti odnosno suradnji je riječ?
- Da li su Vaši klijenti iz Hrvatske?
- Da li imate poslovne kontakte u Hrvatskoj?

Zahvaljujem Vam unaprijed za Vašu pomoć i suradnju, i ukoliko budete zainteresirani, svakako ću Vas obavijestiti o napretku svog istraživanja.

Srdačan pozdrav,

Cassiopee VIENNE.

Version 2 : follow-up on the answers received (asking for additional information): Version in Serbian.

Postovani/a,

Hvala Vam puno na odgovoru i ukazanoj pomoci, zaista ste mi pomogli. Ukoliko Vam ne predstavlja problem, htela bih Vas zamoliti da mi odgovorite jos na par pitanja :

- Možete li mi dati vise detalja o projektu/aktivnosti? (npr. Koliko ljudi je ukljuceno? Kako dugo traje program? Tko/ koliko će biti sudionici? Da li mogu da nadjem opis projekta na internetu?)

- Da li Vas partner ima website?

- Što Vas je motivisalo za ovaj projekt? Odakle ideja dolazi? Da ste radili druge projekte ove vrste u proslosti?

- Koliko dobro poznajete svog hrvatskog partnera i koliko dugo ste bili u kontaktu?

- Ukoliko ste u mogućnosti da mi kažete, kako se projekat finansira?

- Kakav utjecaj mislite da će imati na odnose između Hrvata i Srba?

Konacno, s obzirom da sam trenutno u Srbiji u mogućnosti sam da se sastanem sa nekim iz Vašeg tima kako bih dobila dodatne informacije. Naime, ukoliko ste zainteresovani za intervju sa mnom, molim Vas da mi posaljete vreme koje Vama najvise odgovara radi daljeg dogovora.

Izvinjavam se zbog eventualnih grešaka u srpskom jeziku.

U nadi da ćemo se uskoro čuti,

Srdačan pozdrav!

Cassiopée VIENNE.

Appendix 7: Model questions for face to face interviews (May-November 2013)

I. About the organisation in general:

- When was it formed?
- By whom?
- What is the organisation's mission?
- How many people are working full-time?

II. About the IPA project:

- 1) Can you tell me a bit more about the IPA project that you have conducted?
→ How did the project come about? What were the motives/reasons? Did it come as a continuation of an existing project?
- 2) How long have you know your partner for?
- 3) Who was the target group? How many participants took part in the project?
- 4) What were the key results? How would you evaluate them?
- 5) What were the main obstacles or difficulties that you have encountered?
- 6) How would you assess the impact of this project on rapprochement between Croats and Serbs?

III. About projects outside IPA:

- 1) Have you conducted any cross-border project with a partner from Slavonia/Vojvodina?
 - Do you organise or are you planning on organising some event with organisations in Slavonia/ Vojvodina?
 - What are your motivations? Or reasons for not to do so?
- 2) What kind of contacts do you have Croatian organizations/NGOs/Civil society?
 - How long have you known these interlocutors for?
- 3) What have been the results? What were the main obstacles?
- 4) How are these projects funded?

- 5) Do you receive any support (financial, premises) from the local authorities? How are the relations?
- 6) How do you see your contribution to cross border cooperation?
- 7) Ask if they have suggestions for further research on the topic.
→ What do they think about cross border cooperation?

Appendix 8: Questions and answers, JTS Croatia

I. Questions

a) General :

- What is the work of the JTS? How much in contact with the European Commission?
- Differences in decentralisation, what impact for Serbia?
- How many projects received in total for each call of proposals?
- How many received from CSOs?
- How many projects related to culture and youth?
- What is the influence of the EU? At what level: financing, monitoring, norms?
- What were results/performances of the projects?
- How is monitoring being done? Quality check? How do they keep track of results?
- How does it promote interest for CBC?
- How will Croatia's accession to the EU influence/ change the course of CBC?
- What is the reception of IPA amongst the SMEs?
- What obstacles have been encountered?

b) New IPA

- Did CSOs have impact on conditions of new IPA?
- How will the new IPA improve things for measure 1.3?
- What problems subsist?

c) IPA and CSO

- Has IPA swallowed CBC between CSOs?
- How deems has gotten a hold on CBC, as an institutional and financial platform?

d) LDA

- IPA has contributed to the decentralisation of power?
- How do you perceive reception and involvement of LDA? How do you qualify LDA endorsement of CBC?
- How are the relations between LDA and CSOs?
- How do you perceive IPA has enabled contacts between LDA and CSOs?
- Has increased contacts between LDA across the border? At what level (only civil servants involved in CBC)? Differences between sectors of activity?
- Do you see an increase of projects being carried between municipalities?

d) Rapprochement

- How have IPA projects contributed to the rapprochement with Serbs? Or no impact/ not main goal?
- How would you evaluate evolution? Has fostered more contacts? And How?

- What is the reception at large by society? Do people feel concerned? Are people aware about IPA or is it more something that only touches CSOs and LDAs?
- How do you perceive the integration of CBC in the societal discourse and regional/local political discourse?

II. Summary of answers interview 18.03.14 with Ivana Mršić via Skype

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a) General functioning of JTS

- JTS and JMC (Joint-Monitoring Committee): the only joint-bodies
- JTS: deals with the implementation of the decisions taken by the Operating Structures and contracting authorities, link between Croatia and Serbia.
 - Deals with project monitoring: visit the project, provide advices to grant beneficiaries with implementation, management, reporting. Check on performances: visits, regular e-mail contacts, provide help on their request, on drafting interim and final reports. Make sure that the beneficiaries are on track to fulfilling objectives set for each projects.
 - Prepares documentation for publishing: for each call of proposals.
 - Provides help on writing projects, quality of the projects.
 - Not in charge with the financial part
 - Draft reports (on performances) sent to the Operating Structures (and then to Contracting authorities).
 - ➔ JTS only body monitoring projects in both countries. Each OS relies on work of JTS.
- IPA 2007-13: not finished yet, delays in allocation of funds, 3rd call has not been open yet.

b) On projects selected and applications

- 1st call: 110 applications: 11 projects selected, 2nd call: 146 applications → more than 500 people involved: 22 projects selected.
- On culture and youth (measure 1.3):
 - 1st call: few projects: CSOs did not have enough time to prepare projects
 - ➔ More regional governments and municipalities applied

- More projects under 1.1: sustainable economic development (7/11), 1.2: (2/11) and 1.3 (2/11)
- 2nd call: half of the applications from CSOs and bigger focus on 1.3
 - More CSOs applied: more time to figure out projects
 - JTS build capacity: project writing, projects of better quality
 - ½ of applications related to measure 1.3.
- Also for measures 1.1, 1.2: more money available.
 - Regional governments are more interested in bigger projects, especially infrastructures and projects that can be seen (political prestige and purposes).

c) On IPA integrating social fabric and political discourse

- Main interest: GRANT
- After the 1st call: increase in interest for IPA and CBC:
 - First projects showed that CBC was possible, broke the ice and fewer prejudices.
 - More interest: potential applicants got more open to the idea: b/c knew people who applied and got the grant and felt more confident in applying.
 - Type of questions received by the JTS:
 - 1st question asked: how to find a partner? JTS provides a list of potential partners online.
 - 2nd most popular question: who got the grant and what constitutes a successful project?
- JTS contributed to new partnerships: information sessions (2 weeks after call opened) and online list of beneficiaries and potential applicants.
 - However, better if project stems from longer cooperation: stronger, more trust and better coordination.
- Basis for partnership:
 - 1st call: 2/3 from existing relations.
 - 2nd call: different. CSOs had more time to prepare projects
 - Half new and half already existing partnerships.
 - Among the existing ones: quite a few follow-ups.
 - Participants were actively searched for partnerships, to form new partnerships. So fact that participated in IPA was a major plus.
- However: big interest Vs not enough money for IPA CBC (especially for Croatia and Serbia).
- Also bear in mind that region also under overlap with other CBC programmes: BiH and Hungary → on the positive side: it has increased capacity in project writing.

d) On new IPA:

- JTS not involved in the negotiation of new IPA: only OS (under negotiations)
- There should be bigger funds
- Relations between C and S are under focus for another working period.

- Changes in IPA: based on feedbacks: midterm evaluation, results of regular audits. JTS often gets questionnaires on results of IPA and project performances (for programming purposes) that it transfers to the IPA beneficiaries.

e) Obstacles

- No problems with the beneficiaries. Few related to implementation but no contract had to be cancelled or money to be returned.
- Being over-audited: it gets complicated to do simple things: because need to adjust procedures (more complicated);
- JTS coordinates JMC and 2 OS: difficult to get everything coordinated. Inflexibility from the ministries involved (not their way of doing things and differences between each state administration), but manage somehow.

f) IPA as financial windfall

- Yes IPA is a major donor to CSOs
 - o Thanks to possibility of pre-financing: easier to implement a project if the beneficiaries receive money upfront.
 - o Structural funds: do not receive money (80% for IPA). → incentive for NGOs because even if they have some financial backbone, it is difficult to implement project for 9 months without any pre-financing.
 - o However, pre-financing should not be included in new IPA?
 - o Economic crisis: grants from national and regional levels are smaller and smaller + tough competition to get them.

g) On LDA:

- Representatives of regional government are part of JMC
 - o Vojvodina: regional government of Autonomous Vojvodina
 - o Slavonia: Representatives of Counties: Osijek Baranja and Vukovar Srijem (and agency for regional development).
 - o Participate in programme management and can also be applicants. (potential for conflict of interest)
 - o Have been very cooperative and pushing the programme forward: providing premises and facilities for info sessions, workshops.
 - ➔ Political interest in promoting IPA: political prestige in showing how regional authorities managed to get more funds for the regions (+ big infrastructure projects).
 - ➔ Great contribution in informing the population → headquarters of JTS are in Zagreb (out of reach and not on the terrain) and thus difficult to mobilize the applicants.

h) On LDA and CSO and projects

- 1st round of projects were opportunistic CBC: grants. Minimal coordination but each side was performing the project on its own, no genuine co-operation.

- First round of projects helped breaking the ice, made people more open about the idea of cooperating
- Encouraged cooperation, municipalities with minorities are more interested in cooperating.
- LDA have encouraged co-operation between target groups (participants), integrated political discourse.
 - ➔ Evolution towards genuine cooperation (disregarding IPA funds) but based on shared interests.
 - ➔ Municipalities encourage applying for IPA and take part in event across the border: education and events.
 - ➔ Hope to see this trend in Call 3.
- Few projects involving CSOs and municipalities. Resistance from both side but more perceived in LDA.
 - LDA do not consider CSOs as serious partners
 - Not same scope of projects and not same interests. Municipalities focus more on big visible projects and on alleviating economic hardship. Not interested in culture, youth (and ecology). Can be associated to project but no direct partner.

i) Rapprochement:

- Impossible to evaluate at this point in time. There will be an evaluation at the end of the programme but do not know yet.
- But on the overall, yes IPA helped some rapprochement, especially between the regional governments and municipalities.

Appendix 9: Questions and answers, JTS Serbia

III. Questions (sent via e-mail)

e) General :

- What is the work of the JTS? How much in contact with the European Commission?
- Differences in decentralisation, what impact for Serbia?
- How many projects received in total for each call of proposals?
- How many received from CSOs?
- How many projects related to culture and youth?
- What is the influence of the EU? At what level: financing, monitoring, norms?
- What were results/performances of the projects?
- How is monitoring being done? Quality check? How do they keep track of results?
- How does it promote interest for CBC?
- How will Croatia's accession to the EU influence/ change the course of CBC?
- What is the reception of IPA amongst the SMEs?
- What obstacles have been encountered?

f) New IPA

- Did CSOs have impact on conditions of new IPA?
- How will the new IPA improve things for measure 1.3?
- What problems subsist?

g) IPA and CSO

- Has IPA swallowed CBC between CSOs?
- How does it have gotten a hold on CBC, as an institutional and financial platform?

h) LDA

- IPA has contributed to the decentralisation of power?
- How do you perceive reception and involvement of LDA? How do you qualify LDA endorsement of CBC?
- How are the relations between LDA and CSOs?
- How do you perceive IPA has enabled contacts between LDA and CSOs?
- Has increased contacts between LDA across the border? At what level (only civil servants involved in CBC)? Differences between sectors of activity?
- Do you see an increase of projects being carried between municipalities?

d) Rapprochement

- How have IPA projects contributed to the rapprochement with Serbs? Or no impact/ not main goal?
- How would you evaluate evolution? Has fostered more contacts? And How?
- What is the reception at large by society? Do people feel concerned? Are people aware about IPA or is it more something that only touches CSOs and LDAs?

- How do you perceive the integration of CBC in the societal discourse and regional/local political discourse?

IV. Answers received via e-mail with Darko Cvejić

a) General :

- Projects received for each call:
 - 1st = 110
 - 2nd = 154
 - 71 from CSOs
 - Approx 50 project proposals related to culture.
- *Influence of the EU*: Financing and the norms, as proven good combination for achievement of results.
- *Monitoring*: Task managers are in charge of project monitoring on both sides of the border, getting insight to project in whole. Through reports, field visits and email and phone contacts with grantees.
- *Quality check*: Through Risk assessment system and table, keep track of the results through Monitoring reports mostly.
- *Promotion of interest about CBC*: Through traditional channels – promo-material, meetings, info days, partner search forums, projects, media. Effects are moderate, still many people never heard about the program, but those who are active can be regarded as “critical mass” for development of the area.
- *Influence of Croatia’s accession to the EU*: It has been agreed that CBC projects will be conducted under the same principle, at least for another working period. In the field, accession hasn’t shown effects yet.
- *Impact of the difference in decentralization in management of IPA*:
 - First steps shown potential holes in process of transition from CIS to DIS and need for more assistance in this matter.
 - First year in DIS could be experienced as “shock to the system”, but later turn as great advantage in development of institutions.
- *SMEs interest in IPA*: Yes, but, due to the nature of the program, their participation is on low level, sometimes they act as sponsors, but mostly companies are giving up at early stage.

b) Obstacles:

- *Obstacles encountered*:
 - Slow and complicated procedures
 - Uneven level of experience and knowledge among the applicants
 - Oscillations in exchange rate between EUR and national currency, etc.

c) LDA:

- *IPA’s contribution to decentralisation of power*: Yes, but not much.

- *Perceived reception and involvement of regional authorities*: In the number of projects RA are considered as valuable local partners, giving the institutional support or actively participating. Positive.
- *Perception of contribution to contacts between regional authorities and CSOs*: This cooperation was considered as desirable during the evaluation process. Potential applicants are aware of need for common actions.
- *Contacts between regional/municipalities across the border*: Yes have increased.
 - Level: On various levels, this was one of the most positive effects of the program.
 - Differences between sectors of activity: Not that much, but Croatia is a bit more advanced thanks to the faster development and consensus among citizens and governmental bodies.
- *Evolution in projects carried between municipalities*: Yes, number of received applications is higher. Municipalities seem to make connections faster and easier nowadays.
- *Influence of IPA in bridging contacts between CSOs and local government*: Common interest and system of awarding pushes this cooperation in a positive direction.

d) Rapprochement:

- *Contribution to rapprochement with Serbs*: nature of the program contributes to this change in positive way. Also, in some parts of Croatia there's natural need for mending the broken links and to live in harmonized system.
- *IPA's impact in fostering more contacts*: We have organized several partner search forums to help establishment of contacts and cooperation.
- *Reception at large by society*: It varies, depending on geographical location.
- *Perception of the integration of CBC into the societal discourse and regional/local politics*: It is an important segment, recognized and supported by both countries.

e) New IPA:

- *Influence of CSOs on negotiations of conditions of new IPA*: Yes, through participation in working groups established for this purpose and projects submitted by CSOs.
- *Measure 1.3 in new IPA*: Not so much improvement through financing, but through opportunity to contribute to social and educational aspects of the program.