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**Cross-Border
Mobility in
Europe:**
Issues and State of Art

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List of Abbreviations

CB	Cross- Border
CBC	Cross- Border Cooperation
CE	Central Europe
CEF	Connect Europe Facility
CI	Community Initiative
CSF	Community Support Framework
CTP	Common Transport Policy
DG MOVE	Mobility and Transport Directorate General
DG REGIO	Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy
EC	European Commission
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EGTC	European Groupings for Territorial Cooperation
ENI	European Neighbourhood Instrument
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESPO	European Spatial Planning Observation Network
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GCSC	The Greater Copenhagen and Skåne Committee
GDR	German Democratic Republic
INEA	Innovative and Networks Executive Agency
INTERACT	INTERREG Animation, Co-ordination, Transfer
IPA	Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance
TCA	Trade and Cooperation Agreement

TEN-T	Trans- European Transport Network
UK	United Kingdom

Summary

This thesis describes the current structure and nature of mobility across border regions in the EU. A qualitative approach is used to analyse about the regulations introduced to support the cross-border mobility, the factors that have positive and negative effect on them and the progress made in achieving a well-integrated EU on the basis of mobility through giving a quick evaluation on the programmes and projects implemented so far in this regard.

Cross-border mobility means a temporary movement across the borders. It is different from the concept of migration. Examples of this type of mobility include holiday or vacation, visiting relatives and friends, participating in educational programmes, going for work etc. Previous studies and research found that in many regions this mobility across border is very limited. Also, through various surveys among people living in the border areas it was found that they are facing different types of obstacles in their cross-border movements.

From the formation of European Economic Community (EEC) and until now efforts are taken at higher level to ensure free movements of people, goods and services across the borders of European Member States. This helped in the development of border region to a greater extent. Still there exist border regions with limited accessibility. Therefore, it is suggested that the more projects to improve accessibility should be introduced in future to attain a completely borderless Europe.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter is titled as ‘Cross Border Mobility in Europe: Introduction and Literature Analysis’. In this chapter the topic of the thesis is explained in general and also stated some of the previous studies’ findings.

The second chapter is ‘An Overview on Regulatory Framework of European Union on Cross-Border Mobility’. In this chapter a schematic representation of the treaties, agreements, regulations, initiatives etc. that are introduced by the European Union (EU) with an objective to achieve free movement of people, goods and services across the Member States is given.

There are certain factors that positively or negatively effect the cross-border movements in Europe. The third chapter, ‘Factors Determining Cross-Border Mobility in Europe’ discuss about these factors in detail with an example of at least one of the border regions where it is influencing the cross-border co-operation.

In order to prevent these above-mentioned factors, act as an obstacle in the border areas, the European Union jointly with the Member States funding many programmes through tolls like INTERREG. Under each programme there are numerous projects launched on both internal as well as external border regions of Member States. An overall qualitative evaluation of those projects that are implemented under the INTERREG programmes since its second phase (1994-1999) is provided in the fourth chapter which is titled as ‘A Qualitative Evaluation of the Cross-Border Mobility Projects implemented in EU’.

The fifth chapter is the final chapter of this thesis with title, ‘Concluding Remarks on Cross-Border Mobility in Europe’. This chapter contains an overview of the state of cross-border mobility and major findings and suggestions based on the qualitative assessment of the same.

Chapter 1

Cross-Border Mobility in Europe: Introduction and Literature Analysis

Mobility is identified as the key element by European Council for achieving goals of the revised Lisbon strategy and for the implementation of the European Employment Strategy. Mobility patterns are traditionally selective. They may differ considerably with regards to motivation, age, level of skills and experiences. Historical ties also seem to play a lasting role in the shaping and importance of cross-border movements. Recent research on cross-border mobility has identified three parameters which determine decisions to move between living and working places: wage and income differentials; employment opportunities; individual opportunity and risk assessment. With regard to cross-border mobility, an important role is attached to the regional distribution of economic wealth and the chances of finding gainful employment (Nerb, G., Hitzelsberger, F., Woidich, A., Pommer, S., Hemmer, S., & Heczko, P. 2009). In Europe, cross-border commuting is an increasing phenomenon (Cavallaro, F., & Dianin, A. 2019). In 2013 the total number commuters were about 1.6 million, which further increased to 1.9 million in 2015 and to 2.1 million in 2019 (Eurostat). The process of European integration as a result of the establishment of the Schengen Area and the Euro currency and also due to the abolition of systematic border controls, fostered the growing permeability of national borders (Cavallaro, F., & Dianin, A. 2019).

Previous studies on cross-border mobility have identified various reasons for cross-border commuting and addressed various obstacles for the same. In Central Europe (CE), disparities still represent in terms of labour market, risks of social exclusion and inequity between EU-15/EU13 are the main reason for cross-border commuting. The historical factors linked to the East-West separation has caused the poor development of borderlands even in terms of public transport and low density of population lead to shortage of investments for their development. Also, despite the absence of specific attractors like Luxemburg and Switzerland and bilateral flows, the increase in cross-border commuting is mainly due to the economic transformation occurred in CE after the collapse of Soviet Union. The rural areas of EU-13 countries are likely to suffer from high rate of unemployment and from risk of social exclusion as well as poverty which leads to commuting to richer regions across the border that cause strong increase in transboundary flows in CE. The EU project Connect2CE has identified four macro transport

challenges: inter-regional connectivity; multi-modal synergy; information and tariff integration and political cooperation. There are visible differences in rail infrastructure density between CE and the EU-15 macro-area with exception of French-Polish region (Cavallaro, F., & Dianin, A. 2019).

The goal of EU to achieve a more integrated and connected territory requires very strong measures to reduce the barriers posed by the presence of administrative boundaries. Human technology has made it possible to reduce physical barriers to minimum, during the last century in most developed areas of the world which include the European continent. More recent studies are concerned with non-physical barriers which are of legal, political, economic or cultural character. The inequalities and differences between nations and regions on each side of the border can be seen in the field of economy, society, law and culture, which cause distinct cross-border behaviours. Knotter stated that “most of the cross-border mobility and interaction was and is of an opportunistic nature and based on national differences instead of integration” – the border paradox. The process of ‘European integration’ has directly or indirectly “created an array of new opportunities for internal flows and exchanges by successively dismantling many obstacles which previously resulted from the more rigid function of the classical nation-state borders. However, barriers and obstacles continue to exist at the internal EU/European Economic Area (EEA) borders and, especially along the external EU/EEA borders, they have in some respects been further strengthened”.

The online public consultation on border obstacles (2015-2016), conducted by Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy (DG REGIO, European Commission) reveals that EU citizens consider ‘legal and administrative’ types of barriers as the mainly obstacles for Cross-Border (CB) mobility which followed by language and those related to physical accessibilities, which include transports. This survey also highlighted several concerns associated with physical CB infrastructure which include, lack of integrated public transport systems at the border, the low frequency and excessive pricing of existing CB transport connections, the presence of different rules and standards in relation to transport and the inadequacy of existing CB physical connections to the present traffic flows, in several EU border regions (Medeiros, E. 2019).

The obstacles on mobility between EU-15 and EU-12 CB regions are highest. Major obstacles include, different languages between “old” and “new” member states, lack of information, acceptance of qualifications and labour market restrictions. Lack of information includes lack of knowledge about responsible offices, lack of transparency in taxation, lack of knowledge about the acceptance of formations/graduations and the small number of information centres.

The obstacles due to CB infrastructure, transport system and geographic factors are huge between countries with geographical barriers like mountain chains and tundra (Finland-Sweden, France-Italy, Italy- Austria, Poland- Czech Republic, Poland- Slovakia, France-Spain). The labour market restrictions are the mainly between EU-15 and EU-12 countries. The only border within EU-15 countries with similar problems is between France and Italy (Nerb, G., Hitzelsberger, F., Woidich, A., Pommer, S., Hemmer, S., & Heczko, P. 2009).

In spite of the efforts of European integration and cohesion policies, many citizens in border regions of the EU still suffer from their spatial situation in certain aspects such as lacking, insufficient or low- quality public transport services. This issue is further divided into three levels, infrastructure connections; service provision and quality of services. These problems are clearer in railway transport. According to a recent study by DG REGIO, only 44% of the population in all border regions has access to passenger rail services. “Missing links”, non-operational small-scale cross-border railway connections, within the EU have gained political momentum in the past years. The railway transport across borders is hindered by obstacles like closed main routes since end of Second World War, establishment of ‘iron curtain’ between Western and Eastern Europe and huge economic and social changes like mass motorisation and cheap air transport.

In the case of railway transportation, there were 365 cross-border rail connection identified in total of which 149 are non-operational today. “Missing links” and “promising links” are not only the problem along the former iron curtain, cross-border rail connections without regular passenger services also exist in large numbers between Northern Ireland (UK) and the Republic of Ireland, France and Belgium, or Romania and Hungary. Passenger services have withdrawn from CB lines like Rusovce[SK]- Rajka[HU] in 2010, Jeumont[FR] - Erquelinnes [BE] and Elvas [PT] - Badajoz in 2012. and Beli Manastir [HR] - Magyarboly [HU] in 2015 (Sippel, L., Nolte, J., Maarfiled, S., Wolff, D., & Roux, L. 2018). Thus, it can be said that European railway networks remain a patchwork full of gaps at national borders.

From environmental aspect, transport is responsible for 30% of the EU’s total CO₂ emissions, which have been on the rise since 1990. The carbon footprint of transport is highlighted by an unsustainable mix of mobility. Therefore, CB interactions, mainly through public transport are essential for European integration and also for improving environmental sustainability (Medeiros, E. 2019).

CHAPTER 2:

An Overview on Regulatory Framework of European Union on Cross-Border Mobility

2.1 Introduction

Country borders in Europe have been shaped as a result of interplay between geography, culture, language, conflict and a large number of demographic and socio-economic processes (Christodoulou, A. & Christidis, P., 2020). The EU has 38 internal land border regions. As a result of above-mentioned factors border regions in general are more isolated than the rest of the Member State (MS), they form part with. These factors which are barriers that limit the border regions opportunities for interaction with their CB counterparts which in most cases are also isolated within their own national context (Christodoulou, A., 2018). These two trends, the internal and the CB isolation, mean that a significant part of the EU population has limited access to opportunities, even though they may not be longer considered as “frontiers” zones within the EU (Christodoulou, A. & Christidis, P., 2020).

Border regions are literally in the forefront of geographical cohesion of the EU member states but often appear to be poorly developed and heterogenous in terms of transport infrastructure. The reasons for the latter are natural obstacles like rivers or mountains or insufficient capacity to meet the increasing demand due to high synergy at the border regions (Christodoulou, A., & Christidis, P., 2020). However, over the past decades, the EU integration process has helped internal border regions to transform from mainly peripheral areas into area of growth and opportunities (European Commission, 2017).

This chapter goes through various policies, regulations, treaties, agreements etc. introduced by EU in which Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC) more specifically, CB mobility is addressed or considered as an objective.

2.2 Treaty of Rome

The starting point of the efforts undertaken by EU in general to achieve complete cross-border mobility dated back March 1957, when Treaty of Rome was signed with an aim to establish European Economic Community (EEC) and to create a ‘common market’. The creation of ‘common market’ was based on free movement of goods, people, services and capital. One of the policies outlined by the treaty as joint policy between member states is the transport policy

(Articles 74 to 84). This serves as a legal foundation for implementing a Common Transport Policy (CTP). The aim of CTP was to achieve sufficient mobility, which should be suitable to the needs created by economic growth, as well as sustainable. Its development should not limit the future mobility of people and goods (Ogorelc, A., 2003).

2.3 European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)

In July 1973, European commission drafted a legislative proposal for the creation of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The main objective of ERDF was the promotion of industry and infrastructure. In December 1974 the EU leaders approved the creation of this fund and in March 1975 ERDF was formally established (Brunazzo, M., 2016). Later, the ERDF also funds cross-border, interregional and transnational projects under the European territorial cooperation objective which was introduced in 2007 as a new objective of Cohesion policy.

2.4 Schengen Agreement

A treaty which was introduced with the objective to build a Europe without a border is the ‘Schengen Agreement’ which was signed in June 1985 in a small village in Southern Luxemburg on the river Moselle named ‘Schengen’. Initially it was signed by only five following countries EU countries: France, Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. This agreement was for the abolishment of the internal borders between countries and extend control of the external borders. The real implementation of the Schengen area started in March 1995, by five original signatories plus Portugal and Spain who abolished their internal border checks. A major progress shown by the Schengen Agreement was in May 1999, when the “Treaty of Amsterdam” incorporated the agreement inside the legal framework of the European Union). Currently Schengen Area consists of 26 countries of which 22 are EU countries and four others are associate members of the Schengen Area which are not EU members. These countries are Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Lichtenstein. They are part of EFTA and implement the Schengen acquis through specific agreements related to the Schengen agreement.

2.5 Community Initiatives I

The 1988 reform is an important landmark in EU history as it is marked by the beginning of full-fledged Cohesion Policy. During this reform the Community Initiatives (CIs), (Brunazzo, M., 2016) was created as a part of the Reform of the Structural Funds (Guide to Community Initiatives, 1989-93). The CIs were launched for the first time in 1989. They are special

instruments of the Community's structural policies, complementing the Community Support Frameworks (CSFs) and single programming documents (SPDs), which are proposed by the MSs and negotiated with the Commission (Guide to Community Initiatives, 1994-99). INTERREG I is one of the CI which was introduced in 1989 with the aim to assist the border areas of the community to prepare for the single market in 1992. One of the means which is considered to achieve this objective was by promoting closer cooperation between regions on different sides of national borders. Among the eligible measures taken under this program, improvement of transport and other communication system was also included. An amount of ECU 800 million was allocated for this initiative which was highest compared to others (Guide to Community Initiatives, 1989-93).

2.6 Community Initiatives II

On the basis of the Green Paper on the Future of CIs which was issued in June 1993 by Commission and the wide-ranging consultation which resulted in defining seven priority themes. Among them the first one is, cross-border, trans-national and inter-regional cooperation and networks. In this for INTERREG II the total fund allocated was about ECU 3600 million and now it has three strands: cross-border cooperation (strand A), the completion of energy networks (strand B) and cooperation on spatial planning (strand C). INTERREG II A continues with the Interreg Initiative which was to prepare border areas for the frontier-free Europe. As a part of this, in July 1994 a CBC programme was adopted which focused on the central and eastern European countries. This CBC was adopted within the framework of Phare programme. The fund received from Phare will be allocated mainly for measures concerning infrastructure (which include transport), agriculture, tourism etc. (Guide to Community Initiatives, 1994-99). The following phases of INTERREG are as follows: INTERREG III (2000-2006), INTERREG IV (2007-2013) and INTERREG V (2014-2020).

2.7 Trans-European transport Network (TEN-T) Policy

Another policy which is based on the realization of efficient and well-connected infrastructure which is important for competitiveness, growth, jobs and prosperity in the EU is the Trans-European transport Network (TEN-T) policy. The TEN-T policy and the establishment of the guiding principles were first agreed in the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The Council and the European Parliament adopted the first guidelines on the establishment of the TEN-T policy and infrastructure planning in 1996. After the enlargement of EU in 2004 the guidelines of TEN-T underwent a comprehensive revision between 2009 and 2013. The new Regulation (EU) No

1315/2013 on Union guidelines for the development of the TEN-T entered into force on 22 December 2013. This policy is determined mainly by European Commission's Mobility and Transport Directorate- General (DG MOVE) and implemented by Innovation and Networks Executive Agency (INEA). This policy addresses the implementation and development of a Europe-wide network of railway lines, roads, inland waterways, maritime shipping routes, ports airports and railroad terminals. The ultimate objectives include: close gaps, remove bottlenecks and technical barriers, as well as strengthen social, economic and territorial cohesion in the EU. TEN-T comprises of two network layers: 1) The Core Network that includes the most important connections, linking the most important nodes, and is to be completed by 2030; 2) The Comprehensive Network covers all European regions and is to be completed by 2050.

2.8 European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON)

ESPON is an applied research programme aimed at supporting the formulation of territorial development policies in Europe. It was launched in 2002. It collects cross-border data relating to territorial development and publishes studies on specific topics. The knowledge gathered makes it possible to formulate effective policy recommendations on territorial issues. In 2014-20 programming period, ESPON will function as a European Groupings for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC). Its main focus is on thematic objective 11, 'Enhancing institutional capacity of public authorities and stakeholders and efficient public administrations'.

2.9 European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)

The EGTC was established through Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council on 5 July 2006. Later this regulation was amended in 2013 with an aim to clarify existing rules, and to make the creation and functioning of EGTCs simpler and the involvement of third countries clearer and this revised regulation applied since 22 June 2014. EGTC is a legal instrument that created for promoting territorial cooperation between Member States in order to strengthen economic, social and territorial cohesion in EU. This instrument implement programmes and projects that may or may not co-financed by EU funds like the ERDF, the European Social Fund and/or the Cohesion Fund. EGTCs and EGTC memberships are growing steadily in number across the EU and their uses are multiplying. Now EGTCs are involved in various INTERREG programmes and projects and in implementing other cohesion policy programmes.

2.10 Cohesion Fund

The Cohesion fund was established in 11 July 2006 by Council Regulation of EC. The scope of this fund includes providing assistance to TEN-T and in the field of the environment. This fund was established for the purpose of strengthening the economic and social cohesion of the Community in the interests of promoting sustainable development. For the 2014-2020 period, the Cohesion Fund was available to Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia (fi-compass).

2.11 Cohesion Policy

In 2007 three new objectives defined Cohesion policy: Convergence, Regional Competitiveness and Employment and European Territorial Cooperation. The third new objective of European Territorial Cooperation supported CBC through joint initiatives by local and regional authorities (Brunazzo, M., 2016).

Promoting sustainable transport and removing bottlenecks in key transport infrastructure is one of the eleven Thematic Objectives for Cohesion Policy in 2014-2020. As per this objective, the investment will be made in: 1) Supporting a multi-modal Single European Transport Area by investing in the trans-European transport network (TEN-T), 2) Enhancing regional mobility by connecting secondary and tertiary nodes to TEN-T infrastructure including multi-modal nodes. Investment in transport services and infrastructure directly benefit citizens and businesses. Smart mobility, multi-modal transport, clean transport and urban mobility are particular priorities for Cohesion Policy during the 2014-2020 funding period.

2.12 Single European Transport Area

In the White Paper 2011, with title, 'Roadmap to a Single European Transport Area- Towards a competitive and resource efficient transport system', mentioned 'Single European Transport Area'. The Commission sets out to remove major barriers and bottlenecks in many key areas across the fields of transport infrastructure and investment, innovation and the internal market. The aim is to create a Single European Transport Area with more competition and a fully integrated transport network which links the different modes and allows for a profound shift in transport patterns for passengers and freight. A Single European Transport Area would facilitate the movement of EU citizens and freight, reduce costs and improve the sustainability of EU transport (European Commission.,2011).

2.13 Connecting Europe Facility (CEF)

The CEF was introduced in EU Regulation No. 1316/2013 with an objective of stimulating investment in TEN-T and to leverage funding from public and private sectors. At the same time, legal certainty will be increased and the principle of technological neutrality will be respected. CEF funding will be used to improve jobs, growth and competitiveness by making investment focused on infrastructure at European level. CEF provides financial support to develop interconnected trans-European networks in transport, energy and digital services to fill the missing links. CEF Transport focuses on cross-border projects and projects aiming at removing bottlenecks and missing links in various sections of the Core Network and on the Comprehensive Network, as well as for horizontal priorities such as traffic management systems.

2.14 Communication Paper

After realizing that the difficulties faced by individuals, businesses and public authorities in border regions cannot be addressed through financing and investment alone, on September 2017 the Commission adopted its Communication “Boosting Growth and Cohesion in EU Border regions”. This Communication highlights ways in which the EU and its MSs can reduce the complexity, length and costs of cross-border interaction and promote the pooling of services along internal borders (European Commission, 2017). The White Paper on the Future of Europe and the subsequent reflection papers have acknowledged territorial cooperation and cross-border cooperation in particular bring genuine added-value to Europeans. The Communication proposes a set of actions to improve the competitive and cohesive situation of border regions, notably by addressing some of the legal and administrative barriers currently hampering close cooperation and interaction. The implementation of these actions will be facilitated by the creation of a “Border Focal Point” within the Commission (European Commission, 2017).

In Communication Paper it is identified that transport is a key enabler of exchanges between regions across national borders. The public transport services not only help integration process of EU but also enhance the sustainability of cross-border connectivity. This Paper considered good practice in this regard as those cross-mobility projects financed by Interreg. Greater harmonization and coordination of technical and legal standards, together with achieving interoperability in the transport sector at EU level is considered as high priorities. The ‘Action’ taken by the Commission was a study on missing rail links along internal borders which made available at 2018 and shared with stakeholders through the Border Focal Point. The ‘Action’

suggested to the Member States, regions and municipalities were to step up their efforts to provide individuals with better quality, more integrated public transport services (European Commission, 2017).

2.15 Cross-Border Cooperation Survey

The cross-border cooperation survey is based on INTERREG A programmes and projects that support cooperation between nearby NUTS III border regions of minimum two different MSs and in some cases with countries outside the EU. The important objectives of this survey include: To explore awareness of cross-border cooperation programmes; Cross-border mobility; To understand the attitude towards citizens of adjacent countries (also known as cross-border experience); To find out the existing obstacles to cross-border cooperation border regions.

On July 2020 report on Cross-Border Cooperation Survey was published for the period 2014-2020. It was the follow up of previous exercise from 2015. According to the report Cross-Border Mobility has improved since 2015 reaching 56% of citizens living in EU border regions. Differences in languages (52%) and legal and administrative differences (44%) remains the most mentioned obstacles to CBC. But compared to previous edition there is decline in proportion.

The table below shows the schematic representation of the evolution of EU in terms of its integration process and in particular in the area of mobility:

Table 2.1 Evolution of the EU in its Integration Process

Date	Event
March 1957	1. Treaty of Rome was signed to establish EEC and to create a common market 2. Provided legal foundation for implementing a common transport policy in EU
July 1973	EC drafted legislative proposal for creation of ERDF
December 1974	EU leaders approved the creation of ERDF
March 1975	ERDF was formally established

June 1985	Schengen Agreement was introduced and signed by 5 EU countries
1988	Reform that marked the beginning of full-fledged Cohesion Policy and the creation of CIs.
1989	INTERREG I was introduced.
1992	TEN-T policy and guidelines were first agreed in the Maastricht Treaty.
June 1993	Green Paper on the Future CIs was issued
1994	1.INTERREG II (1994-1999) was introduced. 2.CBC programme was adopted for central and eastern European countries within the framework of Phare programme.
March 1995	Real implementation of Schengen Agreement was started by seven Schengen countries
1996	The Council and the European Parliament adopted the first guidelines on the establishment of TEN-T policy.
May 1999	Treaty of Amsterdam incorporated Schengen Agreement in legal framework of the EU
2000	INTERREG III (2000-2006).
2002	ESPOON was launched.
5 July 2006	EGTC was established through EC Regulation.
11 July 2006	Cohesion Fund was established by Council Regulation.
2007	1.European Territorial Cooperation was included as new objective in Cohesion Policy 2.INTERREG IV (2007-2013)
2011	White Paper titled 'Roadmap to a Single European Transport Area- Towards a

	competitive and resource efficient transport system' was published which mentioned about 'Single European Transport Area' for the first time
11 December 2013	CEF was established in EU Regulation.
2014	INTERREG V (2014-2020).
September 2017	EC adopted its Communication Paper titled, "Boosting Growth and Cohesion in EU Border regions"
July 2020	Cross-Border Cooperation Survey 2020 report was published

CHAPTER 3

Factors Determining Cross-border Mobility in Europe

3.1 Introduction

The long land borders and small country territories means that a very large part of the European territory can be considered as border region. Throughout history borders and border regions had different roles that help in enabling and constructing for the European territory. The modern borders can be recognised as barriers, bridges, resources and symbols of identity. The EU has been in the process of continuation expansion and depending integration for more than two decades (ESPON, 2007). One of the most basic elements of the European integration is the abolition of border restrictions related to movement of people and production factors (Kallioras, D., Topaloglou, L., & Venieris, S. 2009). This had a dual impact on border regions. On one hand even though physical borders were removed, in some cases symbolic borders remained in the imaginary of the people. This was termed as ‘the scars of Europe’s history’ by Schuman. On the other hand, these regions have become productive ground for territorial co-operation and institutional innovation (Sousa, L. D. 2013).

Recently as a result of globalization and regional integration, there was recurrence of border regions that sharing common culture and history in the united Europe. But this does not mean that historical fears, identities, non-visible trade barriers and other institutional constraints in border regions have perished. The single market has created opportunities and motivations for cross-border co-operations, but there are still various stumbling blocks to citizens who work, live and go to school across the border (Sousa, L. D. (2013). The asymmetries at the level of the historical image, the culture, the language and the perceptions remain important. Even between six founding members of the EU, there are notable differences with respect to the social and economic practices in spite of the fact that economic barriers between them are practically abolished for half a century. It is also evident that cross-border relations, taking place through trade, foreign direct investments (FDIs) and migration are influenced not only by economic but also by qualitative parameters such as history, language and culture (Kallioras, D., Topaloglou, L., & Venieris, S. (2009).

3.2 Determinants of Cross-Border Mobility

3.2.1 Historical Factors

The evolution of borderland has five stages according to Oscar Martinez in which they advance from sites of conflict to integrated regions with complete collaboration between the respective countries. This evolution is based on increasing transnational interactions that support more integrated cross-border and cross-cultural linkages. In contrast to this generalization David Kaplan and Jouni Häkli argue that past cross-border politics and cultural exchanges as well as current economic and social conditions influence the cross-border cooperation's at each border (Brym, M. J., 2009). In EU, the parallel processes of European integration are an important element of easing borders. Many programmes and projects are launched by the EU for promoting cooperation among the internal border regions. The first Euroregion was established in the Dutch- German borderland in 1958. Thereafter this and other forms of cross-border cooperation have developed throughout Europe including INTERREG programmes (Balogh, P. 2014).

The Poland-German borderland is an example that does not follow the evolution of borderland described by Oscar Martinez. Germany had poor relationship with its neighbouring countries including Poland as a result of World War II. Even though both these countries had same political-economic bloc, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) authorities and Polish People's Republic launched propaganda campaigns occasionally against each other's countries. Also, in the GDR the state borders could not be questioned publicly, but remained strongly controlled. Later in early 1970s West and East Germany recognized each other and as a result the GDR opened up for passport-free travel from the Polish People's Republic. But, when the Solidarity movement in Poland strengthened during early 1980s which resulted in the closure of border again by East Germany. After reunification Germany reconfirmed the recognition of its borders within a few months, and the two countries signed bilateral agreements already in 1990 that encourage them to work for good neighbourhood relations (Balogh, P. 2014). These above-mentioned events are the reasons for the identification of lack of CBC in general in German-Poland region by INTERREG II A as 'Key Problem' for state of isolation. Later through various initiatives and projects under programmes like INTERREG there is significant improvement in the cross-border relationship of these two countries that leads to increased mobility across the Poland-German border region.

3.2.2 Political Factors

The improvement of government relations between adjacent countries can have a positive effect on mobility and cooperation in border regions that result in high number of partnership projects and private investments. This means that a stable climate of inter-governmental cooperation is mandatory for interregional cooperation (Sousa, L. D. (2013). The Ireland-North Ireland border region is the perfect example of the lack of inter-governmental cooperation in border regions. This island was invaded several times during the Middle Ages. It was colonized by the British Crown in 16th century. The great Famine of 1845 to 1849 wiped out a large proportion of the population and resulted in large-scale emigration. In 1921 after achieving independence the Northern Island had its own government and the rest became an independent dominion attached to the British crown. After World War II the Ireland became republic. In 1960s the Unionist in Northern Ireland who wants to remain within UK contested by the nationalist who wished to unite with Ireland which later developed into a real civil war between the communities. The political and social conflict emphasized the sectarian and religious differences (Wassenberg, B et al.2015). This leads to physical barriers in this region because of the closure of cross-border roads for 25 years to prevent the spread of violence. The after effects of this political conflict was lack of trust among local authorities and in local communities (Interreg.eu). The conditions in Northern Ireland have improved considerably since the 1998 peace accord which is also known as the Good-Friday Agreement or the Belfast Agreement, but according to analysts, peace and security remain fragile in this region (CRS report)¹. This severely affected the CBC in this region. Even though the atmosphere calmed down since 2008, tension still remains and there is still ‘peace lines’ separating nationalist and unionist districts of Belfast. The border between Ireland and Northern Ireland never closed but has heavy military presence which make it a defensive border. All this have led to little investment in this border region especially in transport (Wassenberg, B et al.2015).

As a part of Brexit, on December 24 2020, one week before the end of transition period, UK and EU negotiators concluded a Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) which reflects the UK government’s prioritization of reclaiming sovereignty over maintaining economic integration with EU. One of the objectives of this agreement is ending the free movement of people which is viewed as essential to regaining sovereignty over immigration policy. Northern Ireland’s history of political violence complicated arrangements for post-Brexit border between

¹ <https://crsreports.congress.gov/>

Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Even though UK government pledged to uphold the Good Friday Agreement, avoid hard border that includes customs controls and any physical infrastructure and protect north-south co-operation on the island of Ireland, their decision to keep UK outside of the EU's single market and customs unions tell a different story (CRS report).

3.2.3 Economic Factors

According to classical economic theory the removal of obstacles to trade, capital flows and labour mobility would lead to levelling of production levels and standard of living. There will be movement of capital to depressed areas to utilise surplus labour and lower costs, and labour would move to developing areas in search of employment and higher wages. This means that it is impossible for cross-border economic exchanges to expand with debordering when the regions display completely different or completely identical economic structures (Sousa, L. D. (2013). The 'Eastern enlargement' of the EU in May 2004 caused great imbalance as the income disparity between new and old MSs was much more critical than in any previous round. This led to flow of capital largely from West to East and labour mobility from East to West. The intra-EU labour mobility doubled as a result. Approximately five percent of the Polish labour force now resides in other MSs, while this number increased to ten percent for Romania and Lithuania. Also, among the Eastern EU-migrants majority are young people and this leads to population decline especially in regions with lower average fertility and higher average mortality. Also, systematic corruption led to a situation in which EU funds were not utilised to fulfil the original purpose of improving competitiveness, developing infrastructure and investing in human capital or better governance (Andor, L. 2019).

The Euregio Maas-Rhein is one of the oldest cross-border organisations. Within the region include Regio Aachen (Germany), the Province of Liege, the German-speaking community of Belgium, the Belgian Province of Limburg (Belgium), and the Dutch Province of Limburg (the Netherlands) (McIntosh, C. 2010). According to INTERREG report the key problem of this region include lack of linkage to international transport access for local development zones, existence of infrastructure bottlenecks particularly in the density or frequency of public transport services and lack of local infrastructure connectivity to access tourism area or natural parks. The differences in economic development related to the economic sector on which the areas are more depending. This also cause differences in specialization of labour in the respective areas. In the case of Italy-Albania border region, primary sector has more importance

in Italian area, but they also have a strong dependency on tertiary sector. According to INTERREG II A report 86 per cent of total employment is in this sector. At the same time in the Albanian area, they have a strong dependency on primary sector and a very weak tertiary sector. This creates an economic imbalance in the border region which makes it difficult to implement a cross-border project that benefit both the area in the same way (Interreg).

In the Öresund region, movement across border was not very balanced. Majority of the commuting is from Sweden to Denmark. The main reasons for these are higher salaries, housing prices and lower unemployment rates. This trend continued until 2008 and then due to global crisis, narrowing down in housing price differentials and increasing unemployment in Denmark lead to fall in commuting. In this border region differences in salaries, higher housing price and lower unemployment rates in Denmark act like pulling factors for the workers in Sweden which lead to increase in the cross-border commuting (Pucher, J., Stumm, T., & Schneidewind, P. 2017).

3.2.4 Socio- Cultural Factors

The founders of the EU envisioned a borderless Europe where European peoples kept their cultural differences, but treat each other with respect. They believed that with increase in flow of exchanges and mobility would lead to emerging of an abundant European culture and identity. The territorial structure of the States determines local populations' identity and perceptions about their neighbours and have a structural impact on the levels of CBC. In principle, border regions usually share similar language, cultural factors and value systems which make it easier for them to trust each other and cooperate. One of the earlier CBC institutional arrangements in Europe took place between the Scandinavian countries (Sousa, L. D. (2013). The social factors affecting cross-border relations can be seen in mainly external border regions of EU Member States. For example, in INTERREG II report the differences in language are identified as a key problem of 'isolation' in external border regions of the Greece.

3.2.5 Geographical Factors

Geography is one of the most important drivers to functional cooperation because it will force the adjacent countries to negotiate, implement and administer joint infrastructure projects including construction of bridges, roads dams, etc (Sousa, L. D. (2013). But there are cross-border regions where the successful implementation of infrastructures is difficult. For example, in case of Greece-Italy border region there exist discontinuity because of the existence of sea. This is identified as one of the key problems of isolation in INTERREG report. The Ireland-

Wales border region does not have an identity as a region. The Ireland does not have a land link to the European Union. In order to access European market this MS heavily depend on it links with Wales. During the INTERREG II period the implementation of cross-border cooperation programmes in this region was difficult mainly due to the nature of the border. This region was accepted by EC as an exceptional case to include in INTERREG II because of the geographical features of the Ireland. There was no previous history of cooperation in this region. The region mainly has two sea routes, one is Dublin to Holy head in the central sea corridor and Rosslare to Fishguard and Pembroke Dock in the southern sea corridor. This geographical or physical factor itself is the main barrier for cooperation in this border region (Interreg).

3.2.6 Legal and Administrative Factors

The differences in legal and administrative factors are one of the main obstacles in cross-border mobility, more specifically commuting of labourer. The legal factors and administrative factors are often interlinked and therefore studies focusing on any one of them is difficult. The variations in tax and social security systems, differences in labour law are the reasons often restricting smooth commuting in the border regions. Legal and administrative factors as an obstacle were identified in 15 border regions across the EU. Even though EU laws guarantee that cross-border workers have equal employment rights, benefits, working condition and social protection and advantages as the national workers, but still there exist issues related to social security system and tax system and labour law remain a national competence. With respect to social security, EU has introduced a Regulation 883/04 for coordinating social security systems for cross-border workers, but it is not harmonised and differ considerably across the MSs. As a result, cross-border workers faced difficulties due to lack of information, differences in the interpretation of the EU and national legislation as well as challenges in the administrative cooperation between authorities at national and local level. In case of taxes, the main obstacles include, lack of relevant information, language barriers, multiple tax filing requirements, lack of specialised tax offices for foreign and non-resident tax payers etc. Also, many bilateral tax agreements did not recognise the special status of cross-border workers and also did not include specific rules to regulate the taxation of income of cross-border workers. (Pucher, J., Stumm, T., & Schneidewind, P. (2017).

One of the cross-border regions in Europe where movements are affected by legal and administrative factors is the Öresund region. The Öresund region in Sweden (SE) and Denmark

(DK) border always had close economic links and with the construction of Öresund Bridge in 2000 lead to increase in commuter flows as the accessibility improved between the South of Sweden and Greater Copenhagen. The daily cross-border commuters increased from 3,900 in 1999 to 26,000 in 2008. About 90 percent of the movements is from Sweden to Denmark and in 2009 it accounted for 95 percent. The governing structure of this region identifies obstacles for cross-border commuting and plan actions to address the same. On January 2016 the governance structure of this region changed. The Öresund Committee which led the political cooperation in the region since mid-1990s merged with the Danish organisation Greater Copenhagen and established The Greater Copenhagen and Skåne Committee (GCSC). The core objectives of the GCSC are to support labour market integration and try to remove legal and administrative cross-border obstacles that prevent economic growth of the Öresund region. (Pucher, J., Stumm, T., & Schneidewind, P. (2017).

3.3 Conclusion

To conclude, Border represents an object of separation that reveals the existence of legal, political, economic or cultural differences. To minimise or to remove this barriers EU introduce several CBC programmes. These are not only the joint activities of MSs but also the formal and informal mechanisms of concerted action between stakeholders at frontiers (Wassenberg, B., Reitel, B., Peyrony, J., & Rubi6, J. 2015).

Table 3.1: Determinants of Cross-Border Mobility

Factors	Meaning	Example	Reference
Historical factor	Past cross-border conflicts and issues significantly effects cooperation between the respective countries	Poland -German borderland	Balogh, P. 2014
Political factor	Government relations between neighbour countries have effect on their cross-border relations.	Ireland - Northern Ireland region	Wassenberg, B etal. 2015
Economic factor	Higher the degree of complementarity in economic features, more effective the cross-border cooperation.	Öresund region	Pucher, J., Stumm, T., & Schneidewind, P. 2017

Socio - Cultural Factor	Difference in culture, values and language adversely affect the cooperation in the border regions	Greece - External borders	LRDP, L. 2003
Geographical Factors	Physical structures like mountains, rivers etc. prevent the cross-border mobility and co-operation among the adjacent countries	Ireland - Wales	LRDP, L. 2003
Legal and Administrative factors	Difference in legal and administrative systems create obstacles in cross-border mobility and co-operation in general	Öresund region	Pucher, J., Stumm, T., & Schneidewind, P. 2017

CHAPTER 4

A Qualitative Evaluation of the Cross-Border Mobility Projects implemented in EU

4.1 Introduction

INTERREG is one of the important instruments of the EU that support cooperation across borders through project funding. The aim of this programme is to tackle common challenges and find solutions in fields like health, environment, research, education, transport, sustainable energy and more. Since INTERREG II (1994 - 1999) it is divided into three strands: i) INTERREG A - Cross-border Cooperation Programme, ii) INTERREG B - the completion of energy networks and INTERREG C - Cooperation on Spatial Planning.

In this chapter a general evaluation of cross-border mobility projects implemented during each phase of INTERREG starting from INTERREG II and also list of important cross-border mobility projects implemented in the EU internal borders are provided.

4.2 INTERREG II-A (1994 - 1999)

The INTERREG II A represented a continuation of INTERREG I. The second period of INTERREG supported 59 programmes of which 35 internal border programmes and 24 programmes for external borders of the Community. According to Commission's Guidelines for strand A and B, the aim is to overcome problems related to development and to promote the creation and development of networks of cooperation across borders. As a result, the INTERREG IIA programmes were implemented mainly on cross-border basis. The 59 programmes of INTERREG II A supported more than 10,000 projects (LRDP, L. 2003).

In the ex-post evaluation of INTERREG II, in order to assess the achievements of INTERREG IIA different themes and sub-themes were introduced. In this first theme was Reduction or Elimination of isolation that had two sub-themes: 1) improvement of cross-border transport networks; and 2) improvement of cross-border energy/telecom/public utilities networks (LRDP, L. 2003).

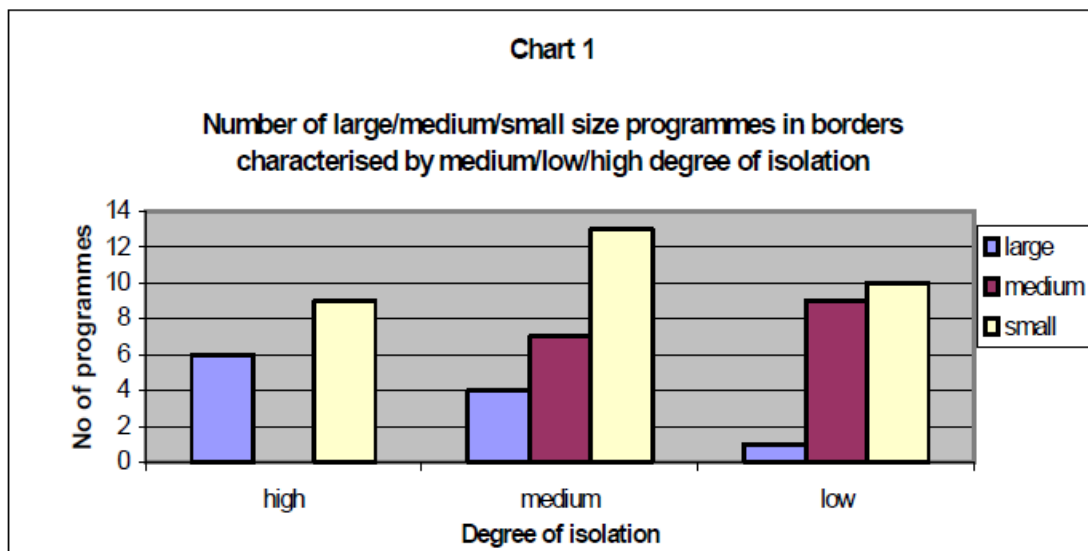
4.2.1 Study Area

The eligible borders under INTERREG IIA programme were extremely heterogeneous. It includes internal and external EU borders, land and sea borders, borders affected by different degree of isolation and borders with diverse experience and depth of CBC. The programmes

approved also varies in geographic and financial size, fundamental objectives and focus (LRDP, L. 2003).

The programmes in INTERREG IIA were categorised on the basis of ‘degree of isolation (high/medium/ low) and the financial capacity of INTERREG IIA programmes (large/ medium/ small). The graph below shows the relation between these two dimensions. It can be seen that large programmes were implemented in the border regions with high degree of isolation and small or medium-sized programmes supported the area with medium/low degree of isolation (LRDP, L. 2003).

Figure 4.1: Number of large/medium/small programmes in borders characterised by medium/low/high degree of isolation.

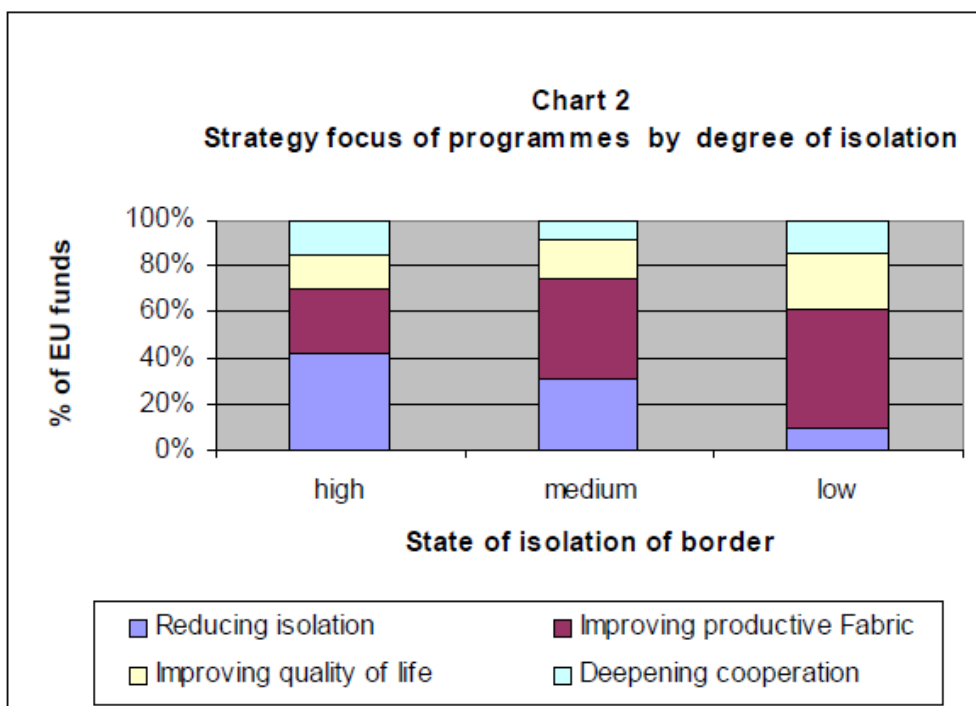


Source: Ex-Post Evaluation of the INTERREG II Community Initiative (1994-1999), Brief Report, (2003)

4.2.2 Programme Strategies

The programmes adopted in each border was appropriate to the nature and type of problems facing by that region. In highly isolated border areas, the focus was to reduce isolation and accordingly higher amount was spent on this purpose. In the same way, a smaller number of resources were allocated in border regions with medium or low degree of isolation. The chart below shows this relationship between the strategy focus of grammes and degree of isolation (LRDP, L. 2003).

Figure 4.2: Strategy focus of Programmes by Degree of Isolation



Source: Ex-Post Evaluation of the INTERREG II Community Initiative (1994-1999), Brief Report, (2003)

4.2.3 Key Findings

The INTERREG IIA programmes can be divided on the basis of the quality of programmes and their strategy in two four types: development strategies; balanced and integrated CBC strategies; highly focussed CBC strategies and strategies that broadly sought to foster CBC. Among this development strategies type programmes focus on reduction of isolation in border regions. Many resources were allocated to transport infrastructure projects and mainly for border regions with high or medium degree of isolation mainly in Objective 1 regions (13 regions in EU with a total of 19 million inhabitants) and in the cohesion countries (LRDP, L. 2003).

In case of adequacy of the programmes there was some shortcoming. In some cases the strategies were not always in line with the scope when addressing the problems through INTERREG. The main reason for this is the insufficient quality in the programme preparation process like joint SWOT analysis. Therefore, in such cases achievements was limited compared to other programmes and projects. In general, there was robustness for the programme strategies during the implementation and also stability and continuity in terms of long-term evaluation with shift in priorities when required (LRDP, L. 2003).

4.2.4 Effectiveness of INTERREG IIA Programmes

The INTERREG IIA had important outputs and results in the whole thematic areas with certain variations. In the field of transport improvement or mobility, there was notable development particularly in large-scale investment programmes launched in highly isolated regions. Through various projects it was able to restore or establish missing links between transport networks which resulted in decreased travel and transit time.

The major impact of the cross-border mobility projects is reduction in internal isolation, improvement in the accessibility of border regions and improvement in cross-border mobility (LRDP, L. 2003).

Following table shows the summary of changes in state of isolation and cooperation in group of borders:

Table 4.1: Changes in the State of Isolation and Cooperation in Group of Borders

Group of Borders	State of the Isolation at the start of the programme period (1994)	State of the Isolation at the end of the programme period (1999)	Changes in the state of isolation during the Programme period
Spain-Portugal - South-west France	M L: in parts of Gal/Norte)	M+ +	Significant changes in the field of transport networks. (Some rural areas in the border of France and Spain are still suffering from isolation)
Greece-Italy-Neighbouring Balkan countries	H: in external borders	H + +	Transport infrastructure and telecom/energy projects reduced isolation in the GR - External borders Transport infrastructure projects in GR -IT and IT-AL were mainly standalone projects
South and South-East France - Italy - Switzerland	M L: Menton - V' miglia	M +	Increase in the number of commuters and reduction of travel time in the maritime FR-IT programmes. In most programmes the state of isolation did not change considerably
North-East France - Germany - Belgium -	L	L	Reduction of isolation was not focus of the programme.

Netherlands - Luxemburg - Switzerland			Therefore, no change in degree of isolation.
Germany - Belgium - Netherlands	L	L++	Positive changes in the degree of isolation. Better Eats- West linkage and intra- euro regional connectivity. Improvement in the quality of public transport services
United Kingdom - Northern France - Belgium	L M in UK-FR	L M: UK - FR	Reduction of isolation was not the focus of the programme.
United Kingdom - Ireland	M L: Ireland - Northern Ireland	M+	Improved permeability across land border. Better external connections. Improved public transport
Denmark - Germany - Austria - Switzerland	L	L	Border regions in northern and southern groups have been permeable at the start of programme. Extended synergy effects for the inhabitants and businesses in the southern group. Better integration of the Lake Constance region in the TEN-T
Germany-Adjoining applicant countries	H	H+	Physical barriers have been reduced
Sweden - Norway - Finland - Denmark - Baltics	M	M	No projects directly aiming to reduce isolation.
Sweden - Finland - Norway and Russia - Estonia	M H: FI - RU	M+	Improved border - crossing particularly on the Russian border
Austria - Italy - adjoining applicant countries	M H: external borders	M	No real improvement in cross-border linking of infrastructure

Source: Ex-Post Evaluation of the INTERREG II Community Initiative (1994-1999), Brief Report, (2003)

H - High = insufficient transport communication links

M - Medium = links available but day - to -day contact not feasible

L - Low = sufficient links available and day - to -day contact feasible

+ and ++: a large number of minor (+) and major (++) positive changes were identified by the ex-post evaluation

4.3 INTERREG IIIA (2000-2006)

INTERREG III Community Initiative has five different operational elements:

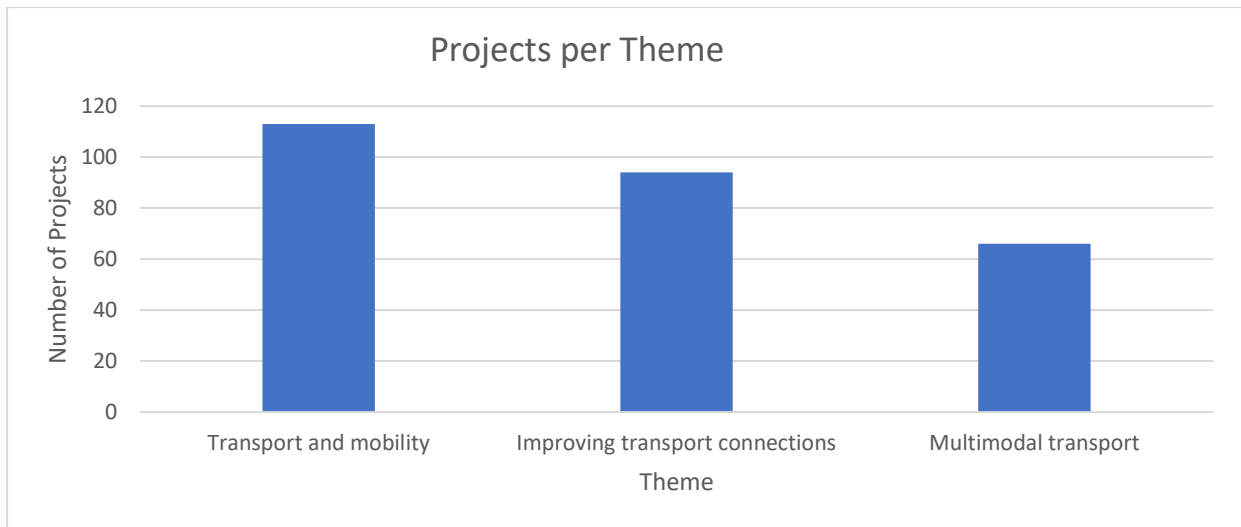
1. Strand A - Cross-Border Co-operation: To promote an integrated regional development between neighbouring border regions including external and maritime borders.

2. Strand B - Transnational Co-operation: To contribute to the harmonious territorial development and integration of the Community territory.
3. Strand C - Inter -regional Co-operation: To improve the effectiveness of policies and instruments for regional development and cohesion by structured and large- -scale information exchanges and sharing of experience.
4. The programme ESPON: focused on the observation and analysis of territorial and regional development trends in Europe and spatial planning research of relevance to the EU territory.
5. The programme INTERACT (INTERREG - Animation, Co-ordination, Transfer): A co-operative tool for providing assistance to EU-funded territorial co-operation.

In the INTERREG III CI majority of financial resources was allocated to Strand A which promotes cross-border co-operation. Also, development of co-operation between internal borders of the EU-15 and the 'old external borders should be achieved by introducing genuine cross-border partnerships. Along with this the integration of the bottom - up involvement and participation of stakeholders in the programme areas. Also, in the INTERREG IIIA strengthening cooperation across the new EU eastern borders was given priority by introducing PHARE - CBC Regulation to facilitate co-ordination with INTERREG (Panteia. 2010).

A brief detail about the programmes and projects introduced under INTERREG since 2000 is stored in database called 'keep.eu' which was built under Interact Programme with the support of European Commission and the remaining Interreg, Interreg IPA cross-border, ENPI/ENI and IPA-IPA cross-border programmes. There are 42 thematic keywords in the keep.eu data base on the basis of which the projects are classified. In the period 2000-2006 INTERREG IIIA, under 46 programmes a total of 223 projects was implemented on the themes 'Transport and Mobility, 'Multimodal Transport' and 'Improving Transport Connection'. The figure below shows the number of projects comes under each of these themes:

Figure 4.3: INTERREG IIIA Projects per Theme related to Mobility



Source: keep.eu/statistics

4.3.1 StrandA Objectives:

The main aim of Strand A is support border areas in eliminating isolation which is recognised as a complex and multi-dimensional problem by the Guidelines. ‘Improving transport (particularly implementing more environmental- friendly forms), information and communication networks and services and water and energy system’ is one of the priority topics of Strand A in this period. Also, Guidelines stressed the maximum concentration of infrastructure investments in administrative areas below NUTS III level that are very near to borders. Cooperation was considered as not only a tool but also as an objective in the Guidelines in order to achieve the territorial development objectives under Strand A. In 2000-2006 period the main challenge was to progressively continue the positive experiences of CBC programmes of previous period also to improve and develop joint cross-border structures for such co-operation within the Community and also with neighbouring countries. It is also expected to have an improvement in the quality at project-level in the co-operation (Panteia. 2010).

As in previous programme, the border regions were heterogenous in terms of political, physical and socio-economic features. There were 64 programmes under INTERREG IIIA and these played a significant role in stimulating socio-economic and sustainable territorial development of the programme areas. Compared to Strands B and C, the eligible areas under Strand A were smaller which made it possible to address a wide range of issues related to development of socio-economic and socio - cultural elements of the regions. Also, territorial proximity

supported the initiation of informal relationships between the local authorities and regions which eventually led to the establishment of joint co-operation structure. At the same time, there was certain factors that limited the cross-border co-operation of Strand A programming areas. First is limited financial resources. allocated to the strand A programmes by the Structural fund. For 62 INTERREG IIIA programmes, that ranging from a total budget of € 0.709 million (*Gibraltar-Morocco*) to more than € 1 billion (*Spain-Portugal*), the total fund allocated was € 6.472 billion. The second limitation was many of the border problems was caused by language and legal and administrative barriers that cannot be solved by INTERREG III. This should be delt with either respective national governments or by the EU (Panteia. 2010).

4.3.2 Effect of INTERREG IIIA interventions in the Development of Cross-Border Transport System

In INTERREG IIIA transport projects was launched mainly in the borders that has physical features like mountains, maritime borders, rivers etc. which prevent the cross-border mobility. As the development of cross-border transport links or elimination of existing bottlenecks required sizeable investments, only the large or medium-sized INTERREG IIIA programmes realised important infrastructure investments. Example in this regard is the border region Spain- Portugal where road infrastructure investment account for more than 10% (approx. € 65 million) of total expenditure. According to data from monitoring systems the actual level of investment was less than expected, but, notable outcomes and direct effects were achieved. Ten new cross-border connections were established that led to reduction in travel time by 326.5 minutes on cross-border routes. The length of the roads was extended to approximately 153 km and a total of 2604 km of roads were built. All these led to increase in cross-border traffic by 1124 vehicles per day. The transport projects implemented helps in overcoming natural obstacles to mobility and improved the co-ordination within and between the road networks on either side of the border (Panteia. 2010).

In case of medium-sized programme Ireland - Northern Ireland border region can be considered as an example. The transport network in this region was damaged which caused adverse effect on competitiveness of the area as a business location. Therefore, a number of transport projects were launched which made an important contribution integrated development of the cross-border region. Important transport projects include:

1. The up-grading of a cross-border railway track and the improvement of 25 kilometres of cross-border road network, improving the level of connectivity and reduction of travel time.
2. An intelligent traffic management system was deployed across the border corridor and a feasibility study for a new cross-border bridge was realised.
3. A number of projects improved maritime communications and maritime safety. In 3 ports there was 100% of improvement in communication and 15% of increased usage in 8 harbours. Also, in 13 small harbours safety was improved.

The small Strand A programmes included the external and 'new' internal borders. The main focus of these projects was on transport infrastructure investments. The Poland - Czech Republic programme has developed the road network in the border area. 35 cross-border and border road connections were established under the programme and also 51.3 km of road was built or reconstructed. All these investments led to enhancement of transport communication between both countries (Panteia. 2010).

In Austria - Slovakia programme a small cross-border bridge was built over the border river March at Hohenau-Moravsky Svaty Jan. This replaced pontoon bridge a swimming raft that was a temporary solution and was not usable during floods. The funding for this investment was mainly Slovak funds, but INTERREG funding helped to make sure that required environmental protection measures and infrastructures were included to put up with the sensitive environmental situation in the border region. The new bridge can be used by car and freight transport not more than 7.5t and by buses up to 18t. This led to more efficient traffic connection between border areas, improvement in accessibility and connectivity. It also introduces a pre-condition for the long-term socio-economic development of this part of the programme area (Panteia. 2010).

The small Strand A programmes supported small-scale investments and produced soft-cooperation outcomes in transport-related issues, like improving cross-border public transport services, conducting cross-border planning activities or feasibility studies on new infrastructures or services etc. Public transport projects had notable direct effects in the wider programming areas. These projects include cross-border harmonisation of time schedules, introduction of joint ticketing or pricing systems between cross-border public transport systems etc (Panteia. 2010).

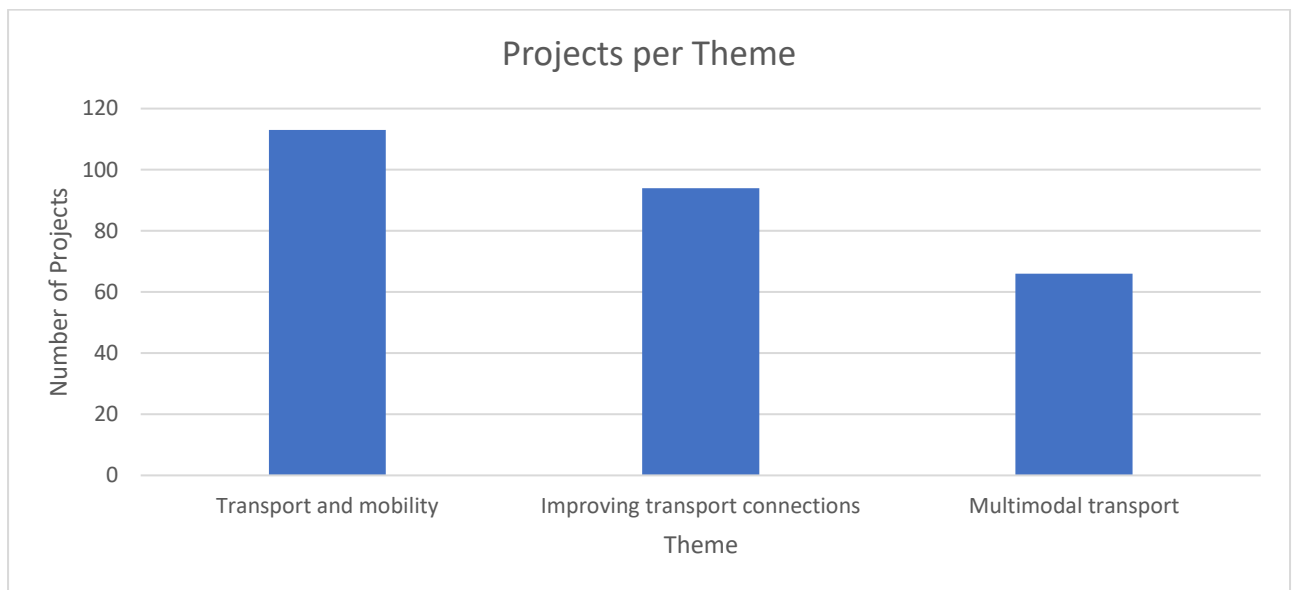
The programme implemented in the Öresund Region is important as the new fixed link opened in 2000 stimulates the cross-border commuting and related transport flows in the area. In order to promote sustainable pattern of cross-border mobility based on stronger and efficient public transport, a number of projects were introduced including, “Sustainable mobility in the Öresund Region”, “Public Transport Information across the Sound” and “Improved Service to the Customers of public transport in the Öresund Region”. Under the INTERREG IIIA programme Euregio Maas Rhein project titled “Euroregional Public Transport Platform” a comprehensive and integrated strategy for modernisation and expansion of the cross-border public transport system as a whole was developed. This can be considered as an ambitious and strategic approach to improving cross-border mobility (Panteia. 2010).

To conclude, one of the key achievements of INTERREG III programmes (2000-2006) was in the field of transport infrastructure. A total of 1030 transport -related infrastructure were built or constructed and along with that over 200 pathways on a total length of more than 18,000 km that includes road, railway, bicycle and hiking trails etc. were constructed or supported. Also, many services in various fields like institutional, technological, administrative, transport-related, tourism, social, health etc was either created or supported under the programme. Thus, it is clear that important outputs and results were created during INTERREG III. During this period a significant impact on territorial development and co-operation was also achieved mainly through institutional and socio-economic outcomes (Panteia. 2010).

4.4 INTERREG IVA (2007 - 2013)

In the programming period 2007-2013 of INTERREG, the total number of projects launched for improving cross-border mobility in particular are 360 under 50 programmes. Compared to previous period there has been an increase in the number of both programmes and projects that comes under the themes related to transport and mobility improvement in the cross-border region. The figure below shows the number of projects that comes under three thematic keywords of keep.eu database that related to cross-border mobility:

Figure 4.4: Projects under INTERREG IVA per Theme related to Mobility



Source: keep.eu/statistics

4.4.1 Objectives and Allocation of Funds

The overall objective of CBC programmes for the 2007 - 2013 period was to reduce the negative effects of borders like administrative, legal and physical barriers, eradicate common problems and to utilise unexplored potential in the border regions. The total amount of cohesion policy funding that agreed with Member States was €270.3 billion for this programming period and €82.3 billion (30.4 %) was assigned to perform interventions in various areas of transport. This allocated varied from €25.6 billion in Poland to €0 in Luxemburg and Denmark. About 88.1% of fund was allocated among 10 MSs of which 6 are those joined EU in or after 2004, virtually only Convergence regions, Spain, Greece, Italy and Germany, with notable proportion of Convergence regions. Each MS distributed the Cohesion policy funding at different range among different areas of transport like road rail and other that reflected different objectives and policies established in each States for the 2007-2013 programming period. The table below shows the details of allocation done by the MSs.

Table 4.2: Allocation of Funds by MSs on Transport Infrastructure

	Roads	% of total	Rail	% of total	Other	% of total	Total
Poland	15,800	62%	5,468	21%	4,388	17%	25,656
Spain	2,287	28%	4,137	50%	1,802	22%	8,226
Czech Republic	3,922	50%	2,720	35%	1,181	15%	7,822
Hungary	3,140	47%	1,720	26%	1,818	27%	6,679
Greece	4,444	71%	684	11%	1,128	18%	6,255
Romania	3,377	62%	1,692	31%	402	7%	5,471
Italy	702	17%	2,248	54%	1,234	29%	4,184
Slovakia	1,934	57%	1,180	35%	270	8%	3,384
Germany	1,978	63%	766	24%	406	13%	3,150
Bulgaria	991	49%	341	17%	690	34%	2,022
Portugal	809	47%	376	22%	529	31%	1,713
Lithuania	681	43%	580	37%	309	20%	1,570
Latvia	483	42%	256	22%	402	35%	1,141
France	165	15%	201	19%	706	66%	1,072
Cross Border ⁶	314	30%	79	8%	651	62%	1,044
Slovenia	408	43%	450	48%	89	9%	946
Estonia	290	42%	185	27%	216	31%	692
United Kingdom	132	26%	87	17%	280	56%	498
Croatia	-	0%	222	97%	8	3%	230
Malta	101	68%	-	0%	47	32%	148
Ireland	64	76%	17	20%	4	4%	84
Cyprus	33	41%	-	0%	48	59%	81
Sweden	9	11%	12	15%	57	73%	77
Belgium	14	24%	-	0%	46	76%	60
Netherlands	5	10%	0.4	1%	45	89%	50
Finland	14	36%	10	26%	15	39%	40
Austria	-	0%	-	0%	6	100%	6
Total	42,097	51%	23,432	28%	16,771	20%	82,299

Source: Ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2007-2013, focusing on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF) - Work Package 5: Transport: Final Report. (2016)

The EU plays a leading role in realising an integrated transport system that meets the need of the Union as a whole by engaging with the MS to jointly plan a pan-European transport network for their mutual benefit. The TEN-T policy is an important tool to attain this objective. During the 2007-2013 period, a separate TEN-T programme with a total budget of approximately EUR 8 billion was there to provide resources for TEN-T investments. The TEN - T serves the agreed priorities of the EC and MS for completion of the EU wide transport networks. The Cohesion policy supports this objective by providing funding for the TEN-T infrastructure. In this period approximately €38.3 billion of total cohesion policy resources was allocated to the TEN-T.

Among various TEN-T themes the Member States concentrated more on TEN-T motorways and TEN-T railways by allocating 24% and 21% of cohesion policy transport resources respectively. As a result, by the end of 2012 30 TEN-T priority projects was completed and to fulfil this objective a major share of fund came from cohesion policy for the MSs like Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Romania. On the other hand, in countries like Spain, Portugal and Germany this fund was not utilised for the TEN-T projects.

4.4.2 Outputs

As high share of cohesion policy funding was allocated for TEN-T projects, it accounts for major share with respect to output in the field of transport. A total of 3875 km of new roads was constructed by the end of 2013 in which 47% were new TEN-T roads. All new roads constructed in Bulgaria, Greece and Cyprus were TEN-T roads. Also, in eight Member States more than 50% of new roads constructed comes under TEN-T network. The table below shows the details of new roads constructed in the member states during the programming period 2007-2013:

Table 4.3: New Roads Constructed under INTERREG IV A

Member State	New roads (km)	Of which, new TEN-T roads (km) ¹²	New TEN-T roads/new roads (%)
Bulgaria	141	141	100
Greece	88	88	100
Cyprus	3	3	100
Slovenia	55	52	95
Romania	162	140	86
Slovakia	72	39	54
Poland	1,595	834	52
United Kingdom	12	6	50
Portugal	290	137	47
Czech Republic	293	103	35
Spain	279	88	32
Hungary	443	114	26
Germany	274	71	26
Italy	61	0	0
Latvia	0	0	0
Estonia	70	n/a	n/a
France	28	n/a	n/a
Sweden	9	n/a	n/a
Total	3,875	1,817	47

Source: Ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2007-2013, focusing on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF) - Work Package 5: Transport: Final Report. (2016)

Similarly, the total length of reconstructed road by the end of 2013 about 23,014 km was achieved. Among Member States, Poland had highest output at 6,550 km followed by Portugal with approximately 2,700 km. In countries with well-developed road networks like United Kingdom and Sweden, only a small portion of cohesion policy funding was used for road reconstruction purposes. The details of reconstructed roads in the member states using cohesion policy funding during 2007-2013 is given in the following table:

Table 4.4: Details of Re-constructed Roads

Member State	Achieved km	Km per m of population ¹³
Poland	6,550	172.3
Portugal	2,692	258.2
Hungary	2,237	226.5
Spain	1,681	36.1
Czech Republic	1,665	158.4
Lithuania	1,473	500.6
Romania	1,437	72.0
Slovakia	1,374	253.7
Germany	747	9.2
Cross Border ¹⁴	741	n/a
Bulgaria	730	100.7
Greece	690	63,1
Latvia	548	273.8
Estonia	205	155.8
Italy	168	2.8
Ireland	33	7.2
Sweden	14	1.5
Malta	11	26.8
United Kingdom	10	0.2
Slovenia	4	2.0
Cyprus	3	4.0
Total	23,014	n/a

Source: Ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2007-2013, focusing on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF) - Work Package 5: Transport: Final Report. (2016)

A total of 3405 km of new railroads was constructed in EU by the end of 2013 of which 49% come under TEN-T network. In this, seven Member States has majority of new railroad on TEN-T. Slovenia, Slovakia and Romania had 100% of new or reconstructed railroads on TEN-T network. Countries like Spain, United Kingdom and Latvia did not report any new or reconstructed railroads on the TEN-T even though Spain had set aside a substantial amount for this area. In the case of rail projects, no achievement was reported by the end of programming

period mainly because they were not fully completed by that time. The table below shows the railroad new or reconstructed using cohesion policy funding during 2007-2013 in the Member States:

Table 4.5: New or Re-constructed Railroads built under INTERREG IVA

Member State	New or reconstructed railroad (km)	Of which, new or reconstructed TEN-T railroad (km)	TEN-T railroads as a % of all railroads
Slovenia	73	73	100
Slovakia	62	62	100
Romania	22	22	100
Lithuania	40	38	95
Bulgaria	181	164	91
Czech Republic	301	234	78
Italy	981	728	74
Germany	392	130	33
Greece	74	17	24
Poland	334	71	21
Portugal	296	47	16
France	446	57	13
Hungary	199	20	10
Spain	1	-	0
Latvia	0	0	0
United Kingdom	0	0	0
Sweden	3	n/a	n/a
Croatia	0	n/a	n/a
Cross Border ¹⁵	0	n/a	n/a
Total	3,405	1,661	49

Source: Ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2007-2013, focusing on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF) - Work Package 5: Transport: Final Report. (2016)

The major strength of cohesion policy included the ability to support the diverse range of policy objectives across the Member States. Cohesion policy funding was an important source of funding for transport infrastructure during the economic recession. It was a key funding to promote investment in large complex infrastructure projects. Also, cohesion policy programme made an important contribution in developing organisational capacity of Member States. However, some stakeholders point out that the concentration of funds mainly on TEN-T network projects led to reduction in the allocation for regional transport projects and thereby continuing the regional disparities that exist before².

² ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/pdf/expost2013/wp5_task5_en.pdf

Details of the some cross-border transport projects launched during the 2007-2013 programming period is given in the table below:

Table 4.6: Cross-Border Transport Projects Implemented under INTERREG IVA

Programme Area	Project Acronym	Title of the Project	Goal of the Project
Hungary-Slovakia	TRANSHUSK	Promoting mobility along the Hungarian-Slovak border through the development of public transport/ improving mobility by promoting public transport in Slovakia - Hungary	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Harmonisation of transport data collection method. 2. The transport head setting targets based on traffic and passenger counting and questioning, on-site inspection. 3. Data analysis, strategy creation for cross-border community. 4. To integrate the service, ticket and tartar system.
Northern Ireland - Border Region of Ireland - Western Scotland (IE - UK)	Redevelopment of Portadown Railway System	Provide full accessible Railway Station in Portadown with lift access to the island platform and Obin street	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To improve access to connectivity for those living in the eligible areas. 2. To provide a refurbished railway station capable of meeting passenger and staff needs. 3. To provide retail opportunities within the existing station. 4. To improve access to the enterprise service (Belfast - Dublin) for passengers within the eligible area.

			5. To provide new staff training facilities.
France (Channel) - England	MEET	Materials for Energy Efficient in Transport	to build a scientific cross-border network of excellence to improve energy efficiency in transports, particularly through innovative and sustainable solutions.
Poland - Czech Republic	Connection of the historical part of the town of Bohumín to the village of Chalupki	Ensuring transport accessibility by building roads and sidewalks	<p>1. To modify the roads leading to the border crossing and increase pedestrian safety.</p> <p>2. To construct new and to modify existing sidewalks.</p> <p>3. The length of modification of road on CZ is 115.0m and on PL is 292.50</p>
Italy - Switzerland (IT-CH)	ALIBUS	Creation of new rail connection that will pass through ValleOssola and the Sempione rail tunnel that allow to link Malpensa airport with the canton of Valais	To meet the increasing demand for flexible transport system by both work commuters and tourists.
Romania - Bulgaria (RO - BG)	SMART	Sustainability, Mobility, Accessibility in Cross-Border Region Constanta - Dobrich - Transport Infrastructure	<p>1. To improve the access and mobility in the programme area as a prerequisite for cohesion of people, communities and economies in the border region of RO and BG</p> <p>2. To renovate road section with cross-border importance and purchase of special vehicles for interventions and traffic control.</p> <p>3. To improve cross-border mobility through development of Strategy for cross-border increase in mobility intensifying goods and people's movement.</p>

Spain - Portugal (ES-PT)	0247_VIAS_2_E	Connection of border areas for better territorial permeability and road communication	To achieve road permeability of the border territory and to obtain a transport network and smooth communication in border areas.
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Source: keep.eu/projects

4.5 INTERREG VA (2014-2020)

The fifth programming period of European Territorial Cooperation which is also known as INTERREG was based on eleven thematic objectives, their investment priorities, and specific objectives in order to deliver Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in EU. The eleven thematic objectives include the following themes:

1. Innovation
2. SME competitiveness
3. Environment and Sustainability
4. Social inclusion
5. Education

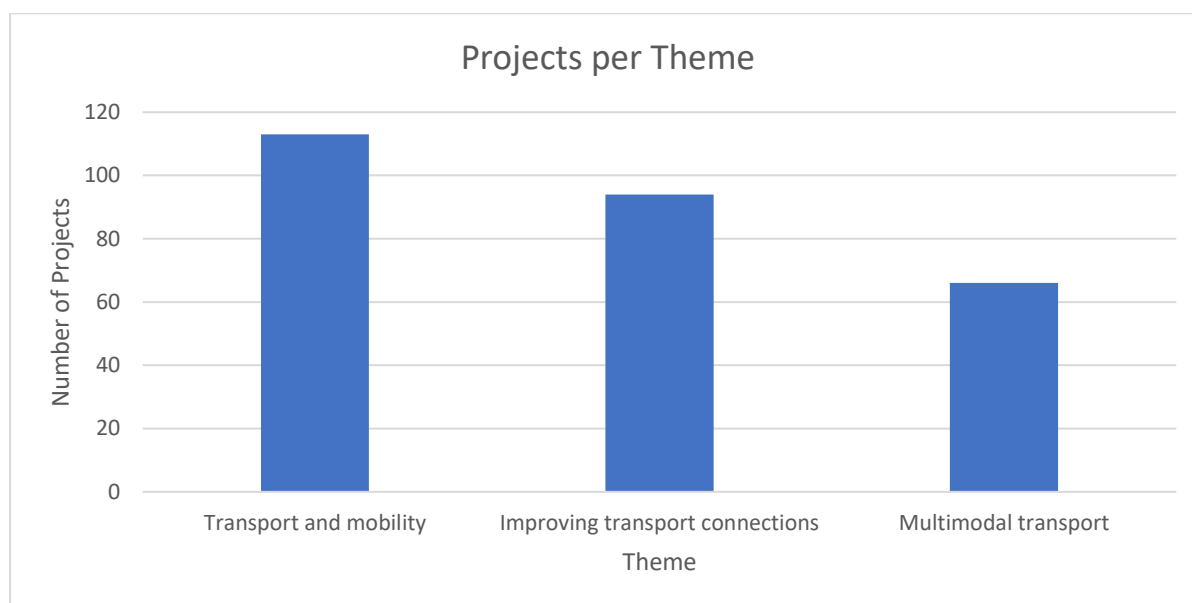
The selection of thematic objectives and investment priorities are decided based on the needs of the region that the programme address. The overall aim of the INTERREG programmes is to bring changes in the border regions and contributes to its growth and development. The cohesion policy framework for this period was more result oriented when compare to the previous programming period. As a result, the INTERREG was reformed to achieve greater impact and more effective utilisation of investments. Key elements of 2014-2020 reforms are: Concentration; Simplification and Result orientation. The fifth programming period of the INTERREG has a budget of EUR 10.1 billion that is invested in more than 100 co-operation programmes between regions and territorial, social and economic partners.

One of the eleven priorities of the INTERREG VA is sustainable transport. The main aim is to promote cross-border, intermodal and sustainable mobility in the border regions. The programme will support the border areas to achieve more coherent and integrated network that include public transport, cycling and the increased use of electric vehicles³. In this period under 30 programmes a sum of 313 projects were launched under INTERREG VA based on the

³ ec.europa.eu

thematic objective (07) which is ‘promoting sustainable transport and removing bottlenecks in the key network infrastructure’. In that only 30 programmes and 230 projects are based on the thematic objective 07 and also on three thematic keywords of keep.eu that related to cross-border mobility. The figure below shows the number of projects comes under these three themes of ‘Transport and Mobility, Multimodal Transport and ‘Improving Transport Infrastructure’:

Figure 4.5: Projects under Themes related to Mobility



Source: keep.eu/statistics

As a complete evaluation report on INTERREG VA is not available yet as some projects are still implementing, it is not possible to give a general picture of the performance of the programmes in the 2014-2020 period. Therefore, details of some of the projects implemented on cross-border regions specifically on the theme of transport and mobility is given below:

Table 4.7: Cross- Border transport Projects Implemented under INTERREG VA

Programme Area	Project Acronym	Title of the Project	Goal of the Project	Result/Expected Result
Austria - Czech Republic	TRANSREGIO	Improvement of the capacity and technical parameters of the railway connection between the South Moravian and Lower Austrian regions	Contribution to the improvement of the Baltic-Adriatic TEN-T corridor.	The results are of assessments and recommendations of an investment-oriented nature on socio-economic efficiency, environmental

				impact and risks in the feasibility
Austria - Germany/Bavaria		Making Regional Railways More Attractive	To promote attractiveness of these regional railways in the cross-border participation and development process	The project implementation will increase the cooperation of all actors involved in the functioning of the regional railways
Austria- Hungary	SMART- Pannonia	Sustainable Mobility and Accessibility for Regional Transport in Burgenland - West Hungary	To develop efficient and sustainable, common cross-border transport cooperation in order to strengthen sustainable mobility both on local and on regional level.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The creation of the cross-border transport platform that connects the individual service providers. 2. Application of solutions in the service of intelligent mobility. 3. Introduction of intermodal measures in the field of cycling. 4. The promotion of cross-border planning in the rail sector.
Belgium - France	Flandria Rhei - TRANSMOBIL	Improving mobility services in the cross-border rural area	To promote the mobility of populations in the cross-border rural territory where there are few or no alternatives to the private car	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Updated cross-border map of public transport and access to data through a digital platform 2. Creation of cross-border network of hubs (at least 12) 3. Completion of study on existing line connections and potential cross-border links.

				4. Setting up of a cross-border mobility hub to pool strengths and expertise.
Belgium - Germany - The Netherlands Euregio Meuse-Rhin / Euregio Maas-Rijn / Euregio Maas-Rhein	ECON	EMR Connect	To improve cross-border mobility and create a stronger network within the EMR.	<p>1. The harmonization of different ticket system for the population of the EMR.</p> <p>2. Establishment of new regional sales channels will create added value for passengers.</p> <p>3. Number of commuters will increase by at least 25% compared to the reference year 2014</p>
Central Baltic Region (Finland-Estonia-Latvia-Sweden)	E -TICKETING	Creation of the interoperability between the electronic ticketing systems in Estonia and Finland	To connect ticketing systems in Tallinn, Tartu and Helsinki to enable seamless travelling	To connect ticketing systems in Tallinn, Tartu and Helsinki to enable seamless travelling
Latvia - Lithuania	EASYCROSSING	Improvement of cross border road infrastructure for well-connected regional centres and facilitated labour mobility in the border areas	To facilitate geographical mobility and territorial integrity of LV - LT border regions providing transport infrastructure for mobility of work force, services and goods.	<p>The traffic intensity on the reconstructed road section will increase to 12% in average.</p> <p>Number of commuters expected to increase up to 10% in average.</p>
Slovakia - Hungary	Ride Up!	Borderless Nature - Ipel'/Ipoly Bridge (JOBS)	1. Decrease travel distance, travel time and travel costs for inhabitants,	The main output of the project is a 31.1m long new bridge spanning over the Ipel

			<p>workers and employees.</p> <p>2. Eliminating the geographical isolation of Vrbovka</p> <p>3. Contributing to uniting families and relatives separated by natural border, river Ipoly.</p> <p>4. Facilitating cross-border labour mobility</p>	<p>between Órhalom and Ipolyvarbó with a connecting road of 1175 m on HU side and a 400 m long road on the SK side.</p>
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Source: keep.eu/projects

4.6 Conclusion

To conclude, INTERREG which was launched as Community Initiative in 1990 is the European Union's flagship scheme for cross-border cooperation at regional and national level in order to benefit all European citizens. By successfully implementing enormous number of projects through various programmes for 30 years it has proven that borders are not barriers and has brought Europeans closer by helping the Member States to tackle common challenges faced in the border regions and also creating new opportunities for cooperation across borders.

CHAPTER 5

Concluding Remarks on Cross Border Mobility in Europe

This thesis provides a qualitative analysis of the current status of cross-border mobility in EU. Cross-border mobility has improved significantly in the border regions as a result of the efforts taken by European Union for more than 30 years.

The thesis begins with generally introducing the topic and also pointing out some of the important findings of the previous studies on cross-border mobility. Next a detailed explanation and a schematic representation of the important regulations, agreements, treaties etc. that EU has launched to achieve their objective of borderless Europe was discussed. From previous studies it was understood that there were lot of factors that should be considered when addressing the issue of free movement through border regions. In some border regions these factors help in attaining a successful border co-operation between the respective countries, at the same time, there are border regions where these factors act as an obstacle for CBC. Therefore, the next chapter discussed about the factors that act as determinants of cross-border mobility with example of at least one border area in Europe that more affected by each factor.

As said before the EU is taking huge efforts in tackling the problems of the border area and an important tool used for this is the European Territorial Co-operation which is also known as INTERREG. Since 1990 under the INTERREG various programme specifically for improving CBC has been introduced. Also, under each programme numerous projects were implemented that helped the border regions to develop by removing the barriers that exist in the region. Each INTERREG is for a period of 7 years and currently the sixth period, INTERREG VI (2021-2027) has started. A qualitative evaluation of the projects launched under INTERREG programmes focusing on mobility aspect of CBC was given in this study based on the ex-post evaluation reports of European Commission. Also, listed some of the cross-border mobility projects implemented in each phase of INTERREG.

5.1 Findings

EU still continue its effort to achieve the objective of 'borderless Europe' through its regulations and tools like INTERREG, TEN-T etc. The 'Cross Border Review' initiative by

DG REGIO was introduced with the objective to respond to the challenges existing in the border regions even after the 25 years of funding through Interreg programmes. It was found that most of the obstacles faced by the border regions comes under the category of legal and administrative factor that determine cross-border mobility. The differences in national legislations, conflicting administrative system and lack of common territorial planning are some of the major reasons that still prevent many border regions in Europe from achieving a complete and smooth cross-border co-operation in general and mobility in particular. As per CBC survey 2020 also, the legal and administrative differences is considered as a second-most important obstacle (44%) for CBC in general. As this obstacle is out of the scope of INTERREG, the concerned national authorities and the EU should take steps to remove or to reduce the intensity of the barriers related to legal and administrative factors.

Since 2000, under INTERREG programmes 1,385 projects were implemented focusing on cross-border mobility in general and in this a total of 869 projects come under the theme 'Transport and Mobility' followed by 'Improving Transport Connections' which was included in 639 projects and 272 projects come under the theme of 'Multimodal Transport'. This constitutes only about 5% of the total number of projects implemented so far. According the CBC survey 2020, 45% of the respondents consider lack of accessibility as a problem in border regions like Italy-France, Greece - Italy and Italy - Switzerland. Therefore, more cross-border transport projects should be implemented particularly in these border areas.

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