T.C.

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ

AVRUPA ARAŞTIRMALARI ENSTİTÜSÜ

AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

IMPACT OF EU CROSS BORDER COOPERATION PROGRAMMES ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF EDİRNE AND KIRKLARELİ

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Danışman: Doç. Dr. Yonca Özer

İstanbul, 2019



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ABSTRACT

IMPACT OF EU CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION PROGRAMMES ON REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: CASE OF EDIRNE AND KIRKLARELI

Cross-border cooperation programmes (CBC) are among the important policy instruments created under the EU Regional Policy to contribute to reducing the adverse effects of borders. In addition to CBC programmes for European regions, which began as Interreg initiatives in 1990, there are also cooperation instruments to support regional development of border regions along the EU's external borders under the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) and European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI). Turkey participates in CBC programmes funded by the EU under IPA and ENI mechanisms due to the candidacy status of Turkey and its geographical location. Edirne-Kırklareli border region, which is examined as a case in the thesis, is covered by all CBC programmes implemented in Turkey since 2003. In this study, the contributions and impact of the EU CBC programmes on regional development of border areas are analysed through scrutinizing the border region involving Edirne and Kırklareli as a case study from a rationalist institutionalism perspective. Considering the analyses of this study, it is argued that EU CBC programmes have significant contribution to regional development of border areas in the EU whereas contribution and impact of these programmes on regional development of Edirne-Kırklareli border region is limited to the fields of culture, tourism and environment.

Serkan Bozkurt

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ÖZET

AB SINIR ÖTESİ İŞBİRLİĞİ PROGRAMLARININ BÖLGESEL KALKINMAYA ETKİSİ: EDİRNE VE KIRKLARELİ ÖRNEĞİ

Sınır etkisinin azaltılmasına katkı sağlayan sınır ötesi işbirliği (SÖİ) programları AB Bölgesel Politikası kapsamında oluşturulan önemli politika araçlarındandır. 1990'da Interreg girişimi olarak başlayan ve AB üyesi ülkelerin bölgeleri için yürütülen SÖİ programlarının yanı sıra, AB'nin dış sınırlarında yer alan bölgelerin kalkınması için de Katılım Öncesi Yardım Aracı (IPA) ve Avrupa Komşuluk Aracı (ENI) altında bir takım işbirliği araçları vardır. Türkiye, adaylık durumu ve coğrafi durumu nedeniyle IPA ve ENI altında yürütülen AB SÖİ programlarına katılmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın örnek vaka incelemesi olan Edirne-Kırklareli sınır bölgesi, 2003'ten beri Türkiye'de uygulanan bütün SÖİ programlarına dahil olmuştur. Bu tezde, AB SÖİ programlarının sınır bölgelerinin kalkınmasındaki etkisi ve katkıları Edirne-Kırklareli sınır bölgesinin örnek vaka çalışması olarak incelenmesi suretiyle ussal kurumsalcılık yaklaşımına göre analiz edilmektedir. Bu çalışmadaki bulgular ışığında, AB SÖİ programlarının AB'deki sınır alanlarının bölgesel kalkınmasına önemli bir katkı sağladığı, ancak bu programların Edirne-Kırklareli sınır bölgesinde bölgesel kalkınmaya etkisi ve katkısının kültür, turizm ve çevre alanlarıyla sınırlı olduğu savunulmaktadır.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	ge No.
ABSTRACT	
ÖZET	
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
LIST OF MAPS	
LIST OF TABLES	
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	V11
INTRODUCTION	1
1. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	7
1.1. Concept of Region	7
1.2. Concept of Development	13
1.3. Concept of Regional Development	
1.4. Regional Development Policies and Instruments	
1.5. The Concept and Theory of Territorial Cooperation	
1.6. Theoretical Approach for the EU Impact: Rationalist Institutionalism	
2. EU REGIONAL POLICY	32
2.1. Rationale for the EU Regional Policy	32
2.2. The Historical Background of EU Regional Policy	
2.3. Aims and Objectives of EU Regional Policy	
2.4. Instruments of EU Regional Policy	
2.4.1. European Regional Development Fund	
2.4.2. Cohesion Fund	47
3. EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL AND CROSS BORDER COOPERATION.	50
3.1. Evolution of European Territorial and Cross Border Cooperation	50
3.2. European Territorial Cooperation Objective/Goal	
3.3. European Territorial and Cross Border Cooperation Programmes	56
3.3.1. Cross-border Cooperation Programmes	
3.3.2. Transnational Cooperation Programmes	58
3.3.3. Interregional Cooperation Programmes	60
3.3.4. European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)	62
3.4. Cooperation Programmes along the EU's External Borders	63
3.4.1. IPA Cross Border Cooperation Programmes	63
3.4.2. ENPI/ENI Cross Border Cooperation Programmes	67
4. CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT	71
4.1. Measuring Regional Development and Indicators for Development	71
4.2. Impact of EU Cohesion Policy on Regional Development	

	4.3. Contributions of Territorial and Cross-border Cooperation Programmes on	1
	Regional Development in the EU	76
	4.4. Main Achievements of EU Cross-border Cooperation Programmes in Turk	cey:
	Edirne-Kırklareli Border Region	82
	4.5. Impact of Cross-border Cooperation Programmes on Development of Turl	kish
	Border Regions: The Case of Edirne and Kırklareli Provinces	104
	4.6. Theoretical Explanations for Impact of EU Cross-border Cooperation from	1
	Rationalist Institutionalism Perspective	111
CON	NCLUSION	115
REF	FERENCES	120
APP	PENDICES	129

LIST OF MAPS

Page No	0.
Map 1: NUTS 2 regions (statistical units) in EU, EFTA and candidate countries 1	1
Map 2: Regional disparities by GDP per inhabitant in EU-28	11
Map 3: 2014-2020 Cross-border cooperation programmes funded by ERDF5	57
Map 4: 2014-2020 Transnational cooperation programmes funded by ERDF5	59
Map 5: IPA Cross-border cooperation programmes with the Member States	56
Map 6: Programme Area of 2004-2006 Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme 8	36
Map 7: Programme Area of 2004-2006 Interreg III/A Greece-Turkey Programme 9) 1
Map 8: Programe Area of 2007-2013 Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme)3
Map 9: Programme Area of ENPI CBC Black Sea Basin Programme) 6
Map 10: Programme Area of ENI CBC Black Sea Basin Programme)()

LIST OF TABLES

	Page No.
Table 1: Population thresholds for NUTS classification of the EU	10
Table 2: 2007-2013 EU Regional Policy objectives and instruments	44
Table 3: Financial assistance for ETC and CBC.	53
Table 4: Pre-accession support to current candidate and potential candidate of	ountries.64
Table 5: EU Cross-border Cooperation Programmes Turkey attended	84

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CARDS Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and

Stabilization

DG NEAR Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations

CBC Cross-Border Cooperation

EC European Commission

ECU European Currency Unit

EEC European Economic Community

EGTC European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation

ENI European Neighbourhood Instrument

ENP European Neighbourhood Policy

ENPI European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument

ERDF European Regional Development Fund

ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective

ESF European Social Fund

ESI European Structural and Investment Funds

ESPON European Spatial Planning Observation Network

ETC European Territorial Cooperation

EU European Union

EUROSTAT Statistical Office of the European Union

FEOGA Le Fonds Europeen d'orientation et de garantie agricole

FIFG Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance

GIS Geographic Information System

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GNP Gross National Product

ICT Information and Communication Technology

INTERREG Interregional Cooperation Programmes

IPA Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance

ISPA Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession

JC Joint Secretariat

JSPF Joint Small Projects Fund

LAU Local Administrative Unit

MEDA Mediterranean Development Aid

NGO Non-governmental Organization

NUTS Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PHARE Poland and Hungary: Action for Economic Restructuring of the

Economy

PPP Purchasing Power Parity

RS Remote Sensing system

RTD Research and Technological Development

SAPARD Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development

SME Small and Medium-sized Enterprise

TA Technical Assistance

TEN-T Trans-European Transport Networks

WWII World War II

INTRODUCTION

The European Union designates cross-border cooperation programmes as a policy instrument under the Regional Policy, which aims at reducing regional disparities between regions, for development of border regions and enhancing cooperation between the regions along with the EU's external and internal borders. Leading to cohesion of different cultures and communities through supporting cooperation between the border regions, these programmes, which began as Interreg initiatives in 1990s, have an essential impact on development of border regions and on removal of development discrepancies between regions. As a candidate country and located along the EU's external borders, Turkey participates in the EU cross-border cooperation (CBC) programmes implemented with candidate countries and neighboourhood countries under Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) and European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI). Since all CBC programmes implemented in Turkey cover Edirne-Kırklareli border region, the contributions and impact of the EU CBC programmes on regional development of border areas are analysed in this thesis through scrutinizing the mentioned border region as the case from a rationalist institutionalist perspective.

This thesis has four main research questions: i) What are the effects of EU cross-border cooperation programmes in border areas? ii) To what extent do the EU cross-border cooperation programmes contribute to regional development of border areas? iii) How can be the impact of EU cross-border cooperation programmes on regional development of border areas measured? iv) Are the funds allocated for EU cross-border cooperation programmes implemented in Turkish border area covering Edirne and Kirklareli provinces sufficient to contribute the development of the border region? In accordance with these questions, the thesis seeks to answer whether the EU cross border cooperation programmes contribute to regional development of border areas or not? If the answer is yes, then to what extent? In order to make a sound analysis to answer the research questions, it was resorted to limit the scope of the thesis in respect of subject, time and place. The scope of the thesis for subject is the role of the EU CBC programmes on the regional development by examining Edirne and Kirklareli border region as the case. While all existing EU cross border cooperation programmes

are mentioned¹ in this study, the achievements and impacts of some Interreg CBC programmes are given as examples. The temporal scope of the thesis is the period between 2003 and 2019 years as the EU CBC programmes have been implemented in Turkey and in the border region since 2003. Lastly, only Edirne and Kırklareli provinces will be the scope in terms of place as the first CBC activities in Turkey started in this border region in 2003 and since then this region has been experiencing cross-border cooperation continuously.

As argued by Sedelmeier (2006, p.10), the Europeanisation of candidate countries are generally interpreted by institutionalist theory in theoretical readings as well as rationalism and constructivism debate in international relations theories. For this thesis, new institutionalism theory, in particular rational choice or rationalist institutionalism is the appropriate theoretical approach since it provides compatible explanation for the role of the EU CBC programmes in regional development. With its emphasis on external incentives model underpinning the EU conditionality, rational choice institutionalism highlights resource dependency approaches in which actors are characterized as rational, goal-oriented, and purposeful. Within external incentives model of this theoretical approach, the EU CBC programmes, as EU funding mechanisms consisting of grant schemes, are deemed as external incentives supporting the EU conditionality which is explained by cost-benefit calculations. As Hall and Taylor claimed (1996, p.944), relevant actors behave instrumentally and use opportunities in order to maximize the attainment of a fixed set of preferences. Since domestic actors in the border regions behave as rational actors, they get involved in projects to utilize fund resources on the basis of their preferences. Therefore, the EU CBC programmes have roles as external incentives for local and regional institutions to create EU project units and to apply grant schemes under the programmes.

On the other hand, among other approaches of new institutionalism, historical institutionalism is not an appropriate approach to interpret Europeanization of polity, politics and policies of candidate countries. Therefore, this approach is not applied in this study. Nevertheless, sociological institutionalism offers limited interpretation for

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¹ 2014-2020 Interreg CBC programmes are enclosed as Annex 2.

the role of EU CBC programmes in regional development. In the sociological institutionalist perspective, domestic impact of the EU is a consequence of socialisation process and domestic actors internalise the EU norms through a social-learning and lesson-drawing model in line with their interests and identities (Sedelmeier, 2006, p.10). This approach also emphasizes the logic of appropriateness, which facilitate to redefine interest and identities accordingly. In comparison to rationalist institutionalism, there is logic of appropriateness vs. logic of consequentialism, normative pressure vs. incentives convergence vs. conditionality, social learning vs. external incentives. While domestic change occurs as results of choices made by rationally self-interested utility-maximizing agents in rational choice institutionalism, norm entrepreneurs, political culture and other informal institutions are the main factors to internalise changes in sociological institutionalism. In CBC programmes funded by the EU, domestic actors in CBC behave instrumentally to use funding opportunities in order to maximize their attainments on the basis of preferences according to rational choice institutionalism. Hence, the adaptational pressure from the EU changes the opportunity structure for utility-maximising domestic actors. In sociological institutionalism, however, normative pressure remains limited for domestic change. In brief, rational choice institutionalism is the most appropriate theoretical approach to explain impact of EU CBC programmes on regional development.

Concerning the research method of the thesis, both secondary research and qualitative research method were benefited to test the research questions. Initially, secondary research was employed through literature review and documentary scanning to explain research questions. Then, semi-structured in-depth interviewing was conducted within the scope of qualitative research method. In this context, analysis of EU CBC programmes' impact on regional development in the border region covering Edirne and Kırklareli was carried out thanks to parameters of regional development, official reports of the programmes, interviews with the stakeholders and relevant indicators of the programmes and some projects. Later on, the collected data and the findings were interpreted to reach a conclusion regarding the research question. In this research method, there was a challenge with regard to the scope of Bulgaria-Turkey CBC programmes' output and result indicators. Since indicators of Bulgaria-Turkey

CBC programmes can measure the achievements in the whole eligible area within Turkey and Bulgaria, relevant data only for Turkish border region involving Edirne and Kırklareli could retrieved from these indicators through such a calculation as dividing the achieved amounts into two. Considering this supposition for the mentioned programmes and regional development parameters, the main achievements of the programmes on development of the border region are analysed.

In this study, the required data was compiled from official reports (impact evaluation, ex-post evaluation, interim evaluation, final implementation, interim implementation, annual implementation, etc.) at the program and project levels in accordance with programme and project indicators; academic studies (thesis, dissertation, essay, article), books, official documents and official websites. In addition, as a data generation technique, standardised open-ended interviews with the representatives from the beneficiary institutions in the region and programme authorities were conducted in the guidance of enclosed 7 questions as shown in Annex 1. In order to get comments, observations and perceptions of project beneficiaries and public officials, 6 interviewees were identified but 4 of them sent feedback to interview (No reply received from Trakya Development Agency and EU Delegation in Ankara). In the selection of these people, it was regarded to keep the geographical balance (at least one from Edirne and one from Kırklareli provinces), representativeness and competence as well as experience and knowledge of the region and programmes. So, 4 interviewed people are Ms. Şebnem Sözer, Head of Department of Union Programmes and Cross-border Cooperation in the Directorate for EU Affairs (acting as the National Authority of CBC programmes in Turkey); Ms. Ceyda Peközer, the project manager in Edirne Branch Office of the Joint Secretariat (JS) of the Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme; Ms. Çiğdem Dönertaş, project expert from the former EU Coordination Center under the Governorship of Edirne and currently the staff of Edirne Provincial Special Administration; Ms. Alev Kanad, project officer of the EU Communication and Coordination Office of Kırklareli Municipality.

Considering the research questions and analyses of the study, the main argument asserted in this thesis is that EU CBC programmes have significant contribution to regional development of border areas in the EU while contribution and impact of these programmes on regional development of Edirne-Kırklareli border region is limited to several fields as culture, tourism and environment. It is also argued that the EU CBC programmes increase mutual understanding and encourage dialogue among communities on border areas and therefore they contribute to development of the region as well.

In the light of this argument, the thesis is organized as follows. In the first chapter on conceptual and theoretical background, concepts and theories of region, development, regional development, territorial cooperation are explained to comprehend relation between regional development and territorial and cross-border cooperation. Besides, rationalist institutionalism approach is defined as a theoretical approach regarding the EU impact and the Europeanization of candidate countries. The second chapter is designed to give brief information on rationale, evaluation, aims, objectives and instruments of the EU Regional Policy. As EU cross-border cooperation programmes (CBC) are among the tools of the Regional Policy, overview of this policy and its instruments will contribute to comprehend the CBC mechanism and the impact of CBC programmes on border regions' development. In the third chapter, European territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes are examined through briefing historical cornerstones of CBC and scrutinizing cooperation strands under European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) objective/goal of the EU's Regional Policy as well as cooperation instrument for the EU's external borders under IPA and ENI. It is evaluated that information given in this chapter will facilitate to understand the next chapter, which inquires the impact of cross-border cooperation programmes on regional development.

The fourth (and also the last chapter) constitutes the main part of the thesis in which the research question is discussed based on indicators, parameters, official reports, and observations and comments of interviewees. After indicators and parameters to measure regional development are identified, contributions and impact of

the EU Cohesion Policy (while it is an EU level investment policy beyond the Regional Policy, which is an investment policy at regional level) and territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes in the EU are given in order to be able to compare the contributions and impact of CBC programmes in Turkey. Accordingly, the EU CBC programmes implemented in Edirne-Kırklareli border region are narrated from 2003 to the present and then the main achievements of these programmes are examined in the light of indicators. Last but not least, the impact of these programmes on regional development of the border region involving Edirne and Kırklareli provinces is analysed as a case study and a conclusion is drawn from this analysis. In the last section of this chapter, the impact of the EU CBC programmes on regional development of the mentioned border area is explained in terms of theoretical framework. It was interpreted from rational choice or rationalist institutionalist approach and was associated with the Europeanization process.

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This thesis study aims to understand in which ways and to what extent the EU cross-border cooperation programmes have affected and contributed to regional development of border areas through scrutinizing Edirne and Kırklareli border region as the case study. In this context, this chapter will give an insight into the conceptual and theoretical background of the study. Accordingly, the relevant concepts and theories on region, development, regional development, territorial cooperation are clarified in order to understand relation between territorial and cross-border cooperation and regional development. Within this framework, rationalist institutionalism theory, which is the most appropriate theoretical approach interpreting the role of the EU CBC programmes on regional development, is also focused on with reference to the EU impact and the Europeanization of candidate countries.

1.1. Concept of Region

The concept of region is defined in various ways according to economics, geography, politics, administration, law, sociology, mathematics and some other fields. Due to the subject of this study which is about regional development and territorial cooperation, this concept is explained in political, economic and geographical terms.

Politically, the concept of region means sub-units of a state which are divided for providing administration and service facility. Within the scope of international law, it refers to community of states having economic, geographical and political proximity as well as the common interests (Şen, 2004, p.4). The term of region is originated from the Latin word *regio* etymologically and means vicinity or area. In general, this notion is described as the administrative unit bigger than city, smaller than country, decentralized, having a participatory administration and budget (Arslan, 2010, p.88). In the literature on Regions of Europe, the region stands for units where Member States are located and covering several local areas (Mengi, 1998, p.43). Besides, there is also one specific word, namely territory, in the Regions of Europe literature which is closely

related to the European Territorial Cooperation objective of the EU Regional Policy and cooperation programmes under this objective. Territory stems from the Latin word *territorium* and it means land, field and country under the sovereignty of a state.

In economics, region has been used as a scale or unit in some considerations and analyses in the context of planning and development in particular. As mentioned above, it is generally defined in economics as the piece of land smaller than country but bigger than city. Essentially, the concept of region has been addressed mostly in terms of macro-economy and accordingly regions are classified in three groups as homogeneous regions, polarized regions and planning regions. This triple-categorisation made by French regional planner and economist J.R. Boudeville is the most known and used classification in region and planning studies (Kılıç and Mutluer, 2004, p.23). Apart from this, there is also another categorisation carried out on the basis of economic developments. According to this categorisation, regions are divided into two groups, like developed and underdeveloped regions (Gündüz, 2006, p.3). On the other hand, natural, social and economic criteria are taken as basis for geographical definition of region. Accordingly, region can be described as the areas bearing resemblance with regards to natural, social and economic characteristics.

Recently, concept of region has been defined in the context of regional policy studies in Europe as referring to such criteria as local economic structure, infrastructure and physical conditions, qualitative labour force, cultural conditions and lifestyles, local factor prices, population density and accumulation effect (Bayraktar, 2002, p.7). In the European Union, regions can be clustered according to their functions and structures like planning regions, administrative regions, autonomous regions, cross-border regions, homogeneous regions and polarized regions (Mengi, 2012, p.23). Administrative regions have a common history to some extent and they are mostly artificially composed regions. Provinces in France can be exemplified for those regions. In cross-border regions which are formed through cross-border cooperation, it is aimed to develop these regions, to improve less developed infrastructure and to ensure cultural exchange thanks to cooperation (Şen, 2004, p.8). Autonomous regions are the ones that are guaranteed in the constitution such as Corsica, Azores, Greenland, Sicily and

Sardinia (Armstrong, 2001, p.169). Homogeneous regions are classic regions that possess some common characteristics such as mountain regions, coastal regions, cross-border regions or agricultural regions. Lastly, polarized regions have a feature as physical and economic dependency between the center and the periphery. Munich region in Germany is an example for this definition of region. Furthermore, regions are differed as to their sub-regions and economic potentials. In accordance with this differentiation, regions can be categorised as underdeveloped regions, lagging regions, declining industrial regions, regions under the pressure of growth, emergency action regions, regions under risk, sensitive regions and special status regions (Brasche, 2001, p.66). Considering all these categorisations of regions, the EU pay particular attention to rural regions, regions affected from industrial transformation, regions experiencing severe and continuous natural and demographic disadvantages, islands, frontier regions and mountain regions.

In Turkey, concept of region is used geographically in general. However, there are also administrative and economic meanings of this term. Geographical region is defined as large areas resembling with regards to natural, social and economic features. In administrative and economic senses, region is a unit which is divided for administration or service facility and it does not mean the governing structure having a political aspect as in Europe. Other non-political meanings of region can be exemplified as industrial region, management region, agricultural region, election region, free trade area and so on. The regional structuring as in Europe does not exist in Turkey since Turkey's regional structuring is organized as splitting to geographical regions and there is no basis of region in administrative structuring of Turkey. However, in order to ensure Turkey's harmonization to the regional policy chapter in the EU accession process, it was required to identify a definition of region and target region as used in the EU. Upon the requirement of EU acquis as to form regions within the scope of criteria depending on statistical data as GDP per capita, population size and population density, a region nomenclature consisting of three level similar to the EU countries was created in 2001.

The notion of region is an important territorial component of countries' development plans. In spite of rapid globalization, regional dynamics are driving force of economic development and regional development. Definition of region and classification of regions are essential for determining policies to be applied (Can, 2004, p.106). In this context, *Nomenclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques*-NUTS, improved by Eurostat, has been used in the EU with the aim of keeping regional statistics, making socio-economic analyses of regions, setting the framework of regional policies and creating a comparative statistical database for reducing development disparities among regions (Özel, 2003, p.101). In creation of the EU Regional Policy and reports of the European Commission to the European Council, relevant indicators and statistical values used for determining level of development between regions are NUTS based (Şen, 2004, p.11).

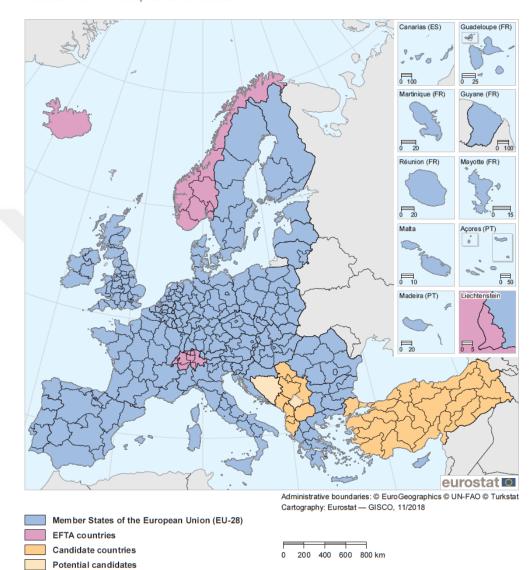
NUTS classification has been used since 1988 by the Regulation (EEC) No 2052/88 on Structural Funds but it was come into use in 2003 through the Regulation (EC) No 1059/2003. In this Regulation on NUTS classification, population ranges were identified to determine NUTS regions. The minimum and maximum population thresholds for average size of NUTS regions are given below:

Table 1: Population thresholds for NUTS classification of the EU

Level	Minimum	Maximum
NUTS 1	3,000,000	7,000,000
NUTS 2	800,000	3,000,000
NUTS 3	150,000	800,000

According to NUTS classification, each country is subdivided into NUTS 1 units, each NUTS 1 unit is subdivided into NUTS 2 units and each NUTS 2 unit is subdivided into NUTS 3 units. In addition to this level classification, two local level divisions, namely Local Administrative Unit (LAU), existed. While the upper LAU level (formerly NUTS level 4) was not defined for all countries, the lower LAU level (formerly NUTS level 5) was identified in 28 Member States (Official Journal of the European Union, 2017, pp.2-3).

Map 1: NUTS 2 regions (statistical units) in EU, EFTA and candidate countries²



NUTS 2 regions in the European Union (EU-28), with corresponding statistical regions in EFTA countries, candidate countries and potential candidates

Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ (04.03.2019)

Concerning the transformation between regional levels and administrative units of candidate countries, a classification of territorial units for statistics was defined for candidate countries by the Eurostat. The aim of this classification is to compose a hierarchical aggregation of regions identical to NUTS. In the EU accession process,

² Although the island of Cyprus is mapped as one unit, Turkey calls the government in the south of the island as Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus, that is recognized by the EU as the Republic of Cyprus, and Turkey does not recognize it as the sovereign state of the whole island.

reciprocally bilateral acceptance on analysis of statistical territorial units is laid down as condition and this strategy should rely on conditions of NUTS legislation and should aim to make the candidate country a part of NUTS system. In order to carry out socio-economic analyses of regions and produce comparable data with the EU, Classification of Statistical Territorial Units, which is defined in accordance with NUTS criteria, has been used.

As it is required for Turkey to classify its regions in accordance with the EU's territorial classification system in order to harmonize with the EU Regional Policy and to benefit from financial assistance for regional development, NUTS system was also established in Turkey as each candidate country did in pre-accession process. Thanks to this classification system, it has been ensured to determine regional disparities through comparing each region's data and to establish a common, certain structure in regional statistics to be produced within the EU (Özkurt, 2013, p.37).

For the fulfilment of required conditions for EU membership, the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis was produced by Turkey following the Accession Partnership Document for Turkey, which was prepared by the European Commission in 2001. In the Regional Policy chapter of the National Programme, establishing NUTS system is mentioned in short term as "NUTS will be defined statistically according to EU criteria." This chapter of the National Programme also points out to establish regional units in medium term as follows: "Regional units of the State Planning Organization will be established. Regional state aid applications for the regions will be harmonized with the relevant EU criteria (Cabinet Decision on the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, 2001, p.402).

In this context, State Planning Organization and State Statistics Institute at the time conducted a study on Classification of Territorial Units for Statistics in 2001 to form NUTS units. As a result of this study, 81 NUTS 3 units (in conformity with national administrative structure and the practices in the EU countries), 26 NUTS 2 units (through grouping similar provinces in economic, social, cultural and geographical dimensions), 12 NUTS 1 units (through grouping NUTS 2 units according the same criteria) were created. However, the level of LAU was not the case for Turkey since

LAU is identified for Member States. As it has been underlined in EC's Progress Reports for Turkey, these 26 NUTS 2 units are foreseen to be used in preparation of future integrated regional development plans toward regional development aims and description of priority areas of regional financial assistance in accordance with the EU competition rules.

1.2. Concept of Development

Containing economic social, cultural and socio-political aspects, development term is explained in the sense of economics due to subject of the thesis. Economic development has been commonly used after the Second World War (WWII). This term has been used by industrialized and developed countries to characterize less developed or underdeveloped countries where production and income level is low, industry is not advanced, economic structure is agriculture-based to a large extent (Can, 2004, p.24). Economic development is described as a process involving changes in economic, social and political structure of a country as a result of continuous increase in national income level. Examining structural, social, political, cultural and institutional changes in consequence of continuous increase in the economies of underdeveloped countries, the notion of economic development is also perceived in the manner of growth target as aimed or desired situation (Gürkan, 1987, p.200).

When the economic development is examined theoretically, it is seen that harmonious development strategies with economic policies of the era (e.g. Keynesian, liberal, neo-liberal and protective policies) had been applied. In the post-WWII period, development theory and its applications became an important study of field on account of elimination of colonialism substantially and emergence of new nation states. In 1950s, the approach as to intervene in economics by the state to hold the balance was prevalent due to the fact that development plan, program and policy applications had been deemed as the most important instrument to ensure social-economic balance in the nation state (Tiftikçigil, 2010, p.1). Therefore, Keynesian policies toward development had been adopted in this period. Through prevailing neo-liberal economic policies instead of Keynesian policies, which lost its validity due to socioeconomic crises in 1970s, economic development was seen as a self-induced process in a functioning free

market economy and then it was comprehended that state intervention in this matter would be unnecessary and in vein (p.1). Because of globalization process, the notion of development lost its significance and neo-liberal policies had become widespread in the post-1970 period. After 1990s, development concept came to the agenda again with a new perspective. In the current era in which competition, entrepreneurship, innovation and information set the place of countries in international arena, efforts for formulation new development policies and theories increased further.

Some global developments like the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, establishment of the European Union as an entity (through Maastricht Treaty's entry into force in 1993) and major developments in technology introduced globalization as the basic symbol of great change and led to transformation around the world (Atak, 2011, p.2). In fact, it is difficult to define globalization conceptually which is a multidimensional and ever-growing process. Thus, it will be sufficient to mention only economic globalization in order to link with development notion which is the topic of this study. Having three different aspects as commercial globalization, financial globalization and globalization of production, the economic globalization is not only made up of global movement of capital or raw material, but it also involves processes such as trading all over the world in the same calibration, creating need to a financial ground consequently and removal of barriers in production thanks to the globalized competition (Halil, 1999, p.185). In such a context in which economy is globalized, becoming inadequate local production because of inequality of resource allocation, lack of intermediate staff and development discrepancies as well as differentiation of costs and diversification of individual needs give rise to eventuate international price differences and good differentiations. Consequently, all these processes affect nation states and their national development processes and so there can be transformation in states' development policies (Atak, 2011, pp.2-3).

Acceleration of movements of goods and capital in the world thanks to the technological developments and growing international trade volume had brought together more integration with the globalizing world for nation states and then this led to decrease nation states' power to control their economies. Hence, globalization had

begun to damage the national economies. In this process, international organizations – notably multinational corporations, international NGOs and capital markets – had become significant actors of the global system while national states' influence on word politics and economy diminished. Both national economies and local economies were incurred to more competition as a consequence of factors such as changing production methods with technological developments; deterritorialisation of production and lessening dependency to the place for services; better transport opportunities of raw materials goods thanks to technological developments in transportation; economies' openness to more global competition with the effect of advancement in information and communication technologies (ICTs) on consumption patterns; facilitation of trade through decrease of barriers to foreign trade such as quota and tariffs as well as facilitation in free movement of goods globally by the entities as customs unions, commercial communities and regional agreements.

On the other hand, urbanization gave rise to immigration movements to metropolitan areas, which are the centers of production. Hence, multinational companies had moved their production and distribution activities of goods and services to these areas. The aforesaid movements resulted in emergence of socio-economic discrepancies among regions of a country in addition to developmental disparities among countries. Thus, regional economies were also affected negatively from these occurrences. In this framework, the concept of development has handled as regional development with regard to ensure the required cohesion between local level and national or international level as well as to eliminate regional disparities (Evmez, 2012, p.22). Accordingly, it had been in search of various approaches for regional development and then remarkable changes were experienced in regional development policies.

In Turkey, actions in the field of development began with total development efforts in the first years of the Republic and had continued with Five-Years Development Plans which were first introduced in 1963. Then, these works were proceeded to regional development conception until recently with the EU candidacy process starting with 1999. While entering into the process of industrialization in

Turkey had augmented regional development differences, it had also strengthened the state's role to intervene the economy. For the last 60 years in particular, it is seen that the state has implemented policies toward decreasing regional disparities. This is because theoretical developments on detection, explanation and policy making of development discrepancies among regions and countries had become determinative in the embodiment of regional policies considerably after 1950s.

1.3. Concept of Regional Development

As it is the case for the notion of development, the concept of regional development also takes part in the literature on economy since the WWII. Two subbranches of economics, namely space economics and regional economics, as well as macroeconomic growth and development theories had led to the emergence of regional development analyses. Macroeconomic growth and development theories were improved as late as after the WWII (Sülün, 2005, p.46). In this context, after the issue of economic and social development gained spatial dimension, regional and local economic development theories were brought forward (Allen and Hermansen, 1968, p.197). Regional development is described by Terry Clower as the increase in welfare level in consequence of activities toward enhancing economic and social welfare of a region (Clower and others, 2004, p.1). Regional development includes such actions as mobilizing own resources of a region, promoting entrepreneurship, raising region's level of income and employment and increasing the quality of life.

Regional development aims at balanced distribution of population throughout the country and improvement of disadvantaged regions as general objectives while adaptation to globalization, efficiency in creating and using resources, political legitimacy acquisition though institutionalism established in development process are special objectives regional development (Bayraktutan, 2003, p.189). Economic and social development differences or regional discrepancies may occur both between countries and regions of the countries. However, regional planning plays an important role on whether development differences arising from economic, social, cultural and geographical inequalities of opportunity will continue or not (Şen, 2004, p.5). Regional development envisages raising investment level in target regions and target sectors as

well as achieving economic development in these regions. In order to achieve regional development, initially it is required to discover the region's economic potential and then investment decisions should be implemented by using various instruments (Arslan, 2005, p.278-291).

In the changing context, regional development concept has been evaluated in a multi-disciplined framework. This variety ensured both to deal with a problem by the analysis of different disciplines and to set the understanding as executions conducted in each region are specific to that place. While certain regions made great economic progress rapidly in transition to industrial economy, other regions could not catch the same rapidity and then this situation caused remarkable inequalities between regions. So it was required to implement policies in order to overcome these discrepancies which also come out in social, environmental and cultural fields. Although the approaches, which consider regions as homogeneously, had regarded regional development policies as eliminating disparities among regions, this viewpoint had undergone change in time (Tiftikçigil, 2010, p.49).

Theories and approaches on regional development had made a progress in parallel with the transformation experienced in the sense of development. As of 1960s, Keynesian theories on regional development had begun to adopted. However, Keynesian regional development approach, which is closely related to the budget of central governments, failed with declining state budgets in consequence of crises in 1970s (Atak, 2011, p.9). As from 1980s, regional development theories were influenced by neoliberal views and so neoliberal approach had been adopted in regional development for a period of more than 10 years. Nonetheless, neoliberal approach, which affected local and regional economies in a negative way, had exacerbated those economies that were not ready for global competition yet. This approach also led to get them further away from global markets. Hence, these two approaches which had dominated regional development from 1960s to the end of 1990s failed (pp.9-10).

Beside the regional economic development approaches mentioned above chronologically, there also exist different theories such as growth poles theory, neoclassic growth theory, endogenous growth theory, incubation theory, central area theory, innovative environment theory and so on. Among these theories, endogenous growth theory and growth poles theory constitute the basis for the practices of regional development agencies and attraction centers which are used as regional development instruments in Turkey at present.

1.4. Regional Development Policies and Instruments

The evolution of regional development policies in the world can be examined in three parts as the period from post-WWII to 1970s (1945-1970), the period from the economic crisis in 1970s to 1990s (1970-1990) and the period from 1990s until today.

a) 1945-1970 Period

Regional development policies gained importance especially from post-WWII period onwards and underwent transformation through economic, politic, social and cultural changes. In the post-war recovery process as of 1945, regional problems deteriorated in many countries. Problems in traditional heavy industries and huge population out of agriculture led to increasing unemployment and so mass migration flows were experienced to major urban centers, particularly in more prosperous areas. In this situation, the economic case for regional policy had come into prominence and an approach appeared in solving these problems through appropriate planning and government intervention (Bachtler and Yuill, 2001, p.7). Within the scope of the view on the necessity of state intervention, efforts for ensuring proper use of resources and increasing efficiency of investments in regional level were intensified. National administration determined regions to be subsidized and implementation of the aids. Spatial approach and top-down policies are significant features of this period. In this era that lasted until 1970s, traditional regional development theories derived from such approaches as neo-classic, Keynesian, neo-Marxist and supply-sided monetarist economy prevailed (Tiftikçigil, 2010, p.49).

b) 1970-1990 Period

Regional development policy implementations and theories lost their significance in the 1970s with the globalization process. In 1970s, flexible production

system took the place of mass production system which was determinant of economy in 1950s. Then, regional development policies had also transformed and regional policies toward traditional industrialization began to be questioned. Because of oil crisis in this era, capital-based major industries' functions to create jobs disappeared. Since the oil crisis brought about some problems such as recession in economic growth, slowdown in productivity growth, inflationist pressure, limited investments, ever-growing unemployment and pressures on public budget, it caused to unsettle the belief in government intervention in development. In this situation, it was pervaded that the view on supporting less developed regions by wealthy regions would not become functional in the long-term. So criticisms emerged about the scope of government intervention. In 1980s, ongoing regional policies based on reducing discrepancies began to be questioned as policies focused on privatization, deregulation and liberalization of markets and then intervention areas of states were restricted (Bachtler and Yuill, 2001, p.9). Besides, with the globalization process of 1970s, the period of 1970-1990 became a non-productive time for regional policies and consequently policy implementations and theories on regional development lost their significance. In this period, such an understanding had developed that the world was only one single market as a result of globalization wave. This led to be steered away from regional policies at national level as well. The period between 1970s and 1990s is the period when policies of international organizations, namely International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank were applied to minimize government intervention against free market system. Therefore, this period is not generous in terms of coherent regional theories and policies depending on these theories (Bachtler and Yuill, 2001, p.52). However, the notion of globalization, which had been influential through neo-liberal policies wide spreading after 1970s, is also accepted as the main reason for changes that emerged in regional development approach (Akiş, 2011, pp.239-240).

c) From 1990s until today

In 1990s, regional development was brought to agenda in a different understanding as a consequence of technological innovations, diffusion and adoption of post-Fordist production system (which is a flexible, demand-oriented and small-scale

production system) all over the world and increasing the importance of local actors and local activities in development (Tiftikçigil, 2010, p.5). The necessity to mobilize local potential and endogenous development which was deemed necessary in 1980s, had been widely acclaimed in 1990s. In order to support economic development, such an approach was accepted as to degrade the point of view from national level to regional and local level and accordingly relevant policies were adopted in this direction.

Innovation is another significant dimension for this period of regional development. It is possible to comment about innovation in the meaning of both production and forming new approaches in regional development field as well as assessment of different alternatives. Identifying local potential and carry out works to improve this potential, forming networks through coordinating relevant units and ensuring to engage in activity in order to develop economically are among the features of the new approach.

Beside periodic evaluation of regional development policies, it will be beneficial to mention two different regional development approaches as classic (topdown) and neo-classic. Aiming to modernize and industrialize disadvantaged regions as well as to reduce disparities between regions, classic regional development policies are based on making limited but sizeable investments in specific economic sectors or geographical areas and creating external economies through disseminating the benefit to be gained as spill-over to other fields. Tools of classic policies are improving infrastructure and promoting entrepreneurship and private sector. Hence, it is aimed to increase intra-regional investments. According to classic development theories which emphasize center-region cohesion, there can be capital flows from center to region and resource flows from region to center. Development first begins in several dynamic sectors or regions, then it spills over to other sectors and areas. Furthermore, urbanization, industrialization, capital-intensive development, hi-tech use, bringing external and scale economies to the maximum level are focused on in these theories. In brief, classic regional development approach highlights large scale investment projects, increasing functional and regional integration activities, large scale private and public institutions to ensure those activities, large scale distribution mechanisms and reducing economic, social, cultural and institutional barriers (Kargı, 2009, p.21).

Neo-classic approach came to the forefront with some recent changes in policies. In this approach, importance is attached to confidence on market mechanism, investments on technology, communication, transportation infrastructure and education in underdeveloped regions as well as increasing supports provided for entrepreneurs (Uzay, 2005, p.23). According to neo-classic approach, human capital is the essential factor to be utilized by a region or country in transforming information into products. The more powerful human capital infrastructure of a region or country is higher achievement it will have in order to produce information and to transform it into products (Bilen, 2006, p.259). Asserting that interregional factor movements will remove regional income inequalities, neo-classic approach points out the existence of some problems hindering this removal as changes in marginal efficiency of capital between regions. Accordingly, reasons for abovementioned changes are technological innovations, interregional changes in demand, developments in expectations and differences in renewal investments (Uzay, 2005, p.24). To sum up, regional development policies aims to facilitate coherent distribution of resources, economic activities and population among geographical regions (Bayraktutan, 2003, p.189). By means of created regional development policies, it has been aimed at increasing the productivity and efficiency of targeted disadvantaged regions through income distribution, welfare policies and investment incentives (Arslan and Demirel, 2010, p.51).

In the European Union, the regional policy firstly came to the agenda in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome in order to remove inter-regional differences and to widespread development. This policy aims to remove distribution of income between regions, to increase the employment and to reduce development gaps in the EU. In the regional policy of the EU, it is foreseen to eliminate development discrepancies between both EU Member States and regions within these countries (Akṣahin, 2008, pp.8-9). Evaluation of regional development in the EU is summarized in three different periods. In the first period before 1980, centralist planning, manufacturing sector and physical

capital investments were regarded as the basis for regional development. Since large scale manufacturing industry was considered as engine of development, attracting capital to region and improving hard infrastructure are seen as prerequisite for regional development. The second period started in 1980s, accelerated with 1988 through reforms on regional development and continued until 2004. In this period, endogenous growth approach had determined policies and it was aimed to mobilize regions' non-utilizable resources in the context of structural reforms to be carried out. In the third period, regional development evolved in the axis of information economy. Regional policy strategy of that period was shaped within the European Commission's Third Report on Economic and Social Cohesion dated February 2004. Accordingly, the main priority areas of 2007-2013 Regional Policy were set out as competitiveness, economic and social cohesion, territorial cooperation and sustainable growth (Öncel, 2012, p.13).

The EU uses such tools for regional development as financial supports (funds), regional development agencies, NUTS system and European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) (Evmez, 2012, p.105). The EU's financial supports on regional development aim at removing development discrepancies between regions and achieving social cohesion and economic solidarity. Accordingly, EU Solidarity Fund (EUSF), Cohesion Fund and Structural Funds are the main support mechanisms. Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund are the major tools of the EU's Regional Policy in line with achieving and sustaining social and economic integration. While the EU aims at reducing socio-economic discrepancies through providing support to member countries in the regional level thanks to Structural Funds, it also targets to converge the Member States with additional assistance at national level thanks to the Cohesion Fund.

Another EU tool for regional development is regional development agencies. Being an essential tool in the context of planning of regional development and implementation of these plans, regional development agencies are able to complement the EU's other instruments related to regional development policies and so the existence of these agencies can bring holism to the EU Regional Policy. After the Structural Fund reforms in 1988, agencies were considered as an agent for localisation of decision-making processes within regional partnership and for implementation of the Community

policies (Kayasü and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003, pp.7-9). However, NUTS system has an important function both in terms of regional planning studies to be carried out and disbursement of the EU funds. As inter-regional comparison can be made thanks to collecting statistical data from the regions formed according to this classification, this system is deemed as an essential tool for the EU's regional development policies as well (Çamur and Gümüş, 2005, p.147). Emphasizing the harmony between the place and the EU's regional policies as well as based on Europe 2000 and Europe 2000+ documents of European Commission, the ESDP which was elaborated in 1999 adds spatial contribution to the EU development policies. It also contributes to be become aware of tendencies, opportunities and challenges in Europe and then reflect them into policies as input and objective (Evmez, 2012, pp.107-108).

In Turkey, regional development policies began with the establishment of State Planning Organization (responsible institution for preparing and implementing five-year development plans toward underdeveloped areas initially) in 1960 and development plans which were firstly prepared in 1963. The eleventh development plan covering 2019-2023 will be implemented as of 2020. Aims of development plans are reducing regional disparities and stabilizing social and economic balance through ensuring economic and social development (Atak, 2011, p.47). While industrialization in Turkey had raised regional development disparities, it strengthened the role of state intervention in economy, as well. As Turkey adopted statist economy model for 60 years from the establishment of the republic to transition to market economy in 1980s, economic development could not be realized at the same level for all regions of the country, contrary to socialist countries. Hence, significant economic and social development discrepancies occurred between the east and the west of the country. So, regional discrepancies became a priority area for Turkey in the 1960s because of two factors. The first one is infrastructural, social and environmental problems, which had been significantly experienced in important industrializing cities (pollution in İstanbul's Haliç and İzmir's Bornova because of industrialization). The second factor is social and infrastructural troubles, which were created by mass migration from the eastern part of Turkey to the western part. Regional disparities and inequalities in Turkey are results of some issues like topography and climate features, distance to domestic and foreign

markets, quantity and dispersion of rural settlements, rapid population growth, lower educational level, migration between regions and migration from rural to urban areas, lack of investment and service, private sector's incapacity for benefiting from the conditions created through public investments, geographical distribution of industrial enterprises, unemployment, lack of infrastructure and shanty settlements (Şen, 2004, p.32). Rapidity of population growth, educational inequality, number of workers employed in industry and agriculture sectors, distribution of income, number of industrial plants are among indicators to determine regional disparities in Turkey (Çölkesen, 2009, pp.11-13).

In Regional Policy chapter of Turkish National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, elaborated in 2001, it is noted that there are significant economic and social differences between seven geographical regions of Turkey in terms of socio-economic indicators such as GDP per capita, unemployment rate, and literacy rate. The National Programme also points out the aforementioned factors for regional disparities between regions, which are related to distribution and use of resources, topography, climate conditions, distance to domestic and foreign markets, dispersion of settlement and investments (Cabinet Decision on the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, 2001, p.393). Objectives of regional policies in Turkey are expressed in the mentioned document (p.393) as "the minimization of inter-regional differences in terms of development, avoidance of disorder in the process of urbanization, and the development of metropolitan areas countrywide."

The issue of regional disparities stands as an important obstacle in Turkey's EU accession process. As a prerequisite for EU membership, interregional development differences should be reduced to a reasonable level. In this respect, the Accession Partnership Document for Turkey dated 2003 involves targets set by the EU to reduce regional differences and actions to be taken in order to harmonize with the EU Regional Policy and to benefit from financial assistance provided under this policy (Öncel, 2012, p.13). In Regional Policy and Coordination of Structural Instruments part of the Accession Partnership Document dated, medium-term priority is mentioned as "Set up regional branches at NUTS 2 level to implement regional development plans" (Official

Journal of the European Union, 2003, p.53) while short-term priorities are given as below (p.49):

- Start to develop a national policy for economic and social cohesion aimed at reducing regional disparities through a national development plan, and the establishment of regional development plans at NUTS 2 level.
- Adopt a legislative framework that would facilitate the implementation of the acquis under this chapter.
- Establish pluri-annual budgeting procedures setting out priority criteria for public investment in the regions.
- Strengthen the administrative structures for managing regional development.

In updated versions of the Accession Partnership Document issued both in 2006 and 2008, it was also underlined to continue the actions related to regional development in order to be completed shortcomings for harmonization of regional policies (Öncel, 2012, pp.17-18).

In the EU integration process, some important institutional and legal arrangements were carried out by Turkey in response to the Accession Partnership Documents. The first fulfilled measure on regional development is the establishment of NUTS system. In in accordance with NUTS, statistical units of Turkey's region system were defined in 2002 and the Law No. 5449 dated 25.11.2006 on Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies entered into force in 2006. With the aim of strengthening the administrative structure executing regional development, the Law on Special Provincial Administration, Municipal Law, the Law for Metropolitan Municipalities, the Law on Local Administrative Unions were reorganised and it was decided to establish service units in regional level with development agencies (Economic Development Foundation, 2009, pp.23-25). Within the scope of EU-Turkey financial cooperation, 297,8 million Euros financial support was also provided for ten regional development programs (Eastern Anatolia Development Programme, Southeastern Anatolia Project-GAP Region Development Programme and Development Programmes for TR1, TRA1, TRA2, TR52, TR72, TR82, TR83, TR90 Regions) which were determined in the National Programme and two cross border cooperation programmes (Turkey-Bulgaria Cross-border Cooperation Programme and Greece-Turkey Cross-border Cooperation Programme).

As the main institution of new regional development approach in post-2000 period, the establishment of 26 development agencies is the most important development for the EU *acquis* in the chapter on regional policy. They were called officially as development agencies instead of regional development agencies although they are emphasized with their regional dimension in the EU and in the world. Defined as the units established to improve the socio-economic conditions of a region, regional development agencies are responsible institutions to implement decisions on regional development applications (Hekimoğlu and Altındeğer, 2006, p.14). Main objectives of development agencies are informing investors who plan to invest the region, engaging in technology transfer to the region or from region to out of the region, providing consultancy service in all fields for the firms located in the region, taking an active role in activities for recovering the infrastructure as road, water, sewerage and garbage collection. Through offering such services, development agencies aim to reinvigorate the economy in the region, increase regional investments and ensure the participation of local community to development (Akiş, 2011, p.249).

As regards the regional development policy instruments in Turkey, three major tools are also pointed out for economic development process aiming at eliminating regional discrepancies which are referred in the regional policy chapter of the 2001 National Programme. These are policies and incentives towards the public sector, incentives to enhance the private sector and lastly regional and rural development projects (Cabinet Decision on the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, 2001, p.395). Firstly, incentives and exemptions given within the scope of regional development can be illustrated as state aids applied in emergency regions and priority regions for development as income and corporation tax exemption; deferral of taxes cut from employees; tax, duty and charge exemptions in transactions; compensating employer's social security insurance contribution by the state; assignment of gratis investment place and state aids applied in investments as customs duty and housing development fund exception; investment discount; Value Added Tax (VAT) exemption; tax, duty and charge exemptions; loans of funds originated; free of charge land allocation; support to SMEs. Secondly, Eastern Anatolia Project (DAP), Eastern Black Sea Regional Development Plan (DOKAP), Yeşilirmak Basin Development Plan and Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) can be given as examples for regional development projects. Aiming at improving the income level of people by increasing the capacity of agricultural activities in underdeveloped regions, rural development projects can be exemplified as Çorum-Çankırı Rural Development Project, Erzurum Rural Development Project, Bingöl-Muş Rural Development Project, Yozgat Rural Development Project and Ordu-Giresun Rural Development Project.

As it can be seen, in Turkey, several policies and tools were introduced from past to present in order to achieve regional development, stabilise regional differences and accelerate regional development. In addition to regional development plans, which are as basic tools, regional development projects, investment incentives, priority regions for development, organized industrial zones, corporate social responsibility and rural development projects, were also used to eliminate regional disparities and achieving economic development (p.248). In the EU integration process, however, regional development policies had transformed in terms of administration, implementation and content. In this process, regional development policies based upon incentive system were abandoned and it was proceeded to a new implementation phase which prioritizes capital, private sector and regional competition. Hence, regional development policies in Turkey transformed and became more participatory, operational and effective through the effect of EU accession process and desire to attain global competitive capacity. Furthermore, new regional development tools were included to Turkey's regional policy thanks to the accession process.

1.5. The Concept and Theory of Territorial Cooperation

Territorial cooperation is a highly effective mechanism to reduce border effect between Member States. In general, border regions suffer specific disadvantages in comparison with more central regions because of such reasons as distance from economic centers and weakness of relations with the other side of the border. These regions which are usually less developed encounter geographical and demographic challenges mostly and also their economic influence area and development potential face some legal, administrative, economic and cultural obstacles stemming from the existence of the border. As it is underlined by Garcia-Duran Garcia-Duran, Mora and

Millet, (2011, p.348), "cross-border regions face linguistic, regulatory, administrative, cultural and even physical (mountains, rivers, seas) barriers, which reduce spillovers from neighbouring regions." To quote van Gorp (2009, p.359), "because borders can obstruct movements (of people, business, capital, goods and services) they can not only obstruct spillovers but also the play of centripetal³ and centrifugal⁴ forces".

Impeding factors imposed to border regions reach more serious dimensions for regions along with external borders of the EU and therefore they stand as obstacles for economic development and the EU integration process of border regions (Gilland and Nicolaescu, 2008, p.8). 185 million EU citizens, that means 37% of EU population, live in border regions (European Commission, 2011a, p.12). These regions are peripheral, less developed and marginal regions in general. In this direction, cooperation programmes, called as INTERREG, were initiated by the EU in 1990 in order to support both coherent, economic and social development of border regions and EU integration process through cooperation established in these regions. Reducing border effect as results of administrative, legal and physical obstacles; dealing with common challenges and benefiting from unutilized potential are among objectives of cross-border cooperation (p.12).

Providing financial support for territorial and cross-border cooperation since 1990, the EU firstly launched these support mechanisms as a community initiative, namely INTERREG. In post-2007, this initiative was laid under European Territorial Cooperation as one of three objectives of the EU Regional Policy for the period 2007-2013 whereas the only goal of this policy for 2014-2020 period. Territorial cooperation gained more importance after the Treaty of Lisbon and it became the major instrument of the EU's new objective on regional cohesion. With the phrase of Garcia-Duran, Mora and Millet (2011, p.346), "the more regional cooperation is achieved, the greater territorial cohesion is in the EU." In this context, José Palma Andres, the Director at the European Commission Directorate-General for Regional Policy, comments the European Territorial Cooperation as following (European Commission, 2011a, p.8):

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³ Reason for existing (*raison d' etre*) that converge people, hold societies together.

⁴ Physical and social features restricting interaction of regions, creating divergence and dispersing societies.

European Territorial Cooperation offers a unique opportunity for regions and Member States to divert from the national logic and develop a shared space together, build ties over borders and learn from one another. It is a laboratory of EU integration and EU territorial cohesion.

Before to finalize this chapter regarding the concepts and theories, it is deemed beneficial to give brief information on a relevant theory on territorial cooperation as well as the European integration. Karl Deutsch's "security community" theory arises from searching of security which is the basic dynamics of integration initiatives. Security community is the community in which groups of people are amalgamated, sense of society is improved and actions are hold open one another mutually. According to Deutsch, there are two types of security communities: communities in which different components are amalgamated under joint institutions and communities in which states having different identities and governments are integrated under a high authority. The EU can be exemplified for the second kind of communities (Dedeoğlu, 2004, p.11). Arguing that developing mutual relationship by societies rather than states would provide benefit, security community approach sets forth increasing communication and transportation facilities between social sectors so as to serve creating common values (2004, p.1). In this theory, it is emphasized that transboundary mobility will ensure the formation of security community. Accordingly, new common grounds and perceptions will emerge through transboundary mobility more particularly within the frame of mutual dependency and responsibility between states and thus war will be no longer an instrument for solution between states (Altundağ, 2010, p.38). It is also asserted in the context of this theory that international integration endeavours can be realized. After all, the assumption that more cooperation will decrease border effect and so it will facilitate to abandon center-periphery regional development model lies in the background of efforts to promote regional cooperation in the European Union.

1.6. Theoretical Approach for the EU Impact: Rationalist Institutionalism

As a contested concept, the Europeanization stands for 'influence of the EU' or 'domestic impact of the EU' in the literature (Sedelmeier, 2006, p.4). Apart from the Member States, the Europeanization of candidate countries is also the subject matter of

the debate between rationalist and constructivist theories in the fields of international relations and comparative politics (p.1). Due to the fact that new institutionalism theories have influenced the Europeanization literature through emphasizing the role of institutions in the process of integration with the EU, the Europeanisation of candidate countries are explained theoretically by new institutionalism in general.

Hall and Taylor labels three approaches in new institutionalism as historical institutionalism, sociological institutionalism and rational choice or rationalist institutionalism (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p.936). While historical institutionalism is not an appropriate approach to interpret the Europeanization of polity, politics and policies of candidate countries, this approach can be applied in the EU-Turkey relations, for instance. Historical institutionalism highlights path dependence, which means historical path of institutional development. Thus, it can be argued that Turkey's path towards the EU membership is associated with this approach (İçöz, 2012, p.511). Consequently, Europeanization of candidate countries is interpreted by other approaches of new institutionalism, which are sociological institutionalism and rationalist institutionalism. Whereas sociological institutionalism regards socialization as an important mechanism for the EU impact, rationalist institutionalism views conditionality as a domestic mediating factor for the influence of the EU.

According to sociological institutionalism, the domestic impact of the EU is a consequence of socialisation process and domestic actors internalise the EU norms through a social-learning and lesson-drawing model in line with their interests and identities (Sedelmeier, 2006, p.10). Emphasizing the logic of appropriateness, which facilitate to redefine interest and identities accordingly, this approach highlights normative pressure, convergence and social learning for domestic change. In sociological institutionalism, norm entrepreneurs, political culture and other informal institutions are the main factors to internalise changes, as well.

Rationalist or rational choice institutionalism theory is the appropriate theoretical approach explaining different patterns of Europeanisation process in candidate countries with its emphasis on external incentives underpinning EU conditionality and on material costs incurred by domestic veto players (Sedelmeier,

2006, p.1). In this approach, relevant actors behave instrumentally and use opportunities in order to maximize the attainment of a fixed set of preferences (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p.944). Rational choice or rationalist institutionalism explains outcomes as results of choices made by rationally self-interested utility-maximizing agents (Sedelmeier, 2006, p.6). Adaptational pressure from the EU changes the opportunity structure for utility-maximising domestic actors. As it empowers certain actors by providing legal and political resources to pursue domestic change (p.10), rational actors engage in strategic interactions through use of their resources to maximize their utilities on the basis of the preferences (Gwiazda, 2002, p.8). Since domestic actors are rational, goal-oriented and purposeful, they aim at maximizing their resources through cost-benefit calculations (Radaelli in Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.63).

Rationalist institutionalism proposes external incentives model which is based on cost-benefit calculations between veto players and formal supporting institutions. External incentives model offers external rewards, namely financial assistance or institutional ties, in addition to cost-benefit calculations (Schmimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2005, p.10). As it is the case for external incentives model, the EU conditionality is also explained by cost-benefit calculations in which additional resources are given to domestic actors and local institutions. With its on external incentives model underpinning the EU conditionality, rationalist institutionalism highlights resource dependency approaches in which actors are characterized as rational, goal-oriented, and purposeful.

On the other hand, since adaptational pressure from the EU leads to creation of the opportunity structure in the candidate countries as utility-maximising domestic actors, it is argued that domestic structuring in the polity domain is affected by Europeanization process (Radaelli in Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.63). Then, Europeanisation is regarded as a process of institution-building at regional and national level in the third way of Olsen's definition which is Europeanization as central penetration of national and sub-national governance systems (Olsen, 2002, pp.923-924).

CHAPTER 2

EU REGIONAL POLICY

As the main investment policy of the EU at regional level, the Regional Policy aims to reduce socio-economic discrepancies between the European regions. In order to facilitate the comprehension of the EU's cross-border cooperation programmes which are among the tools of the Regional Policy toward reducing the adverse effects of borders, the second chapter focuses on the overview of this policy and its instruments. Within this context, brief information is given on the rationale, evaluation, aims, objectives and instruments of the EU Regional Policy, namely the European Regional Development Fund and the Cohesion Fund.

2.1. Rationale for the EU Regional Policy

As one of the most prosperous regions of the world, the European Union is a polity composed of countries which have different culture, language, history and economic and social structures. While 28 EU Member States differ from each other in terms of economic development and many other aspects, there are also some socio-economic disparities and inequalities between Member States and the regions of these states. These disparities and inequalities weaken the EU's dynamism on growth and competitiveness and so these inequalities increase more with the new enlargement waves. In this context, the issue to reduce socio-economic and regional disparities between the Member States gave rise to the need of developing certain policies. To reduce regional disparities, the EU implements some policies, collaborates with various institutions, takes certain steps and creates several funds to finance all these activities. Accordingly, the European Economic Community created support programmes in which regions would provide their own needs in 1957. However, it was as late as 1989 to formulate a regional policy which prioritized achieving economic cohesion between the Member States.

The EU's implementation of support programmes to eliminate regional disparities is based on two arguments. According to convergence argument, the

presence of small scale at regional level allows initially the involvement of inhabitants, enterprises and other social actors of that regions and then it enables the establishment of solidarity directly between them. Secondly, it becomes possible to balance more efficiently the economic discrepancies within the country and the EU as a whole thanks to providing financial support to less developed regions and so transferring resources in richer regions to poorer regions. The second argument, namely the cohesion principle, is related to allocation of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Member States according to regions. Even in the richest Member States such as Germany, France and the UK, regional allocation of resources may be unequal. In fact, GDP level in the poor regions of these countries is below the average GDP level in Spain and Greece and even it is under the many of the richer regions of new Member States as well (Schmidt, 2007, p.5). In other words, the cohesion principle rests upon the assumption that everybody would win when development disparities between the regions of the EU were removed on the one side and the approach that requires the cohesion of less developed regions and candidate countries into the Union on the other side (Öncel, 2012, p.13).

On the other hand, according to another view two factors are highlighted in making of EU regional policy: development and expansion of the Union and achieving economic and monetary union as a political compulsion. However, these factors are under the responsibility of both Member States and a supranational entity (i.e. the EU). In the EU, there are lots of regions lagging behind the EU average in terms of Gross National Products (GNP) and employment. These underdeveloped regions cause negative effects within the EU with regard to innovation, establishing new firms and interregional cooperation. In general, socio-economic discrepancies between the EU Member States appear in regions where natural and human resources are insufficient and unfavourable in terms of location and geography. In addition, globalization process gives rise to regression of existing industries in economically developed regions and leads to adjustment problem in transition to new industries. Furthermore, the issue of mass migration from periphery to economically developed centers and so the impoverishment of periphery gradually is among the most important reasons why the EU resort to regional development policies (Cetin, 2003, p.5).

Disparities between the Member States and regions of these countries are seen particularly in regions where natural resources supporting economic development, location and geographical conditions are not better off. Besides, some troubles can emerge over time even in regions that achieved economic development because of structural changes and globalization. Implementation of old industrial practices may give rise to problems in the mentioned regions' economies. Additionally, the occurrence of job and population loss in periphery regions of metropolis as production had shifted to centers is another essential factor which causes discrepancies (Cihangir, 2012, pp.148-149).

2.2. The Historical Background of EU Regional Policy

Regional development strategies and regional policy practices in the European Union had progressed in parallel with the change in regional development theories and practices in the world. Historical development of the EU's regional policies can be examined in three terms as the period before 1980, 1980-2004 period and post-2004 period.

In the period before 1980, regional policies in the EU had been implemented under the initiative of Member States with a centralist understanding according to the world conjuncture. In this context, it had been aimed to develop regions through strategies such as making huge investments especially in manufacturing sector, increasing real capital investments and attracting capital to region (Kumral, 2006, p.281). In the given period when substantial amount of community funds was used for financing infrastructure projects in transportation, energy, water supply and sewerage, regional plans targeting underdeveloped and lagging regions were also prepared in accordance with national plans (Balchin, Sykora and Bull, 1998, p.15). In this term, the Community aimed to ensure harmonization between Member States in the implementation of development plans and distribution of investments rather than granting local government status to regions (Keleş, 1998, p.4). In the period before 1980, the EU's regional policies were considered within the framework of the Treaty of Rome founding the European Economic Community in 1957. As the starting point of the EU Regional Policy, the Treaty of Rome highlights the thinking that minimizing the

likelihood of political conflicts and decreasing possible fights in Europe through ensuring harmonious development which is the essence of principles founding the European Community (Schmidt, 2007, p.6). In the Treaty establishing the European Community (Amsterdam consolidated version) or the Treaty of Rome (Official Journal of the European Union, 1997, C340), it is stated that the aim was "to strengthen the unity of their economies and to ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and the backwardness of the less favoured regions."

In the period before 1980, some attempts of actions toward setting up a substructure for regional development policies were taken. In this framework, European Investment Bank and European Social Fund (ESF) established with the entry into force of the Treaty of Rome in 1958. Through European Investment Bank, it was aimed at contributing to development of less developed regions and integration of Europe by financing investments to support the EU's objectives so as to reduce development disparities between its regions (Sağbaş and Fişne, 2010, p.196). With the increasing trade of agricultural products, there appeared the need to establish a common subsidy system between the Member States and then the guidance section of European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (*Le Fonds Europeen d'orientation et de garantie agricole-FEOGA*) had been set up in 1962. In the following years, this system had transformed into the Common Agricultural Policy. The mentioned policy differs from other European policies as it combines a sector-based policy with a completely regional orientation (Schmidt, 2007, p.7).

Evaluation of EU regional policies had followed a course parallel to the Union's enlargement waves. When the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined the European Communities in 1973, Ireland was far more behind other Member States in terms of economic development. It is seen that as the number of states increased and profiles of Member States diversified, centralist mechanism of the Community had spread towards local mechanisms. In the meantime, creation of Directorate-General for Regional Policy in 1968 became an indicator for the progress in regional policy issue. As a result of economic crises of 1970s, interregional disparities in the Community had

become more apparent and the need for revision of regional development policies emerged. So, the concept of region was considered again in the scope of regional development. In this framework, the Council set up a Regional Policy Committee in 1975 in order to prepare substructure for regional plans (Akṣahin, pp.36-37). Besides, setting up a strong system diminishing disparities between rich and poor regions by the European Economic Community had occurred in the same year. Being created in 1975, European Regional Developments Fund (ERDF) aims at correcting regional imbalances due to predominance of agriculture, industrial change and structural unemployment. In that period, the ERDF was used mostly for supporting small enterprises and infrastructure investments (European Commission, Regional Policy-Inforegio, n.d.).

In the period between 1980 and 2004, regional policies had been influenced from the enlargement waves of the Community and some structural changes and reforms were realized. In consequence of accession of new states which had regional problems to the EEC through enlargements in 1970s and recessionist effects of 1974 oil crisis in economy policies, deepening and unionising efforts of the Community increased regional competitiveness more and therefore economic and social structure of many regions were affected. By revealing the truth that regional problems could not be solved with centralist plans, endogenous growth approach had come to be adopted in this term (Tiftikçigil, 2010, p.89). When Greece joined to the EEC in 1981 and Spain and Portugal joined in 1986, country profiles of the Community diversified more. Following the decision on extending regional development policies more, the existing funds were developed into the part of an integrated Cohesion Policy. Accordingly, support began to be provided for many different programs from education and employment initiatives to large infrastructure projects. When economic and social cohesion chapters were inserted to the Treaty of Rome through the Single European Act in 1987, an important dimension of regional policy was emphasized. Thanks to the Single European Act, Structural Funds which are among the tools of regional policy, were also established and these funds became the most important mechanism used to achieve objectives. In 1988, several structural reforms were made in the Community's regional policies and those main principles regarding the Structural Funds as partnership, programming, concentration and additionality were adopted (p.89).

Furthermore, structural policy reform was realized on the topic of contribution in 1988 and the amount of fund allocated for 1988-1993 period was doubled through Delors I package. Then, Structural Fund allocation for 1993-1999 period increased again almost twofold through Delor II package in 1992 and Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG) as a component of Structural Funds was set up, as well.

The significance of regional policy in the EU integration was consolidated once again in the Treaty on European Union (Treaty of Maastricht) dated 1992 through the Article 130b as "In particular, the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions, including rural areas" (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1992, p.53). As a result of this treaty, Cohesion Fund was set up in order to contribute to rapid development of less developed countries. This mechanism was founded to provide Community financial contributions to the Member States with a per capita GNP of less than 90% of the Community average and having difficulty to meet convergence criterion of the Economic and Monetary Union. Moreover, three target regions were chosen as regions lagging behind, declining industrial regions and rural regions after reforms in 1998. The EU Regional Policy became more apparent with the communication "Agenda 2000" which was prepared by the European Commission in 15 July 1997. Focusing on the EU enlargement, reform for common policies, financial framework of the EU after 31 December 1999, it also contains details of enlargement preparations towards Central and Eastern European countries. By this document, it can be seen that the EU paid more attention to development of disadvantaged regions which were increased in number as a consequence of enlargement of the EU (Tiftikçigil, 2010, p.90).

The third period in the evaluation of regional policies of the EU began in 2004 with the European Council's adoption of the third report on economic and social cohesion, titled "A new partnership for cohesion: convergence competitiveness cooperation", which sets out its vision for Cohesion Policy for the period 2007-2013. As of this date, EU Regional Policy and Cohesion Policy started to be mentioned together. While cohesion policy, as a broader concept than regional policy, promotes more

balanced and more sustainable territorial development, regional policy operates specifically at regional level and it is specifically linked to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). In this report, through Convergence priority, it is aimed to improve conditions for growth and employment of less developed regions and thus to speed up economic convergence toward developed regions. Objective of the second priority, namely Competitiveness and Employment, is to ensure economic development and economic change in other Member States and regions out of the least favoured Member States and regions. Objective of the third priority, titled as European Territorial Cooperation, is to promote the harmonious and balanced development in the Union's territory. In this direction, it is aimed at developing projects by the regions between each other in order to cooperate cross-border, transnational and national level (Kumral, 2006, pp.281-282).

The fifth enlargement of the EU in 2004 towards Central and Eastern European countries as well as Cyprus⁵ and Malta is the biggest enlargement wave of the EU history and the number of Member States increased to 25 from 15 with the accession of 10 new Member States in this wave. As considering this huge enlargement wave, the Structural Funds system was revised. For the reason that most of the regions in newly joined Member States were quite poorer than the regions that had been already benefiting from Structural Funds, a transition system was required in order to cut suddenly the funds provided to former Member States and/or to prevent unexpected increase of the needed budget (Schmidt, 2007, p.8). In the framework of the EU's 2007-2013 perspective, while the EU Regional Policy was outlined by the Lisbon Strategy, its detailed roadmap was set out through progress reports and cohesion reports. In this respect, Convergence, Regional Competitiveness and Employment, and European Territorial Cooperation became main objectives of 2007-2013 EU Regional Policy as well as the Cohesion Policy, which is an investment policy at the EU level. In the period of the EU's financial perspective 2014-2020, the Regional Policy continue to be an investment policy at the regional level. In this term, Regional Policy provides necessary investment framework in job creation, competitiveness, economic growth, improved quality of life and sustainable development to meet the goals of the Europe

2020 Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in the EU. To reach these goals, the Regional Policy is supported through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

2.3. Aims and Objectives of EU Regional Policy

Despite the fact that European Union is one of the most prosperous economic areas in the world, there are huge discrepancies among regions of the Union in terms of income and opportunity. Besides, as an entity uniting different cultures, languages, history and traditions, the EU is composed of countries which have different social, cultural and economic structures. Together with socio-economic differences between 28 Member States, there are also considerable economic and social inequalities between regions of those countries (Cihangir, 2012, p.148). Following the enlargement waves, the EU had contained lots of different structure in itself and so regional policies gained importance more and more. Furthermore, for the sake of uniting in all areas, the aim on reducing disparities and the importance of local dynamics were reflected into the policies of the EU. In this context, the EU Regional Policy was formed with the aim of diminishing socio-economic discrepancies between the Member States and also various regions within these countries (Özkurt, 2013, p.36).

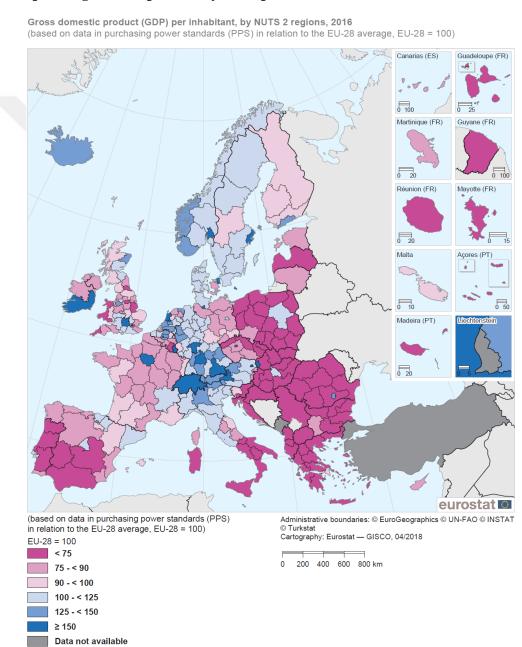
Geographical situation, distribution of resources, distance to the domestic and foreign markets, climate, population structure and aids provided to the region have significant influence on the occurrence of development differences between 272 regions which consist of the EU. Unfair distribution of GNP is the most important reasons for the emergence of the mentioned discrepancies that lead to regional inequalities in economic term. However, factors such as unemployment rate, population rate under 15 years of age, population rate over 75 years of age, urbanization rate are also used for identification of regional disparities (Atak, 2011, p.33). In addition, in 1970s and 1980s when the Regional Policy appeared, developments of the EC countries could be evaluated according to five main indicators as unemployment rates, GDP per capita, infrastructure, centre-periphery relations and synthetic index (Karluk, 1996, p.326).

⁵ Turkey calls as Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus.

When compared to unemployment rates in 1975 in which considerable progress had been made in the regional policy with the set up the ERDF, the unemployment rate is 8% in the poorest 25 regions of the Community while it is 2.4% in the richest 25 regions and there is a difference at the rate of 5.6% between these regions. Nevertheless, as a consequence of economic and political crises in the world and Europe as well as economic policies implemented, these ratios increased to 21.1% and 6.6% respectively and so the difference arose to 14.6% after ten years (Bayraktar, p.9). For example, in 1985, unemployment rates were recorded as 4.3%, in Ireland, 4.6% in Austria and 4.7% in the UK while it is 18.1% in Poland, 15,9 in then Czechoslovakia and 10.2% in Spain. When compared the data on GDP per capita in 1983, index values of the poorest 10 regions of the Community are between 58-66 while index values of the richest 10 regions vary between 139-240 when considering the EC average as 100. According to these data, it is understood that income level of the richest region of the Community is four times more than income level of the poorest region of the Community (p.10).

Within the scope of infrastructure which is another indicator utilized to assess development disparities between regions of the Community, areas such as education, health, transport, communication, energy, environment, natural, social and cultural infrastructure are taken into consideration. Accordingly, the most backward regions of the Community are Anatoliki Makedonia and Thraki region (Greece) and Basilicata region (Italy) in energy and health, Northern Ireland region (UK) in social infrastructure, Voreio Aigaio-Aegean North region (Greece) in natural infrastructure and Kentriki Makedonia region (Greece) in cultural infrastructure. On the other hand, developed regions of the Community in infrastructure are Noord Holland region (Netherlands) in transport, Ile de France region (France) in energy, Essen region (Germany) in environment and Luxemburg in health. Regarding the indicator on centreperiphery relations, 44 centres, 62 main peripheries and 60 periphery regions were identified in EC countries in 1983. Accordingly, leading centre regions are located in Belgium, The Netherlands, Nord/Pas-de-Calais region and Ile de France region of France London and Rhine Valley of Germany while periphery regions are all regions of Greece and Ireland, regions of Spain excluding Madrid and Catalonia, Sicily, Campania and Calabria regions in the south of Italy, north of the UK and Scotland. While periphery regions where have 50 million inhabitants constituted the one fifth of the total EC population in 1983, they had the one fourth of the Community. Centre regions, however, had 40% of the GDP despite they constituted only the one tenth of the Community surface (p.10).

Map 2: Regional disparities by GDP per inhabitant (based on PPP) in EU-28



Source: Eurostat, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/ (02.04.2019)

As the last indicator in determining interregional development disparities, synthetic index is an essential measure, which eliminates positive and negative bubble affecting economic development, in terms of reflecting the factual situation of regions. In the results of the synthetic index which was prepared as taking the Community averages of 1977-1978-1981 and 1981-1983-1985 years as basis, improvements were observed in the least developed regions of the EC, namely Basilicia and Calabria in Italy, Andalusia, Extremadura and Canary Islands in Spain (Çölkesen, 2009, p.52).

The EU transfers its resources from richer regions to poorer regions through the Regional Policy. In this way, it is aimed at developing its poorer regions and then catching up the development level of the rest of the Union. In this sense, the European Commission characterizes the Regional Policy as an indicator for solidarity with less developed regions and countries of the EU. In conformity with growth and employment policies under the Lisbon Strategy, the Regional Policy finances various projects towards increasing development level of different regions across the EU, raises competitiveness and economic growth of regions, aims to eliminate unemployment problem and ensures sharing of best practices and ideas (Cihangir, 2010, p.1).

On February 18, 2004, the Council of the EU adopted the third report on economic and social cohesion, titled "A new partnership for cohesion: convergence, competitiveness, cooperation", which sets out its vision for Cohesion Policy for 2007-2013 period. In this report, priority objectives of the Regional Policy were defined as Convergence, Regional Competitiveness and Employment, and European Territorial Cooperation. While regions defined by GDP per capita of less than 75 % of the EU average were convenient for Convergence objective, all other regions could reach to Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective. Geographical compliance of regions within the scope of European Territorial Cooperation objective had concerned either cross-border regions or regions related to international cooperation areas.

Convergence objective aims at speeding up the convergence of the least-developed Member States and regions defined by GDP per capita of less than 75 % of the EU average. Through Convergence objective, it was aimed to improve conditions for growth and employment of less developed regions and thus to speed up economic

convergence toward developed regions. This objective covers 84 regions in 17 Member States with 154 million inhabitants as well as 15 additional regions with 16,4 million where GDP per capita is slightly over the threshold. To reduce interregional development discrepancies, an allocation of 282.8 billion Euros, which is 81,5% of total budget (347.4 billion Euro) earmarked for this objective (European Commission, 2008, p.8). Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective aims at strengthening competitiveness, attractiveness and employment of regions out of the ones Convergence objective covered. For this objective, which covers 172 regions with 330 million populations, a budget of 55 billion Euro was allocated – 6% of total ERDF budget (p.8). European Territorial Cooperation objective aims to strengthen cross-border cooperation in order to promote more integrated regional development and cooperation. While the population living in cross-border regions is 181.7 million (37,5% of EU population), all EU regions and citizens were included in at least one among existing 13 international cooperation areas. A total budget of 8.7 billion Euro was allocated for this objective – 2.5% of total ERDF budget – was distributed as 6.44 billion Euros for cross-border cooperation, 1.83 billion Euros for transnational cooperation and 445 million Euros for interregional cooperation and networks (p.9).

As a result of policy reforms derived from Europe 2020 Strategy, two key goals were established for the period 2014-2020 of the Regional Policy. The first goal is investment for growth and jobs and it is common for all three categories of regions: less-developed regions having a GDP per capita which is less than 75 % of the EU-28 average, transition regions with GDP per capita between 75 % and 90 % of the EU-28 average and more-developed regions whose GDP per capita is above 90 % of the EU-28 average (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013d, p.382). This goal is supported by three financial instruments, namely the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF) and Cohesion Fund. The second goal is European territorial cooperation, which is supported by only the ERDF (European Commission, 2015a, p.15). In the 2020 Strategy, there are five targets in the fields of employment, research and development, climate change and energy sustainability, education and lastly fighting poverty and social exclusion. In order to reach these targets, the EU Regional Policy delivers required investments through two main funds, namely the

ERDF and the Cohesion Fund. These two instruments make up the European Structural and Investment (ESI) Funds together with the European Social Fund (ESF), the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF). Under the Regional Policy (or Cohesion Policy as the EU level investment policy), a budget of 351.8 billion Euros, which is almost one third of total EU budget, has been allocated for 2014-2020 period.

2.4. Instruments of EU Regional Policy

In 2007-2013 period of the Regional Policy, three financial instruments were used in order to achieve its objectives as convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, and European territorial cooperation. These are European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF) and Cohesion Fund and two of them, namely ERDF and ESF were included under the Structural Funds.

Table 2: 2007-2013 EU Regional Policy objectives and instruments

Objectives	Instruments		
Convergence	ERDF	ESF	Cohesion Fund
Regional Competitiveness and Employment	ERDF	ESF	
European Territorial Cooperation	ERDF		•

In this period, Cohesion Fund had provided support to less developed regions of Member States, but Structural Funds had facilitated member countries for adjusting to the Union's infrastructure. Although European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund-FEOGA and Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance-FIFG – which both took place under Structural Funds – as well as European Investment Bank credits were also tools of Regional Policy, they were not directly related instruments for Regional Policy objectives. The budget of the Regional Policy in 2007-2013 period was totally 347 billion Euros (244 billion Euros for Structural Funds and 70 billion Euros for Cohesion

Fund). In 2014-2020, a budget of 351.8 billion Euro has been allocated for the Regional Policy and the Cohesion Policy under the European Structural and Investment (ESI) Funds which gets the second biggest share in the EU budget.

On the other hand, European Social Fund (ESF) is not among the main financial instruments of 2014-2020 Regional Policy despite it was the one for 2007-2013 period. In 2014-2020 period, it is included under the ESI Funds together with the ERDF, the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF). As the first EU funding instrument created by the Treaty of Rome, the ESF is the EU's main instrument for supporting jobs, helping people get better jobs and ensuring fairer job opportunities for all EU citizens. In 2007-2013 period, ESF supported convergence and regional competitiveness and employment objectives of the Regional Policy. Total ESF budget for 2007-2013 period is 115 billion Euros and 76 billion Euros of this budget was financed by the EU. While almost 99 million participants were involved in ESF activities, more than 9 million people found a job thanks to ESF projects between 2007-2013 (European Commission, 2016, p.9). In 2014-2020 period, the ESF focuses on four challenges in employment, labour mobility, social inclusion, education, institutional capacity and public administration. The EU allocated 125 billion Euros for the ESF in 2014-2020 period. The ESF funds the regions of the Member States in accordance with three funding categories based on their regional GDP per head compared to the EU average. As it is mentioned in the previous part, these funding categories are less-developed regions, transition regions and more-developed regions.

What is more, in cooperation with the European Investment Bank, four special support instruments were set up in 2007-2013 period in order to ensure the most efficient use of Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund. Implemented as the Community initiatives, these instruments are Joint European Resources for Micro to Medium Enterprises (JEREMIE), Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas (JESSICA), Joint Assistance to Support Projects in European Regions (JASPERS) and Joint Action to Support Micro-finance Institutions in Europe (JASMINE).

Beside the mentioned instruments of the EU Regional Policy for the Member States, there are also other financial instruments for candidate and potential candidate countries, which are deemed as preparation for the implementation of the EU Regional Policy. In 2000-2006 period, instruments such as Poland and Hungary: Action for Economic Restructuring of the Economy-(PHARE), Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession (ISPA), Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development (SAPARD), Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization (CARDS) and Pre-accession Assistance for Turkey were implemented. From January 2007 onwards, the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) replaced all these programmes and financial instruments and it was implemented in all candidate or potential candidate countries.

2.4.1. European Regional Development Fund

Created in 1975, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) is one of the main funds supporting the EU Regional Policy. It has the biggest fund within the European Structural and Investment (ESI) Funds as well. As it is mentioned in the Article 2 of the ERDF regulation (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013c, p.292), the aim of the support under this fund is "to reinforce economic, social and territorial cohesion by redressing the main regional imbalances in the Union through the sustainable development and structural adjustment of regional economies." Accordingly, this financial mechanism focuses on certain investment priorities as research and innovation, information and communication technologies (ICT), SMEs and promoting a low-carbon economy (p.289).

With a budget more than 250 billion Euro for the 2014-2020 period, the ERDF supports projects under 11 thematic objectives for Cohesion Policy. The ERDF provides assistance for investments in private companies (SMEs in particular) for the purpose of creating sustainable business opportunities; finances infrastructure works related research, innovation, telecommunication, environment, energy and transport areas; subsidizes several financial tools (risk capital funds, local development funds, etc.) which were created for promoting regional and local development as well as improving cooperation between cities and regions; and funds technical assistance measures.

Besides, the ERDF has also specific financial instruments for the areas that are naturally disadvantaged from a geographical viewpoint, namely remote, mountainous or sparsely populated areas (Economic Development Foundation, 2011, p.18).

In 2007-2013 period, the main criteria for actions under the ERDF was conformity with the three objectives of the EU Regional Policy, which are convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, and European territorial cooperation. In terms of convergence objective, the ERDF supported activities as to improve local economic conditions. In this framework, enterprises were supported to create new jobs and investments were carried out on modernization and innovation as well as environmental protection. In the context of regional competitiveness and employment, the ERDF aimed at supporting works as to improve research and technology development endeavours, risk prevention efforts and public services as transport or telecommunication. Within the scope of European territorial cooperation, cross-border cooperation initiatives of neighbouring regions within the EU were supported through the ERDF (Schmidt, 2007, p.17). In 2014-2020 period, investment for growth and jobs goal and European territorial cooperation goal are two supported goals for the implementation of the ERDF. Investment for growth and jobs goal is common to all three categories of regions as less-developed, transition and more-developed. With this goal, it is aimed at addressing development needs, existing discrepancies and growth potentials in Member States. European territorial cooperation goal, which is also known as Interreg, aims at promoting a harmonious economic, social and territorial development of the Union as a whole.

2.4.2. Cohesion Fund

Cohesion Fund was introduced in 1994 through Maastricht Treaty in order to help less developed Member States whose Gross National Income (GNI) per inhabitant is less than 90 % of the EU average (notably Ireland, Greece Portugal and Spain at that time) to take part in the third stage of the Economic and Monetary Union. Thanks to this fund, it is aimed to reduce economic and social disparities and to promote sustainable development of eligible regions of these countries by improving environmental and transport infrastructure networks. According to the Regulation (EU) No 1300/2013 on

the Cohesion Fund (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013b, p.281), this fund supports such interventions under environment and transport sectors as "energy efficiency, renewable energy, rail, river and sea transport, intermodal transport systems and their interoperability, management of road, sea and air traffic, clean urban transport and public transport." In 2014-2020 period, the Cohesion Fund covers Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus⁶, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia (European Commission, 2015a, p.38). In this period, a total of 63.4 billion Euro has been allocated for activities under trans-European transport networks and environment categories.

In 2007-2013 period, the Cohesion Fund supported only convergence objective of the EU Regional Policy. While Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain benefited from this fund before the enlargement wave in 2004, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia were beneficiaries of the Fund for the 2007-2014 period. Nonetheless, Spain was eligible to the fund on a transitional basis (phase out) in the new period since Spain's GDP per capita was below the EU-15 (Özel, Kılıç and Savrul, 2013, p.48). In 2007-2013 period of the fund, 66 billion Euros were allocated for the interventions in energy, environment and transport including infrastructure sectors as it is in 2014-2020 period.

The Cohesion Fund and the ERDF are different than each other in terms of supported activity types. While the ERDF supports mostly small scale local or regional projects, the Cohesion Fund finances large scale infrastructure projects of common interest of Europe and the country (Schmidt, 2007, p.19). In this context, the Cohesion Fund supports the projects related to trans-European transport network (TEN-T), climate change adaptation and risk prevention, water and waste sectors and urban environment energy efficiency, use of renewable energy in companies and public infrastructures in particular (European Commission, 2014, p.7). Although the ERDF is similar to the Cohesion Fund as it provides financial support to development of less developed regions and to reduce disparities between regions of the Union, it has a

⁶ Turkey calls as Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus.

different effect and significance rather than the Cohesion Fund in terms of offering opportunity for cooperation between regions and focusing on local in general. As an instrument supported under European territorial cooperation goal of the ERDF, territorial and cross border cooperation programmes contribute to development of border regions and strengthen social and cultural cohesion of these regions.

CHAPTER 3

EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL AND CROSS BORDER COOPERATION

The EU provides financial support for regional development of border regions along with the EU's external and internal borders through territorial and cross-border cooperation mechanism, which began as Interreg initiatives in 1990s. Beside cooperation programmes for European regions, there also exist cooperation schemes for regional development of non-European border regions along the EU's external borders under the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) and European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI). Since Turkey is a candidate country and located along the EU's external borders, she takes part in the EU cross-border cooperation programmes IPA and ENI. Accordingly, the third chapter of this study is organized so as to examine European territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes through explaining the historical cornerstones of European territorial and cross-border cooperation, European Territorial Cooperation objective/goal of the EU Regional Policy, cooperation programmes under this objective/goal and cooperation programmes under IPA and ENI.

3.1. Evolution of European Territorial and Cross Border Cooperation

Providing advanced spaces for border regions in terms of cultural, economic and political partnerships between the border communities of different countries, the early cross-border initiatives were launched in 1950s. Cross-border cooperation practice had emerged firstly in the Rhine Basin where Dutch, German, Swiss and French border regions are located in. Nonetheless, early cross-border initiatives can be attributed to Benelux countries (The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg) as well. Even the notion of Euroregio or Euroregion is conceived on the Dutch-German border area. Euroregion entities, which were actually public cooperation initiatives involving border municipalities, other public agencies and chambers of commerce in general, had focused on locally specific issues such as industrial decline, pollution and land-use planning. According to Professor Liam O'Dowd who is the director of the Centre for International Borders Research, even though early cross-border networks were quite

efficient and successful, they could not be replicated in other parts of Europe so they remained marginal till 1980s (Banjac, 2012, p.49-50).

In 1980s, cross-border cooperation began to be considered as an important mechanism for development of Europe by both the Council of Europe and the European Community. In this context, the first legislation on the right of border regions to cooperate in various political issues is the Council of Europe's Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, which entered into force in 1981. The expectation from this Convention was to facilitate cross-border cooperation between local and regional authorities and thus to promote regional development and to contribute diversification of public services. At the beginning of 1990s, the European Community adopted cross-border cooperation as a part of a transnational strategy of cooperation and integration. Throughout this decade, territorial cooperation initiatives became the most dynamic areas of the EU Regional Policy and all border regions in the EU were covered by some types of cross-border cooperation mechanisms. Hence, cross-border cooperation was presented as one of the essential mechanisms in creating a European area without border (p.50).

In order to support harmonious economic and social development of border regions as well as the EU's integration process through cooperation established in border regions, Interreg cooperation programmes, as a Community Initiative towards border regions, were launched in 1990. Called as European Territorial Cooperation-ETC after 2007 and financed under the Structural Funds (ERDF), the Interreg initiative is also a part of the EU Regional Policy (broader concept than Regional Policy) since 1990. Five programming periods of Interreg have been implemented until today. These programmes are Interreg I (1990-1993), Interreg II (1994-1999), Interreg III (2000-2006), Interreg IV (2007-2013) and Interreg V (2014-2020).

In the territorial cooperation under Interreg I which was implemented between 1990 and 1993, only cross-border or transfrontier cooperation in the sense of cooperation between geographically adjacent border regions (including maritime borders) is regarded. In Interreg II between 1994 and 1999, the area of territorial cooperation gained a multinational dimension and it is called as territorial transnational

cooperation as well. Being implemented in the period between 2000 and 2006, Interreg III involved interregional cooperation for exchange of networks between nonadjacent regions and for creating European cooperation. In 2007-2013 period of the EU's financial planning, a new cohesion policy architecture was introduced and then fourth programming period of Interreg was integrated into the European territorial cooperation objective, known as Interreg IV. European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) as a new European legal instrument was also designed in this term to facilitate and promote cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation. In the fifth period of Interreg between 2014-2020, Interreg V became one of the two goals of 2014-2020 Cohesion Policy, referred as European territorial cooperation goal.

As the cross-border cooperation programmes have been implemented since 2003 in Turkey and also in the border region, which is the target region of this thesis study, it would be useful to give detailed information on the cross-border cooperation instruments of those times, namely Interreg III, Interreg IV and Interreg V. Targeting to foster economic and social cohesion through promoting cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation in the EU, Interreg III initiative was aimed at supporting harmonious and balanced development of neighbouring cross-border regions covering also external and maritime borders in the EU. An allocation of 5.8 billion Euros was transferred from ERDF budget for the Interreg III initiative covering 2000-2006. Under Interreg III, Bulgaria-Turkey Cross-border Cooperation Programme was implemented between 2003 and 2006. Besides, Greece-Turkey Cross-border Cooperation Programme was launched in 2004 as well but then it was terminated in 2006 because of some technical and political reasons.

Interreg initiative was transformed into the European territorial cooperation (ETC) and became one of three main objectives of the EU Regional Policy as it is indicated in Article 3 of the Council Regulation (EC) No 1083/2006 on general provisions for the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund (Official Journal of the European Union, 2006, p.25). Accordingly, three types of cooperation programmes were implemented under European territorial cooperation objective in 2007-2013 period. These three strands of

cooperation under Interreg are cross-border cooperation (Interreg A), transnational cooperation (Interreg B) and interregional cooperation (Interreg C). In this period, the budget of Interreg IV programme was 8.7 billion Euros, which accounts for 2,5% of 2007-2013 Cohesion Policy budget. In 2014-2020 period, Interreg has continued to be implemented as Interreg V under European territorial cooperation goal of the Cohesion Policy. Under the European territorial cooperation goal, an envelope of 10.1 billion Euro (2.75% of the budget of 2014-2020 Cohesion Policy) was allocated for 107 cross-border cooperation, transnational cooperation and interregional cooperation programmes.

Table 3: Financial assistance for ETC and CBC

Financial Assistance	Territorial Cooperation	Cross-border Cooperation
Interreg Initiative (1990-1993)	1.1 billion ECU	1.1 billion ECU (100%)
Interreg II Initiative (1994-1999)	3.52 billion ECU	2.6 billion ECU (73,86%)
Interreg III Initiative (2000-2006)	5.8 billion EUR	3.95 billion EUR (68,07%)
European Territorial Cooperation Objective (2007-2013)	8.7 billion EUR	5.6 million EUR (64,37%)
European Territorial Cooperation Goal (2014-2020)	10.1 billion EUR	6.6 billion EUR (65,34%)

3.2. European Territorial Cooperation Objective/Goal

As it is clarified before, cross-border cooperation programmes, which are the subject-matter of this thesis study, were implemented under the European territorial cooperation objective of the Cohesion Policy (or Regional Policy) in 2007-2013 period. Then, these programmes have continued to be implemented under European territorial cooperation goal of the EU Cohesion Policy in 2014-2020 period. In 2007-2013 period, European territorial cooperation is the one among the objectives of the EU Regional Policy with convergence and regional competitiveness and employment. Through European territorial cooperation objective, it was aimed at providing cross-border

cooperation and developing international cooperation thanks to regional initiatives; supporting integrated regional development by interregional cooperation; sharing experience at the EU level in order to realize harmonious and balanced development within the EU. When European territorial cooperation became one of two goals of the EU Cohesion Policy, in addition to investment for growth and jobs goal, in 2014-2020 period, it was aimed at promoting a harmonious economic, social and territorial development of the EU as a whole (Council of the European Union, 2013, p.382).

Cross-border, transnational and interregional programmes are supported under both the European territorial cooperation objective of 2007-2013 period and the European territorial cooperation goal of 2014-2020 period. Certain amounts of the funds allocated from the ERDF budget for programmes under the European territorial cooperation objective and goal are also used for the regions of candidate and potential candidate countries which located along the EU's external borders. Besides, there are also some instruments available to support regional development through cooperating with neighbouring countries, which have not membership perspective, along the EU's external borders.

In 2007-2013 period, 8.7 billion Euros, which accounts for 2,5% of 2007-2013 Cohesion Policy budget, was allocated for European territorial cooperation objective. This amount includes the allocation required for the participation of Member States to cooperation programmes which were implemented along the EU's external borders and funded by other financial instruments as Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) and European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). On the other hand, a budget of 10.1 billion Euro was used to finance cooperation programmes under the European territorial cooperation goal in 2014-2020 period. As it is the case for 2007-2013 period, this budget also includes the necessary allocation for participation of Member States in the EU's external border cooperation programmes supported by other instruments, namely IPA and European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) which is the successor of the ENPI of 2007-2013 period.

Under the European territorial cooperation objective in 2007-2013 period, the ERDF assistance focused on these priorities as development of cross-border economic,

social and environmental activities, establishment and development of transnational cooperation and reinforcement of the effectiveness of regional policy (Kapteyn, 2008, p.1015). In 2014-2020 period, however, the ERDF assistance supports the following components under the European territorial cooperation goal (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013, p.265):

- cross-border cooperation between adjacent regions to promote integrated regional
 development between neighbouring land and maritime border regions in two or
 more Member States or between neighbouring border regions in at least one
 Member State and one third country on external borders of the Union other than
 those covered by programmes under the external financial instruments of the
 Union;
- transnational cooperation over larger transnational territories, involving national, regional and local partners and also covering maritime cross-border cooperation in cases not covered by cross-border cooperation, with a view to achieving a higher degree of territorial integration of those territories;
- interregional cooperation to reinforce the effectiveness of cohesion policy.

Under cross-border cooperation (Interreg A), 53 programmes were implemented between the EU Member States in 2007-2013 period and 5.6 billion Euros were allocated from the ERDF for these programmes. In 2014-2020 period, 57 programmes have been implemented (although 60 programmes were programmed) and the ERDF contribution for these programmes is 6.6 billion Euros. Transnational programmes (Interreg B) covers larger areas as Baltic Sea, the Alpine and Mediterranean regions as well as well as some non-EU countries. In 2007-2013 period, a budget of 1.8 billion Euro was invested for 13 programmes under this type of cooperation. In 2014-2020 period, 15 transnational cooperation programmes have been implemented and 2.1 billion Euro is the budget allocated for these programmes. Lastly, interregional cooperation programmes (Interreg C) are networking programmes covering 28 Member States (also Norway, Switzerland, Iceland and Lichtenstein in some programmes) and they provide a framework for exchanging experience between regional and local bodies in different countries. In 2007-2013 period, INTERREG IVC programme and 3 networking programmes namely Urbact II, Interact II and ESPON

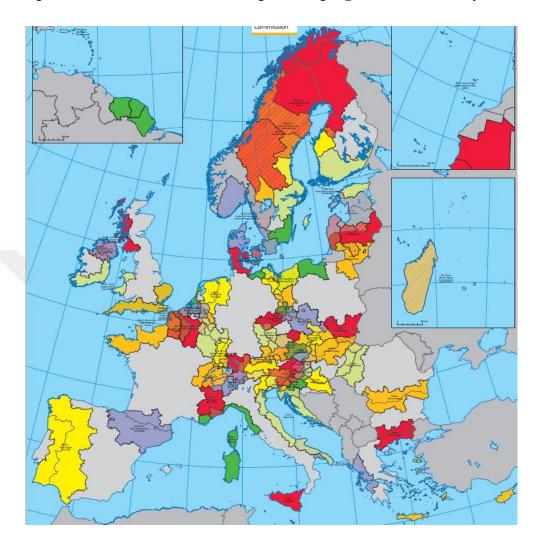
were supported under Interreg C. The budget allocated for these programmes is 445 million Euros. In 2014-2020 period, INTERREG Europe and 3 networking programmes, namely Urbact III, Interact III and ESPON were financed though the ERDF contribution around 500 million Euros.

3.3. European Territorial and Cross Border Cooperation Programmes

European territorial cooperation programmes, which are also spatial-oriented, have influence for solution of problems crossing the borders and requiring common approach. They are also optimal way to support regions for sharing their knowledge across Europe. As it is given above, totally 76 territorial cooperation programmes have been implemented in 2014-2020 period while 70 cooperation programmes in total were already completed in 2007-2013 period.

3.3.1. Cross-border Cooperation Programmes

Cross-border cooperation programmes have succeeded each other in the programming periods of 2000-2006 (as Interreg IIIA), 2007-2013 (as Interreg A) and 2014-2020 (as Interreg A). These programmes are implemented between neighbouring land and maritime border regions of Member States. In this context, 57 cross-border cooperation programmes between regions (laying directly on the borders or adjacent to them) of the Member States have been implemented in 2014-2020 period and the ERDF contribution for these programmes is 6.6 billion Euros. These figures were 53 programmes and 5.6 billion Euros for 2007-2013 period. Developing common strategies for sustainable regional development in border regions, these programmes finance joint projects which contribute to economic and social development of border regions. Cross-border cooperation programmes give support to improve entrepreneurship, SMEs, cross-border trade, tourism and culture, environmental management, transport, information and communication networks, management of water, waste and energy, common use of culture and education infrastructure and judicial and administrative cooperation (European Commission, 2008, p.24).



Map 3: 2014-2020 Cross-border cooperation programmes funded by ERDF

Source: European Commission DG REGIO https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/maps/#2/ (08.05.2019)

In the EU Regulation No 1299/2013 on specific provisions for the support from the European Regional Development Fund to the European territorial cooperation goal (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013a, p.265), the eligible area for cross-border cooperation programmes is defined as:

NUTS level 3 regions of the Union along all internal and external land borders other than those covered by programmes under the external financial instruments of the Union, and all NUTS level 3 regions of the Union along maritime borders separated by a maximum of 150 km.

In certain cases, NUTS II regions covering NUTS III regions can be also included to the Programme area as adjacent region although they are not located in borders. For these regions, maximum 20 % of the Programme budget can be allocated. On the other hand, there are also cross-border cooperation programmes which are implemented with non-EU countries along the external borders of the EU. In 2014-2020 period, a budget of 876 million Euro was earmarked for cross-border cooperation programmes implemented under IPA and ENI while an allocation of 814 million Euro was used for these programmes under IPA and ENPI in 2007-2013 period (Ohtamış, 2010, p.91).

Since the cross-border cooperation programmes in the current period are continuation of the preceding ones which were implemented in 2007-2013 period, it is deemed appropriate to mention only cross-border cooperation programmes of 2014-2020 period. In 2014-2020 period, 57 cross-border cooperation programmes, which are given in Annex 1, have been implemented along land and maritime borders of the EU though 60 programmes were programmed at the beginning.

3.3.2. Transnational Cooperation Programmes

As the continuation of Interreg III-B programmes of 2000-2006 period and then Interreg V-B programmes of 2007-2013 period, transnational cooperation programmes of 2014-2020 period, known as Interreg V-B, cover larger areas such as the Baltic Sea, the Alpine and the Mediterranean regions. Involving regions from several EU countries and some non-EU countries, transnational cooperation programmes also covers maritime cross-border cooperation in cases not covered by cross-border cooperation (Interreg V-A) so as to achieve a higher degree of territorial integration. Through supporting activities and cooperation networks towards integrated territorial cooperation, it is aimed to promote better cooperation and regional development within the EU to tackle common problems.

Having a budget of 2.1 billion Euro in total, transnational cooperation programmes provide funds for projects in such themes as innovation, environment, accessibility, telecommunications and sustainable urban development. This amount was

1.8 billion Euros in 2007-2013 period. Since this budget is allocated for Member States from the ERDF, participation of candidate and potential candidate countries as well as neighbouring countries is financed from IPA and ENI funds. While 13 transnational cooperation programmes were accomplished in 2007-2013 period, 15 transnational cooperation programmes have been implemented in the period 2014-2020.

Map 4: 2014-2020 Transnational cooperation programmes funded by ERDF

Source: European Commission DG REGIO https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/maps/#2/ (08.05.2019)

The aforesaid programmes are Interreg Adriatic-Ionian Cooperation Programme, Interreg Alpine Space Cooperation Programme, Interreg Amazonia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Atlantic Area Cooperation Programme, Interreg Balkan-Mediterranean Cooperation Programme, Interreg Baltic Sea Cooperation Programme, Interreg Caribbean Area Cooperation Programme, Interreg Central Europe Cooperation Programme, Interreg Danube Cooperation Programme, Interreg Indian Ocean Area Cooperation Programme, Interreg Mediterranean Cooperation Programme, Interreg North Sea Cooperation Programme, Interreg North West Europe Cooperation Programme, Interreg South West Europe Cooperation Programme.

Although Turkey is an eligible country to participate in Interreg Mediterranean Cooperation Programme and Interreg Balkan-Mediterranean Cooperation Programme, she opted out of these programmes because of the Cyprus issue. In 2007-2013 period, Turkey also did not take part in Mediterranean Transnational Cooperation Programme and South East Europe Transnational Cooperation Programme which is the predecessor of Balkan-Mediterranean Programme and two other transnational programmes, namely Adriatic-Ionian and Danube. The reason why Turkey opted out of this programme is also the existence of Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus in the programme.

3.3.3. Interregional Cooperation Programmes

Interregional cooperation, which is known as Interreg V-C in 2014-2020 period, is a follow-up of Interreg III-C of 2000-2006 period and Interreg V-C of 2007-2013 period. Covering all Member States and some non-EU countries, interregional cooperation provides networks for exchange and transfer of experiences and best practices between regions on thematic objectives and urban development. As it is given in the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) Regulation No 1299/2013 (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013a, p.260), interregional cooperation "aim to reinforce the effectiveness of cohesion policy by encouraging exchange of experience between regions on thematic objectives and urban development, including urban-rural linkages."

Since interregional cooperation, or Interreg C, works at pan-European level, it supports common works and cooperation networks between regional and public authorities of all EU Member States as well as neighbouring countries even if these countries are not located on the same border. Therefore, it can be possible to share best practices and to transfer experiences among regional and national authorities which are competent to make regional development policies. In 2007-2013 and 2014-2020 periods, 1 interregional cooperation programme and 3 networking programmes are covered under Interreg C strand. While Interreg Europe, INTERACT III, URBACT III and ESPON 2020 programmes are supported through an ERDF budget around 500 million Euros, Interreg IVC, URBACT II, INTERACT II and ESPON are the ones funded by the ERDF amounting 445 million Euros.

Interreg Europe is a thematic and policy learning programme which aims to improve the implementation of regional development policies and programmes. It offers a framework for exchange of experience and transfer of good practices between regional and local institutions in different countries. It has two main support services as interregional cooperation projects and policy learning platform. In 2007-2013 period, Interreg IVC focused on two priorities as innovation and the knowledge economy, and environment and risk prevention. Its budget is 359 million Euros in 2014-2020 period whereas it was 321 million Euros in 2007-2013 period. Although EU Member States, Norway and Switzerland are the beneficiaries of this programme, non-EU countries can take part in the projects through their own resources or an allocation limited to maximum 10 % of the programme budget (Ohtamiş, 2010, p.93).

INTERACT III assists European territorial cooperation programmes in terms of practical support, tools, training and advice in order to ensure efficient working of cooperation and to get best results. The programme has an overarching objective as to enhance institutional capacity of public authorities and stakeholders and efficient public administration. In 2014-2020 period, the programme budget is 39 million Euros while it was 34 million Euros in 2007-2013 period.

URBACT III is a cooperation network programme on urban development and it provides a platform for local and regional entities to exchange experience and identify

good practices regarding urban policy themes. Supporting tools, conferences, thematic networks and working groups between cities, the programme has three types of intervention, namely transnational exchange, capacity-building and capitalisation and dissemination. While the programme budget was 53 million Euros in 2007-2013 period, it has increased to 96.3 million Euros in 2014-2020 period.

ESPON 2020 is another networking programmes supporting cooperation programmes and territorial cohesion as INTERACT III. The European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON) provides pan-European research and scientific information for development of regions and larger territories through territorial research, analysis and tools. The budget of the programme is 41 million Euros for 2014-2020 period and 34 million Euros for 2007-2013 period.

3.3.4. European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)

The European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation-EGTC is a regional policy instrument which was established to facilitate and promote cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation. It is a European legal entity which has special competence and responsibilities, own budget and bodies. The EGTC was launched firstly in 2006 with the primary aim of managing and implementing territorial cooperation programmes and projects through the Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006 of 5 July 2006 on a European grouping of territorial cooperation (EGTC) and then it was updated in the Regulation (EU) No 1302/2013 of 17 December 2013 amending Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006.

This kind of entities bring together regional and local authorities as well as other public bodies from different Member States to set up cooperation groupings with a legal personality. In this sense, the EGTC is unique without requiring a prior international agreement to be signed and ratified by national parliaments (European Commission, 2015a, p.389). Member States, regional or local authorities, associations and any other public bodies can take part in a EGTC. Institutions of non-EU countries can also participate in an EGTC to the extent permitted by legislation of these countries and agreements signed with Member States. An EGTC is able to act in line with

objectives of territorial cooperation projects (cross-border transport, health services, etc.) created thanks to funds under the Structural Funds. At the same time, the EGTC can also support regional cooperation actions, which were carried out by local and regional authorities in their own initiatives whether or not having the EU contribution (Özel, Kılıç and Kılınç Savrul, 2013, p.49).

3.4. Cooperation Programmes along the EU's External Borders

Beside territorial cooperation programmes for European regions, there are also financial instruments and cooperation programmes – under these instruments – for regional development of the regions outside the EU. These programmes are implemented along the EU's external borders with candidate and potential candidate countries, neighbouring countries and other European countries which are non-EU members like Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, etc. In this context, Instrument for Preaccession Assistance (IPA) and European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) are the main financial instruments to support regional development along the EU's external borders with the mentioned countries.

Offering assistance to countries engaged in the EU accession process, Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) finances also cross-border cooperation in addition to administrational, social and economic reforms. On the other hand, there are also cross-border cooperation programmes under European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) which aim to further advance relations between the EU and the Neighbourhood countries of the East and the South by streamlining financial support and making programming shorter and better focused. In 2014-2020 period, 12 IPA cross-border cooperation programmes and 16 ENI cross-border collaboration programmes have been implemented. In 2007-2013 period, however, 10 IPA cross-border cooperation programmes and 14 ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument) cross-border cooperation programmes were operated along the EU's external borders.

3.4.1. IPA Cross Border Cooperation Programmes

Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) is the streamlined mechanism of financial assistance created by the EU to deliver the aid efficiently to candidate and

potential candidate countries, namely Western Balkans and Turkey (European Commission, 2009, p.5). The EU had provided some financial instruments to support candidate countries in preparing for their accession to the EU. These EU instruments for pre-accession are PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Action for Economic Restructuring), ISPA (Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession), SAPARD (Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development), CARDS and the pre-accession financial assistance for Turkey. In 2007-2013 Financial Perspective, those instruments have been merged and reorganized under a new streamlined funding mechanism, called as Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) with the Regulation (EC) No 1085/2006 of 17 July 2006. In 2014-2020 Financial Perspective, Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II) was established with the Regulation (EC) No 231/2014 of 11 March 2014 and it sets a new framework for providing pre-accession assistance for the period 2014-2020.

Table 4: Pre-accession support to current candidate and potential candidate countries (million Euro)

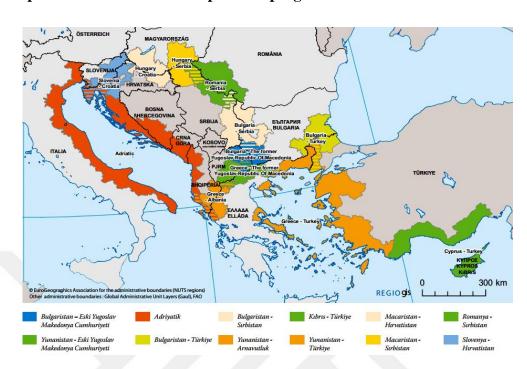
	PHARE	ISPA	SAPARD	CARDS	Pre- accession assistance for Turkey	IPA I (2007- 2013)	IPA II (2014- 2020)
Albania	635.0	-	-	330.0	-	597.3	649.4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	778.0	-	-	783.0	-	658.5	552.1
Kosovo	-	-	-	583.8	-	637.6	645.5
Montenegro	-	-	-	146.3	-	236.5	270.5
North Macedonia	200.0	-	-	288.0	-	615.1	664.2
Serbia	-	-	-	1,354.0	-	1,392.0	1,508.0
Turkey	1,861.9	-	-	-	1,233	4,795.0	4,453.9

Both IPA I and IPA II assist the beneficiary countries to make political and economic reforms and they prepare them for the rights and obligations that come with the EU membership. IPA was designed to meet different needs of candidate countries (Turkey, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Albania) and potential candidate

countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo) with a single but flexible instrument. In order to achieve each country's objectives in the most efficient way, IPA consisted of five different components in 2007-2013 period. These components are Transition Assistance and Institution Building, Cross-border Cooperation, Regional Development, Human Resources Development and Rural Development. In 2014-2020 period, IPA II targets reforms within the framework of pre-defined sectors. Within the framework of this sectoral approach, instead of the components based structure of IPA I, these priority sectors have been identified to be financed for IPA II period: Democracy and Governance; Rule of Law and Fundamental Rights; Environment; Transport; Energy; Employment, Human Resources Development and Social Policies; Agriculture and Rural Development; Regional and Territorial Cooperation. While IPA I for 2007-2013 period had a budget amounting 11.5 billion Euros, 11.7 billion Euros has been allocated for IPA II period between 2014 and 2020.

As it is mentioned above, IPA supports candidate and potential candidate countries to participate in cross-border cooperation both under the second component of IPA I (2007-2013) and regional and territorial cooperation priority sector of IPA II (2014-2020). In this context, IPA assistance is provided for the territorial cooperation and cross-border cooperation between Member States and candidate and potential candidate countries on the one hand, and among the candidate and potential candidate countries themselves on the other. Besides, it also covers the participation of IPA beneficiary countries in transnational and interregional cooperation programmes under ERDF as well as in sea basin programmes under ENPI/ENI. IPA Cross-border cooperation programmes with the Member States are pointed out in the Multi-country Indicative Strategy Paper for 2014-2020, which is Annex to the Commission Implementing Decision C(2014)4293 of, as below:

The implementation of the IPA Cross-border cooperation programmes with the Member States enables the national, regional and local authorities, but also civil society organisations and SMEs in the IPA II beneficiaries to cooperate in partnership with the Member States' authorities. This fosters their administrative capacities as well as contributes to the development of the border regions and the reconciliation process. (European Commission, 2014, p.35)



Map 5: IPA Cross-border cooperation programmes with the Member States⁷

Source: European Commission, Inforegio Panorama, No. 27 (September 2008), p.8.

In the EU's external borders with candidate and potential candidate countries, IPA has financed 10 cross-border cooperation (CBC) programmes between IPA beneficiary countries and the Member States with a total EU allocation of EUR 600 million Euro. IPA CBC programmes that were implemented in 2007-2013 period are Adriatic IPA CBC Programme, Bulgaria-Serbia IPA CBC Programme, Bulgaria-The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia IPA CBC Programme, Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme, Greece-The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia IPA CBC Programme, Greece-Albania IPA CBC Programme, Hungary-Croatia IPA CBC Programme, Hungary-Serbia IPA CBC Programme, Romania-Serbia IPA CBC Programme and Slovenia-Croatia IPA CBC Programme. Although 12 IPA CBC programmes were prepared at the beginning of 2007-2013 period, 10 of them were accomplished because Cyprus-Turkey IPA CBC Programme and Greece-Turkey IPA CBC Programme could not be carried into effect.

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⁷ Turkey does not recognize the Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus as the sovereign state of the whole island.

For 2014-2020 period, a budget of 242 million Euro has been allocated from IPA for 12 IPA CBC programmes. Those programmes are Bulgaria-Serbia IPA CBC Programme, Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme, Bulgaria-The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia IPA CBC Programme, Croatia-Serbia IPA CBC Programme, Croatia-Bosnia and Herzegovina-Montenegro IPA CBC Programme, Greece-Albania IPA CBC Programme, Greece-The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia IPA CBC Programme, Hungary-Serbia IPA CBC Programme, Italy-Albania-Montenegro IPA CBC Programme and Romania-Serbia IPA CBC Programme.

3.4.2. ENPI/ENI Cross Border Cooperation Programmes

Cross-border cooperation along the external borders of the EU is also a key priority in the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) of the EU. European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI), which is the policy instrument of ENP, is another tool to support regional development on the EU's external borders with neighbouring countries. As the main financial instrument for ENP in 2014-2020 period, ENI is the successor of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) of 2007-2013 period. The EU governs its relations with its 16 neighbours thanks to ENP, which is actually a bilateral policy between the EU and each neighbouring country. Its southern neighbours are Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria and Tunisia while eastern neighbours are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Meanwhile, ENP does not cover Russia since relations with Russia are governed by a Strategic Partnership despite Russia's participation in cross-border cooperation programmes under this policy. Offering a framework for more effective and stronger partnerships with the EU's neighbours, ENP was launched in 2003 to prevent new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbours, to strengthen cooperation between neighbouring countries and to enhance prosperity, stability and security in the region.

Being operational since 1 January 2007, ENI is the main funding mechanism for 16 neighbouring countries. ENPI and ENI were built on earlier financing instruments as the MED-PACT programme and a well as TACIS (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia) for the East and MEDA for

the South. ENI or ENPI promotes stability in its vicinity and also fosters cooperation and economic integration between the EU and partner countries which are the neighbouring countries. In this framework, good governance, democracy, rule of law and human rights, economic development for stabilisation, security dimension and migration and mobility are the joint priorities for cooperation under ENI. A budget of 15.4 billion Euro has been allocated for the implementation of ENI in 2014-2020 period. However, total amount of ENPI funds disbursed for 2007-2013 period is 13.4 billion Euros although an allocation of 11.18 billion Euro was earmarked in the programming of ENPI. Most of the funds under ENI has been used for bilateral cooperation which is tailor-made to each ENI partner country through bilateral ENP Action Plans.

the bilateral cooperation, ENI provides funds for regional, Beside Neighbourhood-wide and cross-border cooperation programmes that complement bilateral cooperation programmes. ENI cross-border cooperation programmes support sustainable development along the EU's external borders and contribute to reduce differences in living standards and to solve common challenges. These programmes are implemented between Member States and neighbouring partner countries which share a land border or sea crossing. In addition, sea basin programmes cover several Member States and neighbourhood countries. The budget allocated for ENI cross-border cooperation programmes in 2014-2020 period is 1.052 billion Euros, of which 634 million Euros are ERDF contribution. For 2007-2013 period under ENPI, totally 955.3 million Euros were disbursed despite an allocation of 1.118 billion Euro was earmarked in the beginning. Meanwhile, budgets of ENI/ENPI cross-border cooperation are financed through two different sources, namely ENI and ERDF contributions. Hence, 463.1 million Euros are the ENPI contribution for the participation of ENPI partner countries in 2007-2013 cross-border cooperation programmes, whereas the ERDF contribution for participation of Member States is 492.2 million Euros.

For 2014-2020, 15 ENI cross-border cooperation (CBC) programmes have been operated along EU external borders while 16 programmes were identified in the programming of 2014-2020. Among them, Mid-Atlantic ENI CBC Programme could

not be adopted and implemented because of political reasons.⁸ Among the adopted programmes, there are 12 land border programmes, 1 sea-crossing programme and 2 sea basin programmes. Land programmes of 2014-2020 period are Karelia-Russia ENI CBC Programme, Kolarctic-Russia ENI CBC Programme, Estonia-Russia ENI CBC Programme, Latvia-Lithuania-Belarus ENI CBC Programme, Latvia-Russia ENI CBC Programme, Lithuania-Russia ENI CBC Programme, Poland-Belarus-Ukraine ENI CBC Programme, Poland-Russia ENI CBC Programme, Hungary Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENI CBC Programme, Romania-Republic of Moldova ENI CBC Programme, Romania-Ukraine ENI CBC Programme and South East Finland-Russia CBC Programme. While Mediterranean Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme and Black Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme are sea basin programmes, Italy-Tunisia ENI CBC Programme is only one sea-crossing programme. Turkey takes part in Black Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme through IPA funds as a candidate country. Although Turkey is also an eligible country to participate in Mediterranean Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme, she opted-out this programme because of the Cyprus issue.

In 2007-2013 period, on the other hand, 12 ENPI CBC programmes were implemented although 14 programmes were planned. Two programmes, namely Spain-Morocco CBC Programme and Atlantic CBC Programme, could not be realized because of political reasons. The land programmes of 2007-2013 period are Estonia-Latvia-Russia ENPI CBC Programme, Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENPI CBC Programme, Karelia ENPI CBC Programme, Kolarctic ENPI CBC Programme, Latvia-Lithuania-Belarus ENPI CBC Programme, Lithuania-Poland-Russia ENPI CBC Programme, Poland-Belarus-Ukraine ENPI CBC Programme, Romania-Ukraine-Moldova ENPI CBC Programme and South-East Finland-Russia ENPI CBC Programme. In 2014-2020 period, Italy-Tunisia ENPI CBC Programme is the only one sea-crossing programme while Mediterranean Sea Basin ENPI CBC Programme and Black Sea Basin ENPI CBC Programme were sea basin programmes of 2007-2013 period. Like in 2014-2020 period, Turkey participated Black Sea Basin ENPI CBC

⁸ Following the General Court of Justice ruling of December 2015, the Western Sahara dispute affected the EU-Morocco relations and it also influenced this programme, in which Morocco was a participating country. Programming negotiations were interrupted because of the definition of the participating regions after the judgement and it led to a decision not to proceed the programme.

Programme in this period whereas she did not take part in Mediterranean Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme because of the Cyprus issue.

As a conclusion to this chapter, it may be noted that cross-border cooperation programmes are examined through explaining other cooperation strands under European Territorial Cooperation objective/goal of the EU's Regional Policy and other cooperation instrument for the EU's external borders. It is believed that information given in this chapter will facilitate to comprehend the next chapter which inquires the impact of cross-border cooperation programmes to regional development.

CHAPTER 4

CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The EU Regional Policy aims to reduce socio-economic discrepancies between the regions within the Union while the EU Cohesion Policy contributes to diminish economic and social disparities between the EU Member States. In these investment policies which are implemented at regional level and the EU level, the EU's territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes are essential policy instruments that contribute the regional development of border areas. Thus, contributions and achievements of these cooperation programmes in border regions are measured through some indicators and parameters of regional development. Accordingly, this chapter analyses the contributions and impact of the EU cross-border cooperation programmes on regional development of border areas based on indicators, parameters, official reports, and observations and comments of interviewees. Moreover, as the Turkish border region covering Edirne and Kırklareli is examined as the case study in this thesis, the EU cross-border cooperation programmes implemented in this border region are described from the beginning to the present and then impacts of these programmes on regional development of the subject region is identified and explained from a rationalist institutionalist perspective.

4.1. Measuring Regional Development and Indicators for Development

In the first chapter of this thesis, some indicators and parameters regarding regional development are mentioned. Then, European territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes are clarified through considering the policy background in the previous chapter. In order to analyse the reflections of European territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes on regional development, certain indicators and parameters concerning regional development should be identified and pursuant thereto an evaluation should be made. Defined on the basis of such actions as mobilizing the region's own resources, promoting entrepreneurship, enhancing the region's level of income an employment and improving the quality of life, regional development is also

understood as activities towards improving economic and social welfare of the region and consequently increase in the welfare level of the region. Although economic dimension of regional development is referred mostly in this definition, regional development has also social and environmental effects. Accordingly, some economic, social and environmental indicators can be utilized in order to analyse regional development. Since effects of policies and programmes on regional development emerge in two terms, namely short-term and long-term, it is possible to examine the aforementioned indicators within two groups. While long-term effect which can be measured by macro-economic indicators, does not appear immediately, short-term effect may emerge even during the implementation of programmes.

To measure long-term influence of regional development, it is possible to benefit from such macro-economic indicators as GDP per capita, competitiveness of region, investment and capital movements, employment and mobility in labour market, demographic structure and population movements, development in human resources, environmental protection and improvement in the quality of life. Although measuring long-term effects of territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes on development of border regions is not well enough because of relatively small-scale financial assistance provided to these programmes and incapability in monitoring system and data collection, there are some evaluations available for these programmes.

Short-term effects of regional policy, however, are related to outputs and results of projects and programmes and it is easier to measure them in general. We can exemplify these indicators as improvement in basic infrastructure (constructed or renovated buildings ad roads, regenerated river basins, environmental landscaping, rehabilitation of urban areas, etc.), development in communication and technology infrastructure, formed business networks and business incubators, created job opportunities, attracting enterprises and investors, support to small-sized enterprises, treatment facilities and reducing pollution, quality of health centers and health services, tourism and promotion activities, research and development activities and training activities.

4.2. Impact of EU Cohesion Policy on Regional Development

Aimed at diminishing economic and social disparities between Member States and assisting to stabilize economies of the countries, the EU Cohesion Policy allocated 341,7 billion Euros (which is 97.5% of total Cohesion Policy budget for 2014-2020 period) to the one of its goals, namely investment for growth and jobs goal. This resource is distributed according to three categories of regions (convergence and regional competitiveness and employment objectives in 2007-2013). Almost 44 % of resources for the investment for growth and jobs goal has been allocated to less developed regions whose GDP per capita is less than 75% of the average GDP of the EU-28. While approximately 10% of funds for investment in growth and jobs goal has been dispersed for transition regions whose GDP per capita is between 75% and 90% of the average GDP of the EU-28, just over 15% of the resources for investment in growth and jobs goal has been allocated to more developed regions with GDP per capita is above 90 % of the average GDP of the EU-28. Moreover, 21% of allocation for the investment in growth and jobs goal are earmarked for Cohesion Fund. On the other hand, an envelope of 10.1 billion Euro which represents 2.75% of Cohesion Policy budget invested for the European territorial cooperation goal of the Cohesion Policy (European Commission, 2015, pp.29-40).

Relevant studies and evaluations indicate that the EU Cohesion Policy has a considerable influence in the Member States which needs growth and new job opportunities at most through contributing to speed up the growth and to create new job opportunities as well improving standards of life across Europe. In this context, the former President of European Commission José Manuel Barroso also points out the importance of the Cohesion Policy in growth and creation of job opportunities across Europe. The president says (European Commission, 2013, p.5):

Thanks to the ERDF, the ESF and the Cohesion Fund, we are supporting broadband access, SME start-ups, social inclusion, education, energy efficiency and job creation. So far, reporting by Member States has shown that cohesion policy investments in 2007-2013 supported more than 73,500 SME start-ups and created over 263,000 jobs

in SMEs. Over 4.7 million more EU citizens now have broadband coverage thanks to the investments.

The achievement of the EU Cohesion Policy has been assessed regularly through evaluation activities which take part in each programme under the Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund. Success of these programmes has been measured by some indicators which have been explained before such as additional growth, created job opportunities, reducing pollution, etc. As a latest official report on the Cohesion Policy, the Seventh Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion also affirms that the Cohesion Policy has a significant effect on the Member States' economies and its effects on Europe-wide investments have built up over the long-term (European Commission, 2017, p.xxiii).

According to the mentioned report, Cohesion Policy investments in EU-27 countries (excluding Croatia) for the 2007-2013 period increased these countries' GDP by 3% in 2015 and a similar rate has been estimated for the 2014-2020 period in 2023. Likewise, the programmes under the Cohesion Policy in 2007-2013 period created 1.2 million jobs in supported enterprises while it is foreseen that these programmes will create further 420,000 new jobs by supporting 1.1 million SMEs. Moreover, it is planned to employ more than 7.4 million people, to provide training for 2.2 million people, to upskill 8.9 million people with new qualifications. Thanks to investments in the digital economy (i.e. development of e-government, ICT services and applications for SMEs, high speed broadband, smart grids and intelligent energy distribution systems, and large scale data centres), it is also expected to provide 14.5 million additional households with broadband access. Investment in environmental protection and energy efficiency will ensure to connect extra 17 million people to wastewater treatment facilities and 3.3 million to smart grids as well as it will reduce energy consumption of 870,000 households as well. Besides, transport investments will decrease travel times and lead to more trams and subways in cities. Through the programmes TEN-T railway lines more than 4,600 km will be renovated, 2,000 km new TEN-T roads will be constructed and 750 km tram and metro lines will be constructed or improved. On the other hand, thanks to investment in social infrastructure, 6.8 million children will gain access to new or modernised schools and childcare facilities whereas healthcare services of 42 million people will be improved. Lastly, territorial cooperation programmes under the Cohesion Policy will ensure 240,000 people to participate in cross-border mobility initiatives as well as 6,900 enterprises and 1,400 research institutions to take part in research projects (p.xxiii-xxiv).

When examining the state of play of 2014-2020 programmes under the Cohesion Policy, the European Commission's report on European Structural and Investment Funds 2014-2020 2018 Summary report of the programme annual implementation reports covering implementation in 2014-2017 gives data for the overall performance of these programmes as of the end of 2017. In accordance with the reported data, 450,000 enterprises were supported to improve their productivity and growth or to create jobs, 15 million people were supported in their search for job, training or education and were benefitted from social inclusion measures and lastly climate and environment related actions to improve biodiversity, soil and water management were carried out in 26 million hectares of agricultural land or 15% of the Utilized Agricultural Area of the EU (European Commission, 2019, p.2).

In 2007-2013 period of the Cohesion Policy or Regional Policy, 346.5 billion Euros invested to reduce disparities between regions and to promote balanced and sustainable development. According to independent evaluations about 2007-2013 period, investments under this Policy had positive and tangible results in job creation, had positive impact on regional disparities and had an increase in GDP. Main achievements of the Regional Policy in 2007-2013 period are as follows: GDP per capita has increased in the poorest EU regions from 60.5 % of the EU average in 2007 to 62.7 % in 2010; approximately 1.3 million new jobs were created from 2007 to 2015; 2.4 million people participated in actions supporting access to employment between 2007 and 2010; SMEs received direct investment aid in 356,800 projects and 141,145 start-ups were supported; 125,687 research projects and 45,371 cooperation projects were supported while 70,900 new long-term research jobs were created; 20.6 million EU citizens were included in broadband connectivity; 15 million citizens were benefitted from modernised water supply systems; an area of 1,650 square km rehabilitated for waste water to serve 19.7 million citizens; capacity of renewable

energy production was increased 5,309 MW more; 6,700 km road and 1,100 km railways were built while 41,300 km road and 7,500 km railways were reconstructed.

As examples to regional or country level for 2007-2013 period, rate of waste recycled was increased by over 10 percentage points in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Slovenia and Croatia; schools and colleges and their reequipment were modernized and then more than 300,000 children and young people benefitted in Portugal; healthcare system was improved in Hungary through construction of care facilities and the purchase of ambulances; schools and healthcare facilities were upgraded in Poland for 1.9 million people; welcome centres for migrants were established in Spain and Italy (Applica and Ismeri Europa, 2016, p.14-15).

4.3. Contributions of Territorial and Cross-border Cooperation Programmes on Regional Development in the EU

European territorial cooperation, called as Interreg, plays an important role in reducing the adverse effects of borders through contributing regional development of border regions which suffer from some disadvantages in comparison to central regions. Programmes under European territorial cooperation supports border regions to solve common problems and eliminate barriers to boost economic growth and improve access to services in these regions. Former Interreg initiatives and programmes under the European territorial cooperation have visible impact and concrete achievements in border regions with regard to business, employment, infrastructure, accessibility, transport, energy, environment, tourism, research, education, health and so on. However, it should be born in mind that impact and achievements of territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes, namely Interreg, are not strong as in the same way as other programmes under the Cohesion Policy. Despite these programmes aim reducing regional disparities between regions as other mainstreaming programmes, their main priority is to promote cooperation and joint action for strengthening the relations between communities in border regions (p.193) Besides, it is not easy to assess results and achievements of the projects under these programmes because of multilateral partnerships in joint projects and difficulties to monitor project indicators.

Cross-border cooperation is one of three strands under European territorial cooperation objective in 2007-2013 period and among the one cooperation type under European territorial cooperation goal of 2014-2020 period. It was also in the form of a Community Initiative as Interreg IIIA in the period of 2000-2006. Since the implementation of programmes under Interreg III finished and all expected results and impact prospects are clearly identifiable, it will be useful to mention the achievements and impact of the cooperation programmes under Interreg III. In this context, 19,000 projects and networks were supported by 81 Interreg III programmes which were aimed at diminishing border effects, reducing effects of language barriers and cultural differences, developing border regions, supporting border areas in terms of strategic development and territorial integration across larger EU territories and better integration with its neighbours (European Commission, 2011b, p.11).

Ex-Post Evaluation Report Interreg III in 2000-2006 gives insights into the key achievements of Interreg III programmes as following: 1,030 transport-related infrastructures were built or supported; more than 200 pathways (road, railway, bicycle and hiking trails, etc.) on a total length of 18,000 km were created or supported; 170 environmental infrastructures and 270 communication infrastructures were newly established or supported; 113,685 services and facilities (institutional, technological, administrative, transport-related, tourism, social, health) were created or improved; more than 25,000 natural, cultural, urban and rural tourist sites or routes were established or supported; 12,000 institutional, informational and educational networks and cooperation structures were created and 1,285 plans and concepts initiated; 35,050 publications, strategy papers and reports elaborated; 62,991 agreements and conventions concluded or implemented; 123,571 information products and material in the field of tourism and education were developed or used; more than 1 million individuals representing 68,000 organisations or groups were mobilized or affected from mobility activities; 115,220 jobs, 5,800 start-ups and businesses were directly or indirectly created or safeguarded; 3,900 businesses were enhanced and used new strategies or technology; 544,000 individuals participated in courses, trainings, seminars, workshops, meetings and/or other educational activities (Panteia, 2010, p.154-155).

Territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes under European territorial cooperation objective in 2007-2013 had funded over 8,100 projects on RTD (Research and Technological Development) and innovation, the environment and ICT (Information and Communication Technology), culture and social infrastructure and so on (Applica and Ismeri Europa, 2016, p.194). As the recent evaluation of territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes were conducted in 2016, all expected results and impact prospects could not be reported. Although indicators of these programme are limited and incomplete yet, contributions and results of the programmes were measured to some extent. For example, through cross-border cooperation programmes, 3,500 jobs were directly created, 487 km roads were reconstructed and more than 500,000 people participated in joint education or training activities. In transnational cooperation programmes, however, 2,207 jobs were created and 260 transnational projects in RTD and innovation, accessibility, risk prevention and water management were implemented.

Among tangible achievements of programmes, establishment of networks or partnerships of SMEs and research centres, joint management of natural resources and joint action for environmental protection are the most common ones. As the third strand of European territorial cooperation objective, interregional cooperation programmes were able to set up a framework for local and regional authorities across the EU which enabled to share experience and examples of good practice regarding the problems they faced (p.195). Concerning the intangible achievements beyond the outputs and results described above, these programmes had also contributed to diminish barriers to cultural and physical barriers and increase social integration as it is stated in the Seventh Report on economic, social and territorial cohesion (European Commission, 2017, p.202).

Since the implementation of territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes under European territorial cooperation goal of 2014-2020 period have continued still, impact and results of these programmes are not attained yet as they are planned. However, 2014-2020 cross-border cooperation programmes in which Turkey attended will be examined in the next section and then implemented projects under these programmes will be analysed in terms of their achievements despite the final evaluation reports of programmes are not available yet. Before analysing cross-border

cooperation programmes covering border regions of Turkey in the next section, highlighting a couple of examples from other ETC programmes around Europe will facilitate to understand the contributions and impact of cross-border cooperation programmes to the programme area.

Within the Interreg IV Upper Rhine Cross-border Cooperation Programme which was implemented in 2007-2013 period to support the Upper Rhine border area of Germany and France, 400 projects were funded until today since 1991 and 20 of them were carried out in Strasbourg and Kehl, adjacent cities in two countries. Owned by France and Germany with joint staffing, Europa 1 fireboat can be given as an example for tangible impact of the programme. This fireboat is a measure taken for the problems arising from the Rhine's growing importance as a mode of transport and for the safety threats posed by the industry developing along the river's banks. Beside this project, successful and advanced cooperation between Strasbourg and Kehl is also embodied in the project as Garden on Two Banks. Thanks to this project, a 150-hectares public park, which runs along either side of the Rhine River, was created and it has also hosted all kind of cultural events (European Commission, 2011a, p.28).

Although the Interreg cross border-cooperation programmes between Spain and Portugal started with improving the infrastructure, namely construction of bridge over the border river (international bridge between Vila Nova de Cerveira and Goyán), this cooperation has spilled over to other joint areas of interest such as employment, small business support, environmental planning, heritage conservation, urban regeneration, tourism, university research, risk prevention, socio-economic integration and technical assistance. 2007-2013 period of the Spain-Portugal Cross-border Cooperation Programme focused on creating centres of excellence related to the knowledge economy such as the International Iberian Nanotechnology Laboratory and the Automobile Technological Centre of Galicia. The establishment of an International Iberian Nanotechnology Laboratory in Braga (Portugal) was selected as one of the best practice cases in the Lisbon Agenda in 2006. While 400 people are employed in this laboratory, it also brings new employment and business opportunities to the region, particularly for young scientists (pp.33-36).

Supported under 2007-2013 Belgium-Netherlands Cross-border Cooperation Programme, Bio Base Europe project, with 21.8 million Euro budget, aimed to bring together industries, scientists and private sector from the bio-economy and make Ghent-Terneuzen area as the bio-economic hub of Europe. In the pilot installation of Bio Base Europe, companies have been researching to create new products and processes which are able to transform agricultural products into sustainable bio-energies. Within five years, an annual turnover of 10 million Euros were earned from research activities (pp.64-65). Marc De Buck, who is the Member of the Provincial Government of East Flanders, comments on the project's contribution to the region as below:

Presenting our respective projects, exchanging knowledge and promoting our image as an incubator for the bio-economy are all crucial steps in encouraging businesses and investors to come to the border region. ... Over the past five years in the port of Ghent alone, we have succeeded in attracting over 600000 million in investment in the biofuels cluster (p.66).

As a good example for cross-border cooperation under Interreg III, Øresund Science Region project was supported by 2000-2006 Interreg IIIA Øresund Programme. Aiming at developing tools to strengthen the highly educated population and 12,000 researchers in the region (around Copenhagen and Malmö) together with 2,000 high-technology companies and Øresund University, the project is recognised as one most successful business networks of Europe. As an incubator for regional cluster-facilitating organisations and innovation projects, the foundation created through the project has been described by the OECD as a flagship and a world-class centre for innovation. According to Bengt Streijferti who is the CEO of Øresund University, "one of the main factors of success has been the INTERREG money. It was a real seed for development, but continued access to financing through further investment is vital" (p.81). Christine Axelsson, Deputy Governor of the Skåne Region, also regards the project as an excellent example of cross-border cooperation (p.82).

Close cross-border cooperation is vital in order to provide health care of good quality to the people living in the high plain of Cerdanya, which is a difficult area to access and surrounded by enormous mountains between Spain and France. In this

framework, the Cerdanya cross-border hospital was established with the budget of 31,000,000 Euro which was provided through the Spain-France Cross-border Cooperation Programme in 2007-2013 period. Jointly operated by Catalonia and France, the hospital has provided the local residents with quick and easy access to the medical services. A medical doctor working in one of the hospitals of the region expresses that this cross-border hospital will provide them with additional resources. He also emphasizes the daily exchange between Spanish doctors and French doctors in terms of knowledge and methods used (p.135).

Even though budgets and impact of territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes and the projects under these programmes are not as big as other project and programmes implemented under other objectives/goals of ERDF and other Structural Funds, these programmes have a considerable amount of contribution to the removal of development disparities between both sides of border and to the development of border regions where cooperation programmes implemented. In this matter, the former Director-General for Regional Policy Dirk Ahner stresses the impact prospects of ETC programmes as "We have seen great progress, whether in person to person contacts, joint economic initiatives or development of common infrastructure. Growing together is a long-term process, but it is clear that there is already much success" (p.124).

As Garcia-Duran, Mora and Millet asserted (2011, p.358), comparative analysis of official documents and reports related to territorial and cross-border cooperation indicates the fact that regional policy is grounded on the hypothesis that support given through the mentioned cooperation programmes enhances the cooperation between border regions and that higher the degree of cooperation between border regions reduces the border effect and therefore the impact on growth and employment becomes stronger. In this context, territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes are perceived as essential instruments in the European integration process as they involve the objectives as to promote economic competitiveness and diminish regional disparities (Banjac, 2012, p.42).

To sum up, cross-border cooperation programmes, which began as Interreg initiatives in 1990s, have an essential impact on development of border regions and on

removal of development discrepancies between regions on both sides of the border. The programmes contribute to employment through creating or safeguarding businesses and business areas; to solutions of regional problems through developing networks and plans; to transportation and basic infrastructure through constructing or improving bridges, roads, railways and pathways; to improving superstructure through environmental planning and rehabilitation of urban areas; to enhancing communication through investments in telecommunication; to environmental development through such investment as regeneration of river basins and building treatment plants; to trade enhancement through establishing functional economic links between cross-border regions, providing support to small enterprises, generating business incubators and venture capital funds; to attracting enterprises and investments to the region through supporting business incubators for certain sectors; to providing health care of good quality and increasing the quality of life through building treatment centers and hospitals; to culture through creating natural parks and cultural places as well as giving support to preservation of cultural heritage; to competitiveness and knowledge economy of the region through establishing centers of excellence and science and technology centers; to education and RTD activities through promoting academic researches and cooperation among universities.

4.4. Main Achievements of EU Cross-border Cooperation Programmes in Turkey: Edirne-Kırklareli Border Region

In the above section, it is seen that European territorial and cross-border cooperation programmes, which is one of the policy instruments of the Cohesion Policy (and Regional Policy), contribute to regional development of border regions and they lead to cohesion of different cultures and communities through supporting cooperation between the regions along with the EU's external and internal borders. As Turkey is a candidate country and is located along the EU's external borders, she participates in some EU cross-border cooperation programmes under Enlargement Policy and Neighbourhood Policy of the EU. Within this framework, this section will give an insight into the main achievements of the EU cross border cooperation programmes implemented in Turkey's border regions, namely Edirne and Kırklareli provinces.

Hence, the mentioned cross-border cooperation programmes will be described one by one and then they will be scrutinized in terms of their effects and contributions on the regional development of Edirne-Kırklareli border region as a case study.

To begin with, it will be beneficial to clarify why Edirne-Kırklareli border region is taken as the sample case of this study. It is a fact that Edirne and Kırklareli are the only two provinces on land borders with the EU and so they are more open to interaction (rather than sea borders) with the border regions in the EU side thanks to the spill-over effect. Secondly, first cross-border cooperation activities started in Edirne and Kırklareli provinces in 2003 and since then this region has been experiencing crossborder cooperation continuously. While both Edirne and Kırklareli have been involving in the cross-border cooperation (CBC) between Turkey and Bulgaria starting from 2003 with a pilot project, only Edirne took part in the Greece-Turkey CBC Programme under Interreg III/A which could not be implemented because of several problems. Lastly, Turkey also participated in the Black Sea Basin CBC Programme under the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). Since it is a multilateral cooperation programme covering 8 countries and 25 provinces from Turkey and this programme has a modest budget, its effects are not strong as in the Interreg CBC programmes in land borders. Meanwhile, Edirne and Kırklareli take part in this sea basin programme, as well.

The first cross-border cooperation scheme in which Turkey attended is a pilot project, called the Joint Small Projects Fund (JSPF). Bulgaria was eligible for the assistance under the PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Action for Economic Restructuring of the Economy) programme, including PHARE Cross-border Cooperation. After the Commission Regulation No.1822/2003 updated the list of eligible borders of PHARE Cross-border Cooperation under PHARE programme, the geographical scope of the PHARE Cross-border Cooperation Programme had been extended to the Bulgarian border with Turkey as of 1 January 2004. In addition, the Commission Regulation No.1596/2002 removed a restriction as to the JSPF (European Commission, 2004, p.3). Hence, it became possible to include Turkey to the PHARE Cross-border Cooperation Programme and then the JSPF for Turkey was launched in 2003 with the objectives so

as to improve cross-border cooperation at local level and to strengthen institutional framework for cross-border cooperation as well as to support economic development of the border regions. Covering Edirne and Kırklareli in Turkey, this cooperation scheme had earmarked yearly 500,000 Euros for each part of the border. 29 project proposals were submitted from Turkish side and 11 of them were awarded. The amount of grant contracted from Turkish border region is 456,190 Euros while it is 451,511 Euros for 13 projects from Bulgarian border region which covers Burgas, Haskovo and Yambol. As an example for achievement of this scheme, each project reached 200 people and in total more than 2000 people. Also project partnerships were contributed to development of cooperation as well as cooperation links were created through project activities. This pilot project is a separate initiative from the 2004-2006 Cross-border Cooperation Programme. JSPF was also included in the IPA envelope of the 2004-2006 Cross-border Cooperation Programme between Turkey and Bulgaria and it financed small projects in Edirne and Kırklareli through a grant scheme.

Table 5: EU Cross-border Cooperation Programmes Turkey attended (Euro)

Programme	Period	EU Contribution	Total Budget
Joint Small Projects Fund Bulgaria- Turkey (under PHARE CBC)	2003	500,000	500,000
2004-2006 CBC Programme between Turkey and Bulgaria	2004-2006	30,000,000	40.687,000
Interreg III/A Greece-Turkey CBC Programme (terminated)	2004-2006	34,998,000	46,664,004
Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme	2007-2013	27,265,444	32,076,992
ENPI Black Sea Basin CBC Programme	2007-2013	35,118,954	38,503,546
Interreg IPA Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme	2014-2020	25,196,460	29,642,894
ENI Black Sea Basin CBC Programme	2014-2020	49,038,597	53,942,456

2004-2006 Cross-border Cooperation Programme between Turkey and Bulgaria is the first fully-fledged cooperation programme in which Turkey participated in. As it is written in the Joint Programming Document of the programme, it is "promoting joint activities for achieving economic and social development and for overcoming problems deriving from the specific conditions of these regions, in a manner compatible with the protection of the environment" (p.3). The programme covers all Bulgarian districts and Turkish provinces along the border. In accordance with NUTS III classification, the districts of Burgas, Yambol and Haskovo in Bulgaria and provinces of Edirne and Kırklareli in Turkey are eligible for the programme. While the participation of Bulgaria to the programme was financed from PHARE, Turkey was supported through Pre-accession Financial Assistance for Turkey. Total budget of the programme is 40.687 million Euros and 30 million Euros of this amount is the EC contribution. The EC contribution was distributed equally as 15 million Euros for each country. Programme has three priorities to strengthen cooperation between two countries. They are Priority 1: Cross-border infrastructures; Priority 2: Protection, improvement and management of the environment and Priority 3: People-to-people actions. While the coordinator and the beneficiary institution of the programme in Turkey is the Undersecretary of State Planning Organization, Central Finance and Contracts Unit (CFCU) is the Contracting Authority for Turkey.

In the project selection, two different procedures were followed as preidentified projects and grant scheme. Five pre-identified projects under this programme
are Restoration of the Ekmekçizade Caravanserai in Edirne, Technical Assistance for
the Management of the Ekmekçizade Caravanserai in Edirne, Upgrading of KırklareliDereköy-Aziziye-Turkish Bulgarian Border State Road Project, Capacity Improvement
for Flood Forecasting and Flood Control in the TR-BG CBC Region, Protection and
Sustainable Development of Natural Resources and Biodiversity in the Yıldız
Mountains. Under the grant scheme, three consecutive projects, namely Joint Small
Projects Fund, were programmed for the year 2004, 2005 and 2006. With the national
contribution, 16.987 million Euros was contracted for these projects in Turkish border
region, namely Edirne and Kırklareli.

HASKOVO KIRKLARENI
EDIRNE

Map 6: Programme Area of 2004-2006 Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme

Source: (European Commission, 2004, p.6)

Joint Small Projects Fund (JSPF) under this programme is the continuation of the JSPF scheme related to the PHARE Cross-border Cooperation Programme in 2003. It aimed to support the establishment and development of cooperative networks on both sides of the border and the creation of linkages between these networks and wider European Union networks. Under JSPF, small and soft projects were financed on both sides of the border (Edirne and Kırklareli in Turkey and Burgas, Yambol and Haskovo in Bulgaria) through grant schemes. The grants were given through call for proposals for small scale people-to people actions under the priority areas as economic development, tourism, cultural exchanges, institutional capacity building at local level. In the framework of the 2004 and 2005 programming, 500,000 Euros for each year was allocated for Turkish border region while the EU grant allocated for 2006 programming is 700,000 Euros and the total budget including national co-financing is 1,013,500 Euros. Under JSPF, three calls for proposals were launched and totally 52 projects were awarded amounting to 2,046,000 Euros. As results of these actions, intensity and degree

of cross border cooperation between local authorities, NGOs and other stakeholders on the two sides of the border had increased, level of public awareness and information on CBC had increased, local involvement to implement small-scale actions that may form the basis for larger cross-border co-operation projects had increased and absorption capacity of EC grants by local stakeholders had increased. This scheme had contributed to the establishment or further development and deepening of contacts among different regional and local institutions on the one hand, and it also contributed to the increasing staff and institutional capabilities for cooperation and participation in future development programmes (European Commission, 2006b). In terms of capacity building, project preparation and implementation capacity of potential beneficiaries as well as administration capacity of Local Technical Secretariats (in governorships) had increased.

The project Restoration of the Ekmekçizade Caravanserai in Edirne was carried out in 2007 by Edirne Provincial Special Administration with a budget of 3,135,000 Euro (EU contribution is 2,350,000 Euros). It is the first restoration project which is financed by the EU in Turkey (Özerdem, 2009, p.10). After the restoration, this building has been used as the cultural center. The restored and rehabilitated caravanserai has mainly served the needs of the local communities on both regions at the border between Turkey and Bulgaria. This place has also been used as a space for public events and particularly as a venue for cultural and business events. Besides, a Technical Assistance (TA) project for the Management of the Ekmekçizade Caravanserai in Edirne was also implemented by Edirne Provincial Special Administration as the manager of the restored Caravanserai. Having a budget as 160,000 Euros, this TA project aims to assist with the identification, design and planning of joint events and activities (cultural/economic, etc.) to take place inside the restored building and to ensure shared use of space by local communities on both sides of the border.

Upgrading of Kırklareli-Dereköy-Aziziye-Turkish Bulgarian Border State Road Project was implemented by the General Directorate of Highways. Project purposes are promoting and facilitating the quality and quantity of the international commercial freight and passenger transport along the Turkish and Bulgarian border.

The project budget is 5,349,000 Euros and 4,000,000 Euros of the budget is the EU contribution. In the project, 39 km road from Kırklareli city center to Dereköy where is the Bulgaria-Turkey border was rehabilitated as the continuation of the Malko Tarnovoborder crossing point road in Bulgaria. The platform of the existing road widened from 10 meter to 14 meter and the pavement to 10 meter while surface type asphalted concrete and a climbing lane added to allow traffic to pass low speed heavy vehicles. Thanks to the project, travel time from Dereköy crossing point reduced, cross-border passages in terms of riding comfort and traffic safety smoothened, efficiency of road transport increased as vehicle operating costs decreased by 15% and travel time and accidents decreased by 40%. Hence, the measurable results of the project are widened existing platform of the road from 10 meter to 14 meter, asphalted existing surface with concrete, decreased vehicle operating cost by % 15 approximately, decreased roughness from R=5 m/km to R=2 m/km and decreased traffic accidents of this road by % 40 (European Commission, 2006a).

Capacity Improvement for Flood Forecasting and Flood Control in the TR-BG CBC Region project was implemented by Edirne Regional Directorate of General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works with a budget of 4,080,000 Euros (3,255,000 Euro are the EU contribution). The purpose of the project is to implement a Flood Forecasting Warning System based on a hydraulic model running in time, feed by the real Data coming from a network of hydrometric stations implemented in Turkey and in Bulgaria. The project focused on two works on the Maritza river as to reduce the hydraulic impact of flood in a 12,000-meter section of the Maritza river and to maintain a stream in the Tundja river during the dry season with the diverted flow of Maritza river through a new junction channel between the two rivers (HTSPE, 2012, p.1). In this context, specific works were carried out in Maritza (Meriç) and Tundja rivers as enlargement of new channel, implementations of 4 hydro-meteorological stations with the supply of devices for the measurement of the depth of flow and the rain, and the implementation of a junction channel between the Maritza river and the Tundja river length of 1,275 meters and width of 20 meters. On both sides of Maritsa River belonging to Turkey, 7.5 km length of river channel was also resized to a bed width of 250 meter, top width of 264 meter, depth of 3.50 meter and bank slope of 1/2 (p.31). Concerning the achievements of the project, the out-of-channel flood flow was reduced and Edirne Centre district has been protected through regulating the river channel and removing of sand islands and widening of contracted river sections. In addition, by resizing the river channel capacity to 1200 cubic meter per second, flow capacity of the channel and flood plain between the main dykes increased from the existing value of 2500 cubic meter per second to 6000 cubic meter per second. Besides, the sand which was extracted from river bed, was used in the river bank and also sold to the construction sector as plaster sand. Thanks to the project, risk of flood for 990-hectare agricultural area, two settlement sides, 500-meter transportation road, 39 piece parks, gardens, restaurants, summer houses, serum and 6 buildings of Province Directory of Environment and Forestry decreased as well (Edirne XI. Regional Directorate of General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, 2006, p.1). In ex-post monitoring visits conducted under the project namely Technical Assistance for the EU Delegation in Expost Monitoring of Environmental Projects, the final beneficiaries in Edirne were also interviewed. According to their statements, the flood occurring on 7 February 2012 was overcome with no damage thanks to the Flood Forecasting Warning System and the project contributes a lot to the agriculture of the Edirne region and commercial life of Karaağaç quarter.

Protection and Sustainable Development of Natural Resources and Biodiversity in the Yıldız Mountains was implemented by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry with a budget of 2,050,000 Euros (EU grant is 1,862,500 Euros). The aim and purpose of the project is to conserve biodiversity in the Yıldız Mountains (Istranca forest) and to sustainably develop their natural resources through establishment and management of a Biosphere Reserve and cross-border collaboration with Bulgaria. At the end of the project, the following results were achieved: the inventory and the planning of the Yıldız Mountains as a biosphere reserve was elaborated and then nomination dossier for Yıldız Mountains (Istranca forest) on the Turkish side as a Biosphere Reserve was submitted to UNESCO; cooperation between relevant Turkish and Bulgarian institutions was improved for the conservation, and sustainable development of natural resources and biodiversity of the Yıldız Mountains; a building was renovated as the Nature Conservation Education and Training Centre in Kırklareli and then it was

equipped with the adequate computer facilities and office equipment; institutional capacity for the implementation of the project was increased at central and local level; nature protection consciousness and ecological awareness in the region was raised; a geographic information system (GIS) and Remote Sensing (RS) system was installed; 250 education materials was provided; environmental training was provided to 20 teachers and 250 students; awareness raising activities were carried out in 30 villages and a web page was created. (European Commission, 2006b). Meanwhile, the Nature Conservation Education and Training Centre is the unique facility of Turkey which was furnished with all required equipment for nature trainings.

2004-2006 Interreg III/A Greece-Turkey Program is the first Interreg crossborder cooperation programme in which Turkey participated. Covering only Edirne province from Turkey's border regions along the western land borders, this programme was terminated because of some reasons. After long negotiations between the European Commission and Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Greece (Ohtamış, 2008, p.115), the programme for the 2000-2006 period was launched on 22 December 2003 and covered 2004-2006 period. Programme aimed at upgrading the infrastructure in the cross-border area and the development of cross-border cooperation in fields such as economic development, quality of life, environment and culture. In order to realize programme objectives, implementation of grant schemes had been planned in four priority axes as cross-border infrastructure, economic development and employment, quality of life/environment/culture and Technical Assistance. As the programme area covers the whole land and maritime neighbouring areas of Greece and Turkey, Edirne, Çanakkale, Balıkesir, İzmir, Aydın and Muğla as Turkish NUTS III regions and Eastern Macedonia-Tracia Region (Evros Province), North Aegean (Samos, Lesbos, Chios Islands) and South Aegean (The Dodacanese Islands) as NUTS III regions from Greece took part in the programme. Programme budget amounted to 66 million Euros and an allocation of 19.35 million Euros was earmarked for the Turkish side while 46.66 million Euros concerned the Greek side.

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Lesvos

Lesvos

Aydin

Suns

Mogia

Dodekanjaes

Map 7: Programme Area of 2004-2006 Interreg III/A Greece-Turkey Program

Source: (Ohtamış, 2008, p.119)

Nevertheless, this programme could not be implemented although calls for proposals were launched and even project proposals were submitted on the Greek side. The reasons for termination of the programme may be given as lack of coordination between two countries' authorities, different programme periods in two countries (2003-2006 for Greece and 2004-2006 for Turkey), budget imbalance for the country allocations (EU contributions as 45 million Euros for Greece and 15 million Euros for Turkey), using different financial instruments, problems in institutional structures and lack of consensus on content and eligible area in the implementation of the programme while it was agreed on in the programming phase (Ohtamış, p.228). However, it is believed that sensitivities of both countries on the Aegean Sea, definition of border in terms of both states to be more precise, is the main reason behind the failure of the programme implementation.

Bulgaria-Turkey IPA Cross-border Cooperation (CBC) Programme is one of the CBC programmes implemented in Turkey in 2007-2013. As it is stated in the programme document which was approved by the European Commission on 20 December 2007 (European Commission, 2007b, p.31), it aims achieving balanced sustainable development build upon the key strengths of the Bulgaria-Turkey CBC area in contribution to stronger European cooperation and integrity. In accordance with this aim, program funded projects under two main priority axes as sustainable social and economic development, and improvement of quality of life. Eligible area of the programme covers a territory of 29,032.9 square km with a population of 1,5 million inhabitants. On Turkish side, Edirne and Kırklareli provinces, including 17 municipalities, are covered by the programme and districts of Burgas, Yambol and Haskovo, including 29 municipalities, are eligible on Bulgarian side. Bulgarian Ministry of Regional Development and Public Works is the Managing Authority and Turkish Ministry for EU Affairs in Turkey – Secretariat General for EU Affairs until 2011 – is the National Authority in the programme. The main office of the Joint Technical Secretariat is situated in Haskovo and its branch office is located in Edirne. For 2007-2013 period, total amount of Programme budget is 32,076,992 Euros (Original budget which was 29,504,775 Euros was increased) out of which 27,265,44 (initially 25,079,059) Euros are the EU funding and 4,811,548 million (initially 4,425,716) Euros are national co-financing from state budgets of both countries.

The Programme had been implemented through open calls for proposals. Despite projects under these calls have relatively small budgets, they create valuable cross-border partnership, influence territorial cohesion while contribute to sharing European values and facilitating integration. The projects should involve at least one partner from both countries and should respect the principles of joint development, joint implementation, joint staffing and joint financing. Programme's beneficiaries are non-profit making legal entities established in the Programme area such as local, regional, national authorities, national and regional agencies, administrations of protected areas, local and regional forestry administrations, cultural institutions, community centres, NGOs, educational organizations (universities, schools, colleges and libraries), EGTCs (Euro regions), associations of two or more of the above-mentioned entities.

Map 8: Programme Area of 2007-2013 Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme



Source: Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme Website http://07-13.ipacbc-bgtr.eu/tr/page.php?c=35, (20.05.2019)

Under the programme, 3 calls for proposals were launched and 143 projects amounting to 32,076,992 Euros were awarded (138 projects were successfully finalized). Accordingly, 321 project partners, 171 from Bulgaria and 150 from Turkey were involved in projects. Awarded projects cover such topics such as small-scale public infrastructure, environment, education and training, research and innovation, cultural exchange, local and regional governance and so on. Out of 321 partners, 144 partners are from Turkish border area. While 62 partners are from Edirne, 82 of Turkish partners are from Kırklareli. Kırklareli is the most successful region in the programme area and among the regions in all IPA CBC programmes managed by Bulgaria in terms of budget allocation. Kırklareli utilized funds amounting to 6.4 million Euros whereas Edirne used 3.2 million Euros (BCO, 2016, p.21). In per capita use of fund, 18.8 Euro for Kırklareli and 8 Euros for Edirne were allocated per inhabitant (p.22).

In assessment of the programme's contribution, annual implementation reports and the final implementation report of the programme give necessary data through achievement level of output and result indicators. However, these reported indicators are valid for all eligible programme area including both countries since indicators are calculated based on the whole project implementation. As the project budget, activities, outputs and outcomes are planned equally in general, it will be practical and proper to measure the programme's main achievements in Edirne and Kırklareli provinces through such a generalisation as dividing the achieved amounts or numbers of indicators into two. Considering this supposition, the following data on results achieved by the Programme will help comprehend what the Programme contributed to development of Edirne and Kırklareli provinces.

Firstly, number of social and cohesion links increased through establishment of new partnerships and relations between counterparts across the border and through implementation of joint cooperation projects in different thematic fields. In this context, 34 training places were created and 1660 people's skills enhanced, 55 joint cultural events were carried out, 78 awareness-raising campaigns were organised and 1,987 people participated in training events among which 309 are from vulnerable groups, 901 institutions were reached and totally 9,030 people were involved in project activities. Secondly, natural resources and biodiversity were better preserved as well as level of pollution in the region decreased thanks to more than 40 networks for environment protection and reasonable utilisation of resources set up, 28 joint environmental management plans developed and so on. Thirdly, sustainable economic development of the border region enhanced and competitiveness of SME's increase by establishing joint information services and encouraging contacts across the border. Accordingly, 206 business and educational linkages were created, 130 linkages were improved for access to and usage of new technologies, 858 SMEs were involved/addressed in cross-border projects, 82 new jobs created (of which 37 are for young people) and 45 management and job-related training courses carried out. Last but not least, attractiveness of the region increased based on preservation of historical and cultural heritage through developing 41 small-scale infrastructural projects concerning environmental and cultural heritage protection and 50 projects concerning common cultural heritage,

creating 45 tourist destinations and 118 tourist services, improving 38 surrounding areas of cultural spots and creating 22 joint eco-itineraries. Finally, early warning and risk management systems was developed/improved with 8 new partnerships for cases of natural disasters established (Management Authority of Bulgaria-Turkey IPA Crossborder Programme, 2017, p.5).

ENPI Black Sea Basin Cross Border Cooperation Programme is a multilateral cooperation programme which is implemented within the context of European Neighbourhood and Partnership (ENPI). While Turkey participated in the programme through IPA funds as a candidate country, participation of other programme countries, namely Armenia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine, is funded from ENPI for Neighbourhood countries and ERDF for Member States. In Turkey, Programme's eligible area covers 25 provinces including İstanbul, Tekirdağ, Edirne, Kırklareli, Kocaeli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Yalova, Zonguldak, Karabük, Bartın, Kastamonu, Çankırı, Sinop, Samsun, Tokat, Çorum, Amasya, Trabzon, Ordu, Giresun, Rize, Artvin, Gümüşhane. While the Managing Authority was Romanian Ministry for Regional Development and Public Administration, Ministry of EU Affairs – Secretariat General for EU Affairs until 2011 – acted as the National Authority in Turkey. The Programme, whose aim was to provide a stronger and sustainable economic and social development of the regions in the Black Sea Basin, constituted a framework to finance the projects that meet the following criteria: to be implemented in cooperation with partners from other countries and to have a cross-border impact.

For the 2007-2013 period, total Programme budget is 38,503,546 Euros and it consisted of 35,118,954 Euros EC financing (out of 28,118,954 is ENPI contribution and 7,000,000 is IPA contribution for the participation of Turkey) and 3,384,591 Euros national co-financing (out of 2,606,814 is ENPI co-financing and 777,777 is IPA co-financing). Within 2007-2013 period of the programme, 6,158,000 Euro funds were allocated for the Turkish project beneficiaries through two calls for proposals under the priorities, namely supporting cross-border partnerships for economic and social development, sharing resources and competencies for environmental protection and supporting cultural and educational networks. Within two calls for proposals, 60

projects were selected to be financed while 39 of these projects involved Turkish partners. All projects with Turkish partners were completed successfully, except two; 1 project withdrew and 1 project was terminated.

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Map 9: Programme Area of ENPI CBC Black Sea Basin Programme

Source: (European Commission, 2007a, p.11)

Within 2007-2103 period of the programme, 3 projects were implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli and the budget allocated for Edirne and Kırklareli amounts to 152,130 Euros. Since the programme area of this programme is very large and number of project funded in this period is only 3, achievements of these projects are extracted from project's progress and monitoring reports. Under this programme, the first project implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli is the project "Black Sea Cultural Animation Program: Pilot Model for Mobilizing the Common Cultural Characteristics for Creative Destination Management in the Black Sea Basin". Covering Armenia, Georgia, Greece,

and Romania as well, the project was coordinated in Turkey by Edirne Provincial National Education Directory in collaboration with Edirne Anatolian Tourism and Hospitality Vocational School. The budget allocated for partners from Edirne is 18,970 Euros. In the project, a contact point of Center of the Cultural Animation Network was established in Edirne, a network on cultural animation was created, a study programme for interdisciplinary curriculum for professional training in culture animation was elaborated, a handbook on culture animation was developed and published, one cultural animation team was formed in Edirne, a catalogue titled "Black Sea Culture Heritage" was developed and disseminated 200 people in Turkey. Besides, 100 students were reached in project activities, 7 students attended to summer academy on culture animation in Bulgaria and totally project results disseminated to 325 people in Edirne.

The project "A clear environment for our future" was implemented by Uzunköprü Municipality from Edirne with partners from Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. In the project, 103,249.71 Euros were allocated for Turkish partner. Within the project, a city-wide clean up organization was organized in Uzunköprü/ Edirne with 575 participants, a study for impact of household wastes on environment was elaborated and its 100 copies were disseminated, 1 business mission was organized in Edirne and İstanbul for 14 participants from the partner regions on use of recycled waste for business purposes, recycling and waste collection equipment (300 waste collection box for interior use, 10 recycling collection box including 4 units as plastic, glass, paper, organized waste for exterior use, 20 waste collection container and 2 underground waste collection container) were purchased. Project results were disseminated to thousands of people through project activities and visibility activities as flyers, articles in local and national newspapers, radio and TV broadcasts.

In the project "Improvement of the Integrated Coastal Zone Management in the Black Sea Region", Foundation for the Protection of Natural Life-DAYKO from Kırklareli participated in the project with other two Turkish partners, namely Sinop Special Provincial Administration and Turkish Marine Research Foundation-TUDAV in addition to partners from Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. The budget allocated for Kırklareli was 29,911 Euros. In the project, a study on integrated coastal

zone management, a technical toolkit and a guide on public participation were elaborated. While DAYKO benefited from project outputs and results, it also developed and distributed 2000 leaflets, 1000 brochures and 50 posters for dissemination of project results.

2014-2020 Interreg IPA Bulgaria-Turkey Cross-border Programme, which is the continuation of the 2007-2013 programme aims at strengthening the Bulgaria-Turkey cross-border cooperation capacity in the field of nature protection and sustainable tourism, leading to enhancement of European territorial cohesion (European Commission, 2015b, p.30). In order to achieve this objective, the Programme supports projects on two priority axes as the development of sustainable tourism and environment. The programme in 2014-2020 period has also the same funding system, management structure and eligible area as it was in the 2007-2013 period. The total budget of the programme is 29,642,896 Euros of which 25,196,460 Euros are the EU contribution and 4,446,436 Euros are national co-financing provided by public budgets of two states. The first call for proposals was launched in November 2015 with a budget of 11,028,255 Euro and 43 projects were awarded. The second call was launched in January 2018 with a budget of 15,650,351 Euros. 71 projects were awarded and started to be implemented. As of July 2019, implementation of 40 projects under the first call was completed and 3 projects are still going on.

As it is the case for 2007-2013 period, the main achievements of the programme can be extracted from annual implementation reports and the implementation evaluation report involving achievement level of output and result indicators. However, it should be born in mind that 2014-2020 projects are still going on and there is data only for the first call. According to the implementation evaluation report of Interreg IPA Bulgaria-Turkey IPA Cross-border Programme 2014-2020, implementation of the projects under the first call had gone well and most of them achieved the envisaged results and output indicators (ECORYS, 2019, p.16). In this report, main achievements of the programme in the whole border region, except data on nights spent, as of 2019 is given as following: 8 interventions and 17 joint strategies/common guidelines, trainings, public awareness campaigns, exchange of

experience related to risk prevention and management of natural and man-made hazards and disasters have been created; 402,749 people have benefited from flood protection measures; 861,392 people have benefited from forest fire protection measures; 200 nature protected areas have been addressed by interventions; 29 capacity building/awareness activities related to nature protection, sustainable use and management of common natural resources have been carried out; 422 people have involved in training and capacity building activities in the field of nature protection; 1 joint management plan/coordinated specific conservation activities for protected areas have been prepared; 1.54 km access roads to natural, cultural and historic tourism sites have been reconstructed or upgraded; 0.75 km cycling routes/walking paths have been newly built, reconstructed or upgraded; 7 facilities in touristic sites have been newly built/reconstructed; 2 cultural and historical touristic sites have been reconstructed/ restored; 5 sustainable tourism strategies/action plans of common tourist destinations have been prepared; 19 marketing and promotional initiatives/events addressing crossborder tourism products and services have been launched; 17 tools have been developed and/or implemented for promotion of sustainable touristic potential; 7 trainings and consultancy services in sustainable use of natural, historical and cultural heritage and resources have been conducted; 180 people have been involved in training and capacity building activities in the field of sustainable tourism; 21 networking events have been held; 13 public awareness initiatives promoting sustainable use of natural, historical and cultural heritage and resources have been launched; 8 public awareness initiatives promoting alternative forms of tourism have been launched and lastly nights spent in Edirne-Kırklareli border region have been increased with 14% (pp.85-87).

ENI Black Sea Basin Cross Border Cooperation Programme has been implemented under European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) in 2014-2020 period and Turkey participated in the Programme through IPA funds. In this period, the programme has also the same funding system, management structure and eligible area as it was in 2007-2013 period. Aiming to provide a stronger and sustainable economic and social development of the regions in the Black Sea Basin, the Programme support the projects that meet the following priorities: Jointly promote business and entrepreneurship in the tourism and cultural sectors; increase cross-border trade

opportunities and modernisation in the agricultural and connected sectors; improve joint environmental monitoring; promote common awareness-raising and joint actions to reduce river and marine litter (European Commission, 2015c, pp.59-63). Total budget of the Programme for 2014-2020 period is 53,942,456.70 Euros (out of 39,038,597 ENPI contribution, 10,000,000 IPA contribution, 4,903,859.70 co-financing). The first call for proposals was launched on January 2017 with 19,655,625 Euros budget and the implementation of 23 awarded projects has been going on. The second call for proposals was launched in October 2018 with a budget allocation as 24,479,11 Euros and the evaluation process of this call is going on as of July 2019.



Map 10: Programme Area of ENI CBC Black Sea Basin Programme

Source: European Commission DG NEAR Website https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/neighbourhood/cross-border-cooperation_en/, (21.05.2019)

In the first call of 2014-2020 period of the programme, 3 projects were awarded and they have been implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli. The budget allocated for these projects amounts to 749,112 Euros. Since these projects are still going on and there are no evaluation reports for the programme, the achievements of the

projects are estimated through information given in the project application forms. The project "Marine and River Litter Elimination New Approach" has been implemented by Demirköy Municipality from Kırklareli with its Bulgarian, Moldovan, Romanian and Ukrainian partners and 256,443 Euros were earmarked for Demirköy Municipality. The most important project achievement for Kırklareli will be developing a small-scale investment to remove illegal landfill site in the riverbank of Bulanık Dere. In this activity, 200 m channel on riverbanks will be cleaned up of, a recreation area for citizens will be developed and clean water in the river crossing the town and Longoz Forests National Park will be ensured. In addition, a study and a guide on waste recovery will be elaborated and they will be disseminated to 1000 people in Kırklareli, capacity building trainings and a study visit on waste management will be organized, 180 people from Kırklareli will actively participate in environmental actions and awareness raising activities, 1000 guidelines for children and students, tourists and visitor will be distributed and finally 2000 people including 100 children will be reached through awareness raising activities.

In the project "Joint Cultural Heritage – Source for Development of Entrepreneurship in the Black Sea Basin", Enez District Governorship from Edirne has carried out the project activities with partners from Bulgaria, Moldova and Romania. The budget allocated for Edirne is 297,740 Euros. The main achievement of this project for Edirne will be the establishment of the center for underwater sports and cultural activities with specific equipment. In the project, an old building will be renovated and designed for a training and activity center for archaeological, marine heritage and for promotion of water sports. Besides, an area of nearly 300 square meter will be developed as underwater museum including archaeological artefacts in the sea waters as well as equipped as the laboratories of underwater archaeology with specific equipment. Further, a digital map with the underwater archaeological sites will be created and 6 people will be trained in a diving school for underwater archaeological research.

The project "Sustainable Agricultural Trade Network in Black Sea Basin" is another project implemented by Demirköy Municipality from Kırklareli in 2014-2020 period. Beside Demirköy Municipality, there are partners from Bulgaria, Greece,

Moldova, Romania and Ukraine in the project. A budget of 194,929.62 Euros were allocated for Demirköy Municipality. The most visible achievement of the project in Kırklareli will be a small-scale investment, namely local producers market place. Accordingly, an area will be reconstructed as tourist/local products center with 10 wooden bureaus for increasing cross-border trade opportunities of agricultural products. In addition, capacity building training will be organized in Demirköy towards local interested organizations with participation of 30 people for establishment of local production center for beekeepers. There are also visibility activities for 100 people in Demirköy and an international conference on cross-border trade opportunities of agricultural products involving 60 people.

As it is stated at the beginning of this section, the EU cross border cooperation programmes implemented in Edirne-Kırklareli border region are described from 2003 to the present and main achievements of these programmes are also examined in the light of indicators, especially with regards to their impact on regional development. Although achievements and contributions are clarified above for each programme, it will be beneficial to analyse the contributions of all programmes implemented up to the present with a holistic approach in order to assess overall impact of these programmes on regional development of the border region covering Edirne and Kırklareli. However, as noted before, since indicators of Bulgaria-Turkey CBC programmes can measure the achievement in the whole programme area both in Turkey and Bulgaria, required data only for Edirne and Kırklareli could extracted from these indicators through such a calculation as dividing the achieved amounts into two. Considering this supposition and regional development indicators given in the section 4.1. Measuring Regional Development and Indicators for Development, the main achievements of the EU CBC programmes on development of the border region are summarized as following.

In business, 100 business linkages were created, 60 linkages accessed to new technologies, 400 SMEs benefited from programmes, 1 business mission was organized, 10 marketing and promotional initiatives/events were carried out, 1 local market place and 10 promotion and sales offices were constructed, 1 capacity building training for beekeepers was conducted. In terms of employment, 40 new jobs were created and 22

management and job-related training courses were organized. In the field of environment, 4 hydro-meteorological stations were settled, flood risk for 990-hectare agricultural area, two settlement area as Edirne city center and Karaağaç quarter, 500 meter transportation road, 39 piece parks, gardens, restaurants, summer houses, serum and 6 public buildings was reduced, 1 guide, 1 inventory, 1 UNESCO nomination dossier, 2 studies, 4 interventions, 8 strategies and 16 environmental plans and were elaborated, 1 building renovated and equipped as nature conservation training center, 1 GIS and 1 RS system were purchased, awareness raising activities were held in 30 villages, 15 capacity building activities were organized, 20 networks were created, early 8 warning and risk management systems with new partnerships were formed, 1 citywide clean-up event was organized, 314 waste collection box, 20 waste collection container and 2 underground waste collection container was purchased, fire trucks were purchased, 200 meter channel on riverbanks was cleaned up and illegal landfill sites within 200 meter of the riverbank were removed. Concerning infrastructure, 1 river junction channel was opened in the length of 1,275 meter and in the width of 20 meter, 7.5 km length of river channel was resized in the bed width of 250 meter, top width of 264 meter and depth of 3.50 meter, 20 small-scale infrastructures were constructed, 1 car park was constructed and a recreational area was created. For transport, 39 km road to border crossing was rehabilitated, 1.54 km access roads to natural, cultural and historic tourism sites were constructed, 0.75 km cycling routes/walking paths were built and lots vehicles and cars were purchased. In culture and tourism, 2 cultural and historical sites were reconstructed, 38 surrounding areas of cultural spots were improved, 1 building was renovated and equipped as training and activity center for culture and water sports, 1 underwater museum was created, promotional and touristic kiosks were built, 10 bungalows, 1 country restaurant and 1 bird watching tower were constructed, 1 digital map on underwater archaeological sites was produced, 3 facilities were built in touristic sites, 20 tourist destinations, 50 tourist services and 22 joint ecoitineraries were created, 27 joint cultural events were held, 48 awareness-raising campaigns/initiatives were launched, 12 networks were formed and 1 handbook, 1 catalogue, 5 strategies/action plans, and 8 tools were developed. For education and training, 250 education materials were produced, 5 trainings for teachers, students and locals were organized, 18 training places were built, 900 people were trained and their

skills were enhanced, 100 educational linkages were created, 1 curriculum for professional training was elaborated. When calculating total attendees, more than 10,000 people were actively participated in all project activities under the programmes implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli provinces.

4.5. Impact of Cross-border Cooperation Programmes on Development of Turkish Border Regions: The Case of Edirne and Kırklareli Provinces

The main purpose of this thesis is to analyse the EU CBC programmes' impact on development of border areas, especially Edirne-Kırklareli border region, through relevant indicators and parameters. In order to inquire the programmes' impact on development of the border region, impact assessment studies, evaluation reports and implementation reports give an outline on the basis of evaluation on achievement level of output and result indicators. For example, in the Impact Evaluation Report of 2007-2013 IPA CBC programmes, managed by Bulgaria, it is claimed that programmes (including Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme) have contributed to regional development and integration, especially through strengthening the partnerships across the border. Accordingly, the contribution of the programmes to regional development (i.e. reduction of differences in social and economic development of regions) was scored as 3.23 point from 1-lowest to 5-highest scale in the report. According to this report, the programmes have brought benefits for strengthening the regional integration and territorial cohesion across the borders to a moderate degree (BCO, 2016, p.26).

The aforementioned studies examine the impact of the programmes by classifying as tangible or intangible impact. In this context, the Impact Evaluation Report of 2007-2013 IPA CBC Programmes notes that projects under the programmes created certain visible tangible impact as improvement in access to services and public infrastructure as well as intangible impact as regarding awareness raising, improvement in social cohesion and capacity increase for joint planning, problem solving and development (p.39). To illustrate, in this report tangible impact of the programmes was scored from 1-lowest to 5-highest scale as following: improved access to services is 3.11 over 5, improved access to public infrastructure is 3.69 over 5, increased energy efficiency is 3 over 5, reduced environmental risks is 3.63 over 5, enhanced

sustainability of natural, cultural and historical heritage is 3.23 over 5, improved competitiveness, business development and job creation is 3.11 over 5. Besides, intangible impact was scored as: building institutional capacity is 3.07 over 5, raising awareness is 3.12 over 5, changing attitudes and behaviour is 3.04 over 5, improving social cohesion is 2.98 over 5, influencing policies is 3.10 over 5 and leveraging synergies is 3.18 over 5 (p.52). As can be seen in the scores above, the tangible impact of the programmes is more evident.

In the cross-border cooperation under the Neighbourhood Policy, however, the intangible impact is stronger than tangible ones since infrastructure and large-scale investments were rather limited in these programmes than IPA and ETC programmes. Even so, ENPI/ENI programmes have contributed to developing and maintaining contacts and dialogue between communities in the current challenging geo-political context while they have promoted the EU values and practices in the neighbouring countries (GDSI, 2018, p.3). Likewise, apart from investment-related tangible impact, IPA CBC programmes have also valuable contribution to the EU integration process and cooperation performance of participating organisations and individual (Bulgarian Consultancy Organization-BCO, 2016, p.42). As emphasized in the Impact Evaluation Report of 2007-2013 IPA CBC Programmes managed by Bulgaria, "the largest impact observed was on strengthening partnership and building new linkages between the organisations, SMEs and individuals from both sides of the border" (p.27). Besides, the activities under the programmes also contribute to national strategies and accession process thanks to strengthening integration and harmonisation between two countries. As it is pointed out in an analysis in the ex-ante evaluation report the Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme, results of the programme will have valuable contribution on the strategic framework of Turkey. That is to say, these interventions serve the general objectives of the Strategy Paper for Turkey which are regarding acquis alignment and implementation in the specific sector of nature protection. This analysis also indicates that the programme will enhance innovation capacity of the border region through the exchange of experiences and know-how transfer. Thanks to improved capacity, natural and man-made hazards and disasters will be jointly managed and the increase of tourist attractiveness will foster the development of employment opportunities in the fields of environment and sustainable tourism (Lattanzioa, 2014, p.28).

Considering the parameters used to measure the impact on regional development, it is expected to have short-term and long-term effects in areas such as business, employment, environment, infrastructure, tourism, research, education, health, etc. According to the Final Implementation Report of the Bulgaria-Turkey IPA Crossborder Programme, the programme aims reaching an impact in the programme area in terms of social impact as enhanced standard of living and reduced unemployment, economic impact as contribution to local economies and stimulation of infrastructure investment and environmental impact as preservation of common heritage (Bulgaria-Turkey IPA Cross-border Programme, 2017, p.4). When the identified impact of the programmes in the Impact Evaluation Report of 2007-2013 IPA CBC Programmes managed by Bulgaria is examined, it is seen that this impact is also valid for the Turkish border region covering Edirne and Kırklareli. These are increased institutional capacity, improved physical infrastructure, better preserved natural resources and biodiversity, improved early warning and risk mitigation system, strengthened potential for tourism development and improved social cohesion (Bulgarian Consultancy Organization-BCO, 2016, p.7). However, when the above-mentioned overall data on achievements of all programmes implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli are looked at, it is seen that programmes have remarkable contribution to the development of the region in the fields of environment, culture and tourism while they have very limited impact in competitiveness, business development, job creation, research and innovation and health. It is believed that this is actually about the priority axes of the programmes. Environment, culture and tourism are priority axes of almost all programmes implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli provinces.

Beside the information given in the official reports related to the achievements and impact of the CBC programmes, the representatives from beneficiary institutions in the region and officials from the Joint Secretariat of the Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme and the National Authority for CBC programmes emphasize the achievements and impact of the programmes in the fields of culture, tourism and

environment as well. For instance, the project expert from the former EU Coordination Center under the Governorship of Edirne and currently the staff of Edirne Provincial Special Administration, Ms. Çiğdem Dönertaş remarked the achievements like "restoration of historical buildings and functioning as cultural centers, kiosks for tourism and promotional purposes, recycling trainings in villages, fire trucks, parking facility and bungalows for nature tourism". Ms. Alev Kanad, who is the project officer of the EU Communication and Coordination Office of Kırklareli Municipality, also mentions the programmes' contributions in culture, tourism and environment as "construction of main waste water collector, renovation of an old building and transformation it into a cultural center, nature training center, reconstruction of Walldorf Forestland and festivals on cuisine culture and folklore". Likewise, Ms. Ceyda Peközer, the project manager in Edirne Branch Office of the Joint Secretariat (JS) of the Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme, gives such contributions as examples for achievement of the programmes:

purchase of vehicles and equipment to the provincial directorate for disaster and emergency management, purchase of fire trucks, flood warning system, restorations of historical building, promotion of joint touristic routes, cuisine culture festival, construction of bird watching facilities and bungalows.

Lastly, the Head of Department of Union Programmes and Cross-border Cooperation in the Directorate for EU Affairs (acting as the National Authority of CBC programmes in Turkey), Ms. Şebnem Sözer summarizes main achievements of the programmes as "raise in environmental awareness, promotion of the region's potential on nature tourism, protection of cultural heritage and perception on relating cultural heritage with tourism". She also exemplifies main achievements as "farmer trainings, purchase of equipment and infrastructure works for schools, promoting intangible cultural heritage of the region, creating recreational areas and natural tourism facilities".

In the meantime, the main achievements pointed out by Ms. Sözer can be formulated as the impact actually. Accordingly, raised environmental awareness, promoted nature tourism potential of the region, promoted and preserved cultural heritage and increased perception on relating cultural heritage with tourism can be given

as the impact of the programmes on the development of the region. She expresses that "as a result of the programmes, communities and institutions converged, capacity and quality in beneficiary institutions increased and therefore they contribute to development of the region". In addition to these, the project manager of Joint Secretariat (JS), Ms. Peközer highlights such impact as follows:

improved public infrastructure by waste water infrastructure in Kırklareli, reduced environmental risks by flood warning system, enhanced sustainability of cultural and historical heritage by restorations of historical buildings and renewed cultural inventories.

Beside the above-mentioned tangible impact, she also adds some intangible impact as "changing attitudes and behaviour by raised mutual trust, improving social cohesion by increased reciprocal visits, building institutional capacity by increased capability in municipalities and raising awareness by trained and informed locals". Ms. Kanad, from the Municipality of Kırklareli, points out such examples for impact as "enhanced cultural and natural infrastructure, reduced environmental pollution, increased intercultural understanding and established networks and partnerships as the impact of programmes in Kırklareli". What is more, Ms. Kanad argues that "programmes support preservation, development and enrichment of cultural and social life in the border region; contribute to increase the quality of life; create an effective and sustainable cultural bridge in the region and strengthen cross-border cooperation". Similar to those comments, Ms. Dönertaş, from Edirne, also asserts as below:

thanks to the implemented programmes, cultural and historical monuments survived to be demolished, locals (especially women) involved more in social life, touristic infrastructure was supported, locals became conscious about environmental issues, capacity building for project implementation increased and mutual trust among the communities from both countries were built.

As mentioned above, the EU CBC programmes which are implemented in Turkey have impact mostly in environment, culture and tourism sectors and this concerns closely the priority areas of these programmes. Ms. Sözer, from the Turkish NA, clarifies this issue from the point of identification of priorities. According to her,

"tourism and environment sectors are crucial for Thrace region including Edirne and Kırklareli because industry is not developed in the region (except Tekirdağ) and this region has a great potential in nature and culture tourism". Meanwhile, the programme area on Bulgarian side is the prioritized region for tourism whereas programme area in Turkey is ignored in tourism development programmes of the country. In this topic, Ms. Sözer claims that "there is no other plan or programme rather than the Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme – except the Regional Plan of the Thrace Development Agency's – which promotes Thrace region's tourism potential". The National Authority official also explains that "despite some CBC programmes have a priority axis as health, this sector does not take part in the Bulgaria-Turkey CBC programme because of difficulties in border crossing stemming from the EU membership of Bulgaria".

On the other hand, it is argued that impact of cross-border programmes implemented in Edirne and Kırklareli would be increased more if other fields related to regional development as business, employment, accessibility, transport, energy, research, education, health were also prioritized in the programmes. This issue is also reported in the Impact Evaluation Report of 2007-2013 IPA programmes which were managed by Bulgaria as "The fact that projects predominantly focused on tourism and environment, issues like access to isolated settlements, depopulation, etc. were almost not touched by projects' interventions" (Bulgarian Consultancy Organization-BCO, 2016, p.27). As a long-standing local staff involving in CBC since 2007, Ms. Dönertas comments in this subject that "priority axes of the programmes are restricted with only tourism and environment". According to her, "there should be more priority axes to submit more projects". There is also a similar concern as to restrictive effect of programmes' priority axes in the National Authority of CBC programmes in Turkey. The representative of the National Authority, Ms. Sözer, affirms this limitation and adds that "recently similar and repeated projects have been implemented in the programme area when considering priority axes and size of the Programme area as well". Then, Ms. Sözer notes that "it will be beneficial if a strategic project planned possibly in environment with the remaining amount from the second call of 2014-2020 Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme". She also informed that "it is conceivably that strategic

projects may come to the agenda of post-2020 programming works of Interreg CBC programmes". Thanks to this kind of projects, the representative of the National Authority believes that "impact of the programme will be enhanced in the border area on the one hand, and more relevant, needed works for the region will be financed under the programme on the other". Concerning the repetition of projects, the National Authority representative informs that "there may be new priority axes in 2021-2027 period of the programmes in accordance with the results of public consultation and the Interreg legislation on this issue".

In addition to restrictive effects of priority axes, there are other factors influencing the programmes' impact, as well. Visa procedure or border crossing issue is the most common challenge in the programmes in which Turkey attended. In both the Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme and the ENI Black Sea Basin CBC Programme, Turkish beneficiaries have experienced difficulties in border crossing because of the EU membership of Bulgaria and other EU Member States in Black Sea Basin CBC Programme. This matter is reported in the ex-post thematic evaluation report of the PHARE CBC programmes as follows: "There were specific problems with visa restrictions for Turkish citizens and a failure to contract technical assistance" (MWH Consortium, 2007, p.10). For this problem, all interviewees affirm that Turkish citizens' obligation to get visa affects the success of the programmes. Secondly, sustainability of project outputs and investments is another reason which restricts results of projects and impact of programmes. While the JS officer Ms. Peközer points out the "requirement of additional financial resource and human resource for the sustainability", the National Authority official Ms. Sözer emphasizes that "projects should be approached resultoriented instead of activity based and required resource should be allocated after the project ends". Thirdly, ownership is a significant aspect to increase the impact of the programmes, as well. According to interviewees, ownership of the outputs influences the impact prospects and beneficiary institutions should be aware of their project outputs to enhance the impact. Lastly, relatively small budgets of the programmes have affect the impact of the programmes. For example, the budget of a similar sea basin programme, namely Mediterranean Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme, is more than 200

⁹ A large-scale investment towards the interest of all programme area.

million Euro, Black Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme has a budget of 53 million Euros including national co-finances. Likewise, Interreg Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme has a budget of 29 million Euros whereas Interreg Romania-Bulgaria CBC Programme's budget is 258 million Euros. Concerning this issue, Ms. Sözer, from the National Authority, argues that "when the budgets of the programmes are increased, more investments, technology and unique works will realize in the region and thus the quality and impact will improve". Ms. Dönertaş, from Edirne, have the opinion that "more people will involve in programmes and impact of programme will increase if there are more funding opportunities". Similar to this opinion, the Joint Secretariat's project manager Ms. Peközer remarks that "more funds will be disbursed and so better projects may be implemented if budgets of the programmes increase".

4.6. Theoretical Explanations for Impact of EU Cross-border Cooperation from Rationalist Institutionalism Perspective

This thesis aims to examine the impact of EU cross-border cooperation programmes on regional development from a rational institutionalism perspective through scrutinizing Edirne and Kırklareli border region in Turkey as the case study. It is deemed that rational choice or rationalist institutionalism is the appropriate theoretical approach to explain impact of EU cross-border cooperation programmes on regional development. With its emphasis on external incentives model underpinning EU conditionality, rationalist institutionalism is compatible with the EU Regional Policy and cross-border cooperation programmes implemented under this policy.

Since Turkey is a candidate country for the EU membership, external incentives model of rationalist institutionalism is well-suited for the EU grant schemes implemented in Turkey. As an EU funding mechanism consisting of grant schemes, EU cross-border cooperation programmes are deemed as external incentives supporting the EU conditionality. Considering the rationalist institutionalist perspective, which characterizes domestic actors as rational, goal-oriented, and purposeful, local institutions in the border regions behave as rational actors and they get involved in projects to utilize fund resources on the basis of the preferences. As Sezgin asserted in his dissertation (2014, p.138), when EU cross-border cooperation programmes are

deemed as a common-pool resource open to competition and cooperation of actors, participation of local institutions in cross-border cooperation programmes is a profit-maximizing behaviour aiming at expanding their resources. Since the local actors strive to utilize their own resources as effective as possible, cooperation activities emerged from the need to reduce transaction costs by sharing the joint use of resources, collaborating in infrastructure investments and creating joint institutions to provide services. Therefore, cross-border initiatives emerge to mobilize common resources to solve problems and generate regional development (p.138).

Beside local institutions which benefit from grant schemes under the programmes, national administrations and the state itself also behave as rational actor and promote participation of these programmes to use funding opportunities. The relevant public institutions at national level found the required legal and administrative framework to ensure the functioning of implementation and control mechanisms in the country which are pre-conditions for the delivery of funds. In the case of the EU programmes including the EU cross-border border cooperation programmes, establishment and appointments of institutions such as National IPA Coordinator, National Union Programmes Coordinator, National Authorizing Officer, National Authority, National Agency, Control Contact Point, Group of Auditors, Central Finance and Contracts Unit, Anti-Fraud Coordination Service, etc. are realized in line with the EU conditionality to commit the funds. Hence, adaptational pressure from the EU leads to creation of this opportunity structure in the beneficiary country as utility-maximising domestic actors. Consequently, it is concluded that Europeanization process influences the polity domain though abovementioned domestic structuring (Radaelli in Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003, p.63). Then, Europeanisation is regarded as a process of institution-building at regional and national level in the third way of Olsen's definition which is Europeanisation as central penetration of national and sub-national governance systems (Olsen, 2002, pp.923-924).

Given the possible outcomes of Europeanization which are retrenchment (negative change), inertia (resistance or lack of change), absorption (minor change as adaption), accommodation (peripheral or paradigmatic positive change) and

Europeanization (positive fundamental and systematic change), the mentioned Europeanization process in the polity domain results in absorption, which means integrating the EU's policy requirements into domestic political or institutional system without real modification (Sittermann, 2006, pp.18-19). As the domestic rules and procedures differs from the ones in the EU, an institutional misfit occurs between the EU and domestic institutions, and it leads to the adaptational pressure from the EU. When considering the additional resources for the institutional building, domestic actors do not veto the requested change after the cost-benefit calculations. Thus, this adaptational process as the EU conditionality results in Europeanization and it is interpreted in rationalist institutionalist perspective.

On the other hand, apart from the mentioned EU conditionality at national level, EU cross-border cooperation programmes have a different dimension at the local level in terms of external incentives model of the rationalist institutionalism. In the border region covering Edirne and Kırklareli provinces, these programmes have a role as external incentive for local institutions to create EU project units and to apply the grant schemes under the programmes. All interviewees state that cross-border cooperation programmes have created a project preparation and project implementation capacity in the region. Hence, almost all local institutions behave as rational actors and they get involved in projects to utilize fund resources on the basis of their preferences. Observations of Ms. Peközer, as the representative of Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme's Joint Secretariat (JS), confirms this approach, as well. According to her,

local administrations and some other institutions can accomplish certain investments or activities that would not be or could not be realized thanks to the programmes. For example, some project activities in culture, like cultural festivals or renewal the cultural inventories, were carried out within this scope. The EU cross-border cooperation programmes motivate and encourage the institutions in the region through grant schemes. Even some institutions implement projects only for prestige or on the sake of attracting funds.

Similarly, as a representative of the beneficiary institution (Kırklareli Municipality), Ms. Kanad affirms the approach observed by the JS representative.

According to Ms. Kanad, these programmes are considered as "support for investments which are planned to be realized apart from the municipality budget". While she underlines the CBC programmes' budget size which is bigger than national sources of funds like supports of development agencies, she comments that "supports provided by the programmes lessens the burden of the municipality in a way". Besides, she also talks about incentive and encouraging effects of these programmes and then informed about their pioneering role for district municipalities as to get funds from the programmes.

To conclude, impact of cross border cooperation programmes on regional development can be explained in view of rational choice or rationalist institutionalism as this perspective highlights resource dependency approaches which characterizes actors as rational, goal-oriented, and purposeful. While some mechanisms were established in the region and country for EU conditionality to commit the funds, EU cross-border cooperation programmes have resulted in capacity building for project preparation and project implementation in the region.

CONCLUSION

Border regions have specific disadvantages and development potential of these regions encounter some legal, administrative, economic and cultural obstacles because of the existence of the border. Challenges of border effect are more serious for regions along with external borders of the EU. In order to reduce the adverse effects of borders through eliminating barriers to boost economic growth and improving access to services in these regions, some regional development policies and programmes have been applied. In the EU, regional development instruments as financial supports, regional development agencies, NUTS system and European Spatial Development Perspective-ESDP have been used in the framework of the Regional Policy which aim to reduce socio-economic discrepancies between Member States and regions within the countries. Main funding mechanisms of the EU's financial supports on regional development are Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund which are also the major tools of the EU Regional Policy. After the adoption of Third Report on Economic and Social Cohesion in 2004, the Regional Policy and Cohesion Policy started to be mentioned together. While the Regional Policy operates specifically at regional level and is specifically linked to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the Cohesion Policy also promotes more balanced and more sustainable territorial development as broader concept than the Regional Policy. In 2014-2020 financial perspective of the EU, the Regional Policy continues to be the main investment policy of the EU beside the Cohesion Policy and provides necessary investment framework in job creation, competitiveness, economic growth, improved quality of life and sustainable development. As the main funds of the Regional Policy in 2014-2020 period, ERDF and Cohesion Fund are used in order to achieve the EU Regional Policy goals which are investment for growth and jobs and European territorial cooperation. However, European territorial cooperation goal is supported only by ERDF.

Under the European territorial cooperation goal, Interreg cooperation programmes support both coherent, economic and social development of border regions and the EU integration process through cooperation established in these regions along with the EU's external and internal borders. Providing financial support for territorial

and cross-border cooperation, Interreg cooperation programmes were launched as community initiative in 1990 and this initiative had covered only cross-border cooperation (CBC) till 1993. Interreg initiative was laid under European territorial cooperation objective the EU Regional Policy for the period 2007-2013 and then it became goal of this policy for 2014-2020 period. Implemented in five consecutive programming periods, Interreg or European territorial cooperation-ETC (after 2007) is built around three strands of cooperation as cross-border cooperation (Interreg A), transnational cooperation (Interreg) B and interregional cooperation (Interreg C). Beside ETC programmes along with the EU's internal borders, there are also cooperation instruments for development of the regions along the EU's external borders with candidate and potential candidate countries, neighbouring countries and other non-EU European countries. Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) and European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) are the main financial instruments to support regional development along the EU's external borders. In 2014-2020 period, 12 IPA CBC programmes and 16 ENI CBC programmes have been implemented.

As Turkey is a candidate country and is located along the EU's external borders, she participates in some EU CBC programmes under the Enlargement Policy (IPA) and Neighbourhood Policy (ENI) of the EU since 2003. In 2014-2020 period, Turkey takes part in Interreg IPA Bulgaria-Turkey CBC Programme and ENI Black Sea Basin CBC Programme. The CBC programmes in which Turkey participated are Joint Small Projects Fund Bulgaria-Turkey (as a pilot grant scheme for PHARE CBC), 2004-2006 CBC Programme between Turkey and Bulgaria, Interreg III/A Greece-Turkey CBC Programme (terminated), Bulgaria-Turkey IPA CBC Programme, ENPI Black Sea Basin CBC Programme. All of these CBC programmes cover Edirne-Kırklareli border region which is taken as the case of this thesis study to examine impact of CBC programmes on regional development. Although these programmes have relatively small budget rather than ETC programmes and operational programmes under IPA, they have remarkable contribution to Turkish border region along the EU's external borders.

Achievements of the EU CBC programmes are measured through output and result indicators of the programmes. Also, impact of these programmes can be obtained from impact evaluation reports and ex-post evaluation reports prepared for the programmes. However, assessment of the programmes' impact on regional development in the border region covering Edirne and Kırklareli was carried out through a mixed methodology including parameters of regional development, official reports of the programmes, interview with the stakeholders and relevant indicators of the programmes and some projects. When examined indicators, parameters, official reports, and observations and comments of interviewees as representatives from local beneficiary institutions and the programme bodies, it is seen that the programmes have considerable achievements, effects and impact in the fields of culture, tourism and environment while their contributions to the development of the region are very limited in competitiveness, business development, job creation, research and innovation and health. In the impact evaluation report of the IPA CBC programmes managed by Bulgaria, impact of the programmes is given as increased institutional capacity, improved physical infrastructure, better preserved natural resources and biodiversity, improved early warning and risk mitigation system, strengthened potential for tourism development and improved social cohesion. However, it is concluded from all official documents and interviews that impact of all CBC programmes covering Edirne and Kırklareli on regional development are raised environmental awareness, promoted nature tourism potential of the region, promoted and preserved cultural heritage, increased perception on relating cultural heritage with tourism, converged communities and institutions and increased capacity and quality in beneficiary institutions. Besides, it can be asserted that these programmes contribute to national strategies and accession process of Turkey thanks to strengthening integration and harmonisation between the countries.

On the other hand, impact of the EU CBC programmes on development of the border region can be explained from rational choice or rationalist institutionalism approach with its emphasis on external incentives model underpinning EU conditionality. In accordance with this theoretical approach, local institutions benefitting from the programmes and national administrations behave as rational actor to utilize funding opportunities which are external incentives. So, required mechanisms

were established for EU conditionality and therefore this domestic structuring in the polity domain is affected by Europeanization process in the manner of absorption.

In the light of above considerations, it is clear that the EU CBC programmes have significant contribution to regional development of border areas, namely Edirne-Kırklareli border region. However, the programmes' impact on the regional development is limited to several fields. As it is summarized above, the impact of the EU CBC programmes is not apparent in all fields related to regional development. The reason why contributions and impact of the programmes are concentrated in environment, culture and tourism is the priority axes of the programmes. Those three areas are identified as priority axes for all programmes implemented in the border region and Turkey. It is also affirmed that repeated projects have been implemented in the border region because of this limitation on priority axes. Hence, different but relevant priority areas should be determined and fields related to regional development such as business, employment, accessibility, transport, energy, research, education, health may be prioritized in the programmes to increase the impact of the programmes.

Beside this finding about limited priority areas, there are also some other factors influencing the impact of the programmes. These factors are border crossings including visa procedure, sustainability and ownership of project outputs and investments, small budgets of the programmes. Concerning the size of the programmes and projects under the programmes, it is observed in the analysis of ETC programmes under Structural Funds that the impact of ETC programmes is stronger than IPA and the ENI CBC programmes in which Turkey attended. In ETC programmes, there are more allocations for infrastructure components and large-scale investment as the programmes have bigger budgets. In this context, the National Authority of CBC programmes in Turkey is in favour that effects and impact of the EU CBC programmes covering Turkey can be enhanced through more investments and better projects when the programmes' budgets are increased. Meanwhile, it is also argued that realizing strategic projects, which are large-scale investments towards interest of all programme area, will raise the impact of the programmes in the border area and then more relevant and essential works for the region will be financed under the programme. Consequently,

budget of programmes should be raised and strategic, large-scale projects should be implemented in the programmes in addition to grants under the call for proposals.

With respect to the impact of CBC programmes, it should be born in mind that measuring long-term effects and impacts of CBC programmes on development of border regions is not easy and so healthy because of the small size budgets of the programmes and incapability in monitoring system and data collection. However, short-term effects of the programmes are easier to measure since they are related to outputs and results of projects and programmes. Furthermore, it is not easy to assess results and achievements of the projects under the sea basin programmes because of multilateral partnerships in joint projects and difficulties to monitor project indicators.

Apart from the implemented CBC programmes in the region, it is argued that regional development of the border region could be enhanced if Turkey participated in other CBC programmes in which she was eligible country. For instance, Interreg III/A Greece-Turkey CBC Programme could not be carried into effect because of some political and practical reasons. In 2007-2013 period, Turkey did not take part in Southern Europe Interreg CBC programme because of the Cyprus issue and she was not interested in Greece-Turkey IPA CBC Programme because of Aegean question. Likewise, Turkey opted-out to attend Mediterranean Sea Basin ENI CBC Programme and Interreg Balkan-Mediterranean CBC Programme in 2014-2020 period because of the Cyprus issue despite she was an eligible country for these programmes which cover Edirne-Kırklareli border region. It is believed that if Turkey also took part in these programmes, border regions of Turkey would be developed more and communities in neighbouring countries would be converged. Therefore, it is evaluated that the EU CBC programmes may create valuable opportunities for regional reconciliation and solution of long-lasting problems as the Aegean question or the Cyprus issue.

Finally, it is analysed that border region in Thrace is not highlighted in national tourism development programmes. In this context, the border region's tourism potential can be reflected to general tourism development policies of the country and so the impact of programmes may be increased.

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APPENDICES

ANNEX 1 – Questions for Standardised Open-Ended Interview

- What do you think about the main achievements of the EU Cross-border Cooperation (CBC) programmes in the region which covers Edirne and/or Kırklareli province(s)?
- What do you know about contributions (in business, employment, environment, infrastructure, tourism, research, education, health, etc.) of the EU CBC programmes to development of the region?
- How would you describe short-term effects (concerning outputs and results of projects and programmes in general) of the EU CBC programmes to development of the region?
- What do you think about long-term effects of CBC programmes? Did they contribute to the region's macro-economic indicators (i.e. GNP per capita, competitiveness of region, investment and capital movements, employment and labour markets, demography and population movements, human resources development, environmental protection and improvement in the quality of life)?
- What do you think about whether expected results and impact prospects of CBC programmes are duly achieved or not? Which factors did effect the success of programmes and limit to achieve expected results and outputs?
- To what extent are concrete impacts of CBC programmes apparent in the region?
- With regard to contribution of CBC programmes to development of the region, what is your opinion on the sufficiency of funds allocated through CBC programmes?

ANNEX 2 – Interreg Cross-border Cooperation Programmes 2014-2020

Interreg Austria-Czech Republic Cooperation Programme, Interreg Austria-Hungary Cooperation Programme, Interreg Austria-Germany/Bayern Cooperation Programme, Interreg Belgium-France (France-Wallonie-Vlaanderen) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Belgium-Germany-The Netherlands (Euregio Maas-Rijn) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Belgium-The Netherlands Cooperation Programme, Interreg Czech Republic-Poland Cooperation Programme, Interreg Estonia-Latvia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Finland-Estonia-Latvia-Sweden (Central Baltic) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France (Mayotte-Comores-Madagascar) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France (Saint Martin-Sint Maarten) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France-Belgium-Germany-Luxembourg (Grande Région) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France-Belgium-The Netherlands-United Kingdom (Two seas) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France-Germany-Switzerland (Rhin supérieur) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France-Italy (ALCOTRA) Cooperation Programme, Interreg France-Switzerland Cooperation Programme, Interreg France-United Kingdom (Manche) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Germany (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern-Brandenburg)-Poland Cooperation Programme, Interreg Germany-Austria-Switzerland-Liechtenstein (Alpenrhein-Bodensee-Hochrhein) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Interreg Poland-Germany/Saxony Germany-Denmark Cooperation Programme, Cooperation Programme, Interreg Germany-The Netherlands Cooperation Programme, Germany/Bayern-Czech Republic Cooperation Programme, Germany/Brandenburg-Poland Cooperation Programme, Interreg Germany/Sachsen-Czech Republic Cooperation Programme, Interreg Greece-Bulgaria Cooperation Programme, Interreg Greece-Cyprus Cooperation Programme, Interreg Greece-Italy Cooperation Programme, Interreg Hungary-Croatia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Italy-Austria Cooperation Programme, Interreg Italy-Croatia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Italy-France (Maritime) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Italy-Malta Cooperation Programme, Interreg Italy-Slovenia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Italy-Switzerland Cooperation Programme, Interreg Latvia-Lithuania Cooperation Programme, Interreg Lithuania-Poland Cooperation Programme, Interreg Poland-Denmark-Germany-Lithuania-Sweden (South Baltic) Cooperation Programme, Interreg

Poland-Slovakia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Romania-Bulgaria Cooperation Programme, Interreg Romania-Hungary Cooperation Programme, Interreg Slovakia-Austria Cooperation Programme, Interreg Slovakia-Czech Republic Cooperation Programme, Interreg Slovakia-Hungary Cooperation Programme, Interreg Slovenia-Austria Cooperation Programme, Interreg Slovenia-Croatia Cooperation Programme, Interreg Spain-France-Andorra (POCTEFA) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Spain-Portugal MAC (Madeira-Açores-Canarias) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Spain-Portugal (POCTEP) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Sweden-Denmark-Norway (Öresund-Kattegat-Skagerrak) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Sweden-Finland-Norway (Botnia-Atlantica) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Sweden-Finland-Norway (Nord) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Sweden-Norway Cooperation Programme, Interreg United Kingdom-Ireland (Ireland-Northern Ireland-Scotland) Cooperation Programme, Interreg United Kingdom-Ireland (Ireland-Wales) Cooperation Programme, Interreg Slovenia-Hungary Cooperation Programme and PEACE (Ireland-United Kingdom) Cooperation Programme.