ABSTRACT

The intermediate evaluation of the INTERREG II Programmes Upper Rhine-Centre/South (D/F/CH) and PAMINA (D/F) has been carried out in 1996/97 by a trinational consortium of external consultants on behalf of the two monitoring committees who set up a joint evaluation task force. The evaluation method has strongly emphasised the dialogue with responsibilities at all levels of the programmes. The evaluators conceived the intermediate evaluation as a joint learning process aimed at finding out how things could be done better.

Basic difficulties encountered were the lack of a previous systematic monitoring and sometimes inadequate evaluation criteria and indicators. Given the still uncomplete programming and the early stage of the projects, the usual evaluation issues concerning the attainment of objectives, efficiency and effectivity, could only be answered partially. The intermediate evaluation therefore concentrated on the assessment of objectives, monitoring systems and indicators, as well as on the identification of problems in the overall program management.

The evaluation procedure has been conceived as a reversal of the top-down programming process and proceeded bottom-up from the projects over the programme lines to the operational programmes themselves. 17 workshops were carried out at different levels, systematically confronting different perspectives.

The evaluation procedure has been appreciated by a large number of persons involved. The users of the evaluation, namely the evaluation task force of the monitoring committees, have been satisfied and have drawn a series of consequences.

Basic questions of evaluation methodology are being discussed on the background of this experience.

---

1Ruggero Schleicher-Tappeser is director of the EURES-Institute and has lead the team of evaluators. Also Evelyne Denny, director of Denny Consultants Strasbourg, and Alain Thierstein, head of the regional sciences group in the SIASR at the University of St. Gall, should be mentioned here.

2Dr. Conrad Schroeder is president of the district of Freiburg which comprises the south-western quarter of Baden-Württemberg. He also is president of the monitoring committee of the INTERREG II program Upper-Rhine-Center-South. Also Wilderich von Droste-Hülshoff and Patric Harster who chaired the evaluation task force of the clients, should be mentioned here.
The Task

Commissioning of the Intermediate Evaluation

As early as the beginning of 1996 the monitoring committees for the programmes Upper Rhine - Centre/South and Pamina considered the commissioning of the intermediate evaluation of the INTERREG II programme. The European Commission had asked to involve an external consultant for this task. The responsible bodies for both programmes established a task force which then coordinated the intermediate evaluation. During that year the required specifications were compiled and on this basis tenders were invited. From a number of applicants a team was finally selected which was lead by the EURES Institute and which further consisted of Denny Consultants, Strasbourg and SIASR, St. Gallen, Switzerland. The contract was awarded by the Regierungspräsidium Freburg on behalf of all partners in both INTERREG programmes concerned.

The engaged team carried out the intermediate evaluation of the two programmes in parallel between November 1996 and May 1997. A very tight time schedule had to be respected. The evaluators kept in close contact with the task force of the clients with which they worked together very well. Characteristics of the evaluators’ team were that the three institutes were fully familiar with the situation in all three sub-regions with which the cross-border programmes are concerned, that the institutes had previously worked together and that their staff had experience in dealing with different cultures and spoke the languages of the countries involved. Drawing on previous experiences the task force was convinced that such skills were essential for the success of the evaluation.

The specifications required in the call for tenders provided four central questions:

1. Consistency of objectives on programme levels
2. Achievement of objectives of the programme
3. Efficiency
4. Effectiveness

Particular Features of the Intermediate Evaluation

When the evaluation began most of the projects had just been started. Furthermore, the programming process had not been finalised, i.e. the provided funds had only partly been allocated. Thus a final assessment of the impact of projects and programmes was not yet possible. The emerging trends, on the other hand, offered the possibility to influence further work in the projects as well as at the programme level.

In consultation with the clients the following priorities were set for the evaluation:

- The screening of the objectives of the entire programme with regard to their completeness, consistency, the target groups and potential conflicts and modifications of objectives.
- The evaluation of the existing project and programme-oriented assessment procedures and in some instances the formulation of new indicators.
- The identification of deficits in the programme implementation at all levels and the drawing up of recommendations.
The Method Used

The method which was specifically developed by the EURES / DENNY / SIASR team has five key characteristics:

- Dialogue-oriented self-evaluation
- Evaluation from the bottom up, inverse to the programming process
- Use of various information sources
- Active involvement of a multitude of actors
- Use of standardised procedures

The principal characteristic of this approach is that it is oriented towards dialogue. This approach would appear to be particularly useful in the context of an intermediate evaluation, the aim of which is to provide inspiration for further work for all involved. The principle of a guided self-evaluation encourages reflection in those responsible at all levels and eliminates anxieties in relation to an external audit. Using a pre-defined structure, those responsible at the various levels of projects and programmes were asked to outline their assessments and were also confronted with statements by other actors. With few exceptions, the evaluators abstained from giving their own assessments and these exceptions are clearly marked in the evaluation report.

Such an approach avoids misjudgements, as external evaluators never know the operations as well as those involved. The dialogue-oriented approach calls for the conscious creation of dialogue situations which allow for new insights to emerge. To this end the work was primarily carried out in workshops. A further important aspect is the confrontation of the different viewpoints of the different actors within the programme. Finally, in order to create an atmosphere of trust it is of utmost importance that those responsible at the different levels are given the opportunity to comment on the results of the evaluation before the report is delivered to the client.

Sequence of the Study

The evaluation team has tried to fulfil the above requirements by structuring the evaluation as shown in the Figure below. The four columns correspond to the four sources of information used: Written documentation (basis for the database), questionnaires (to all projects), workshops at different levels as well as expert interviews.

The study was conducted at the three levels of projects, programme axes and programmes. While programming operates from the top down, i.e. from the programmes via the programme axes down to the level of the projects, the evaluation took an inverse direction. The individual projects were examined first and conclusion were drawn with regard to the achievement of the objectives at the level of the programme axes. These conclusions were then confronted with the objectives at the programme level.

The examination of the projects was based on questionnaires on the one hand and on workshops on the other hand. Each project had to complete a detailed questionnaire one part of which was tailored directly to the individual project. The first part contained questions on the character of the project. A second part included questions on the progress of the project, its objectives, modifications of objectives and the expected achievement of set objectives. It also included questions on the contribution of the project to the achievement of the objectives of the programme axis. A third part dealt with the experiences with regard to the administration. The questionnaires were evaluated and the data were fed into a database which also included generally accessible information on the projects.
A greater amount of work, however, was involved in the preparation and holding of workshops for fourteen projects selected from the two programmes. The basic idea of the workshops was to create dialogue based on mutual trust. Hence representatives of both the bodies responsible for the projects as well as staff from the projects were invited to the workshops. For each of the fourteen selected projects such a workshop of about a three hour duration was held. In order to allow for the comparison of the results, a sequence of ten questions was dealt with in a facilitated discussion and the results were visibly documented. Very often stimulated discussions resulted from this approach. For the evaluator this allowed for a more in-depth assessment of the short answers given in the questionnaires. Sometimes an astonishing spectrum of opinions emerged and the dynamics of the projects could be understood. For those involved in the projects, on the other hand, the discussions provided an opportunity for reflection which sometimes helped to clarify expectations and lead to new insights.

The evaluation reports on the individual projects were compiled using the database and were submitted for comment to those responsible for the projects.

On the next level, the level of the programme axes, workshops were conducted with those responsible for the programmes and representatives of the projects. The theme of these workshops was the objectives of the programme axes, the expected achievement of the set objectives through the individual projects as well as the programming process. Firstly, the participants in the workshops were confronted with a number of propositions which had been compiled by the evaluators on the basis of existing information and from the results of the evaluation of the individual projects.
A similar method was used to conduct a workshop each with those responsible for the two programmes. The issues discussed were the objectives of the programmes, the achievement of set objectives with the help of the programme axes, the programming process and last but not least the administrative and financial realisation of the programmes. Similarly to the previous level the participants were confronted with propositions drawn up by the evaluators as a result of their work so far.

All this information was processed by the evaluators in order to draw up recommendations. Before the final report was submitted these recommendations were discussed in detail with the task force of the clients.

**The Products of the Evaluation**

At the end of the evaluation process the following products were available.

- a summary report of approximately 30 pages which included the recommendations;
- an extensive appendix including proposals for the indicators relevant to the programme axes and projects, the detailed evaluation of the programme axes and the detailed evaluations of all projects;
- a database including baseline data for all the projects which can also be used in the future work of those responsible for the programmes;

and last but not least

- a learning process for all participants at the different levels.

**The Results of the evaluation**

**The Context**

The evaluation has provided a number of criticisms and proposals for improvements. However, in order to be able to comprehend these it is necessary to briefly outline the context of the INTERREG projects in the Upper Rhine region.

**Cross-border cooperation is not easy**

The cross-border cooperation in the Upper Rhine region remains difficult as a result of the differences in languages and cultures. Even though we are dealing with only two languages in three countries there are problems, as particularly in the German and the French part of the cross-border region the neighbour's language is often not understood. Moreover, there are considerable differences between the German and the French administrative systems. This leads to formal problems in the cooperation on the one hand and on the other hand it requires a great deal of work in order to allow for the comprehension of the neighbouring administrative system. Even after decades of cross-border cooperation there are still only few common structures and experiences. Accordingly, many of the actors, officials in the local administrations, staff in businesses etc. are still relatively insecure when it comes to cross-border cooperation. It is still so much more familiar and seemingly easier to deal with institutions and companies in one's own country that this is usually preferred to cross-border cooperation. However, in recent years the cooperation in the Upper Rhine region has clearly become more intensive.
INTERREG has moved a lot of things

The INTERREG programme has provided considerable impulses for cross-border cooperation in the Upper Rhine region. It has helped to create networks; special cross-border institutions have been set up; cooperative procedures have been practised, and hundreds of actors in the regions have gained practical experience with cross-border cooperation which will be of tremendous value to them in future projects. In particular the INFOBEST counters and the Euro Institute in Kehl help to broaden the cooperation.

INTERREG should be understood as a learning process

Concrete results in the individual projects are often less important than the gaining of experience in cooperation. This learning process is not just relevant to the individual experience of the participants in the projects. It is also of relevance for the institutions involved, for the development of novel approaches, procedures and facilities for cross-border cooperation. It is further relevant for the openness and flexibility amongst the partners and their ability to view familiar habits, approaches and procedures from a different angle and to question them. This learning process should be at the forefront of the programme and the various programme axes should also be interpreted in this light. This necessary learning process is also of relevance to the INTERREG programme itself. Indeed there are, as yet, no routines in the INTERREG process. Procedures have been developed and experiences have been made but what has been created, sometimes under difficult circumstances, has not become an ordinary matter of course. In order to achieve this many changes and simplifications will be required. Constructive critique is therefore important. Particularly useful for the INTERREG programme, the aim of which is to develop cross-border cooperation, are evaluations which further the exchange of experiences between all participants and which provide indications as to improvements for future work.

Achievement of Objectives

For the audience at large the numerous individual results are of lesser interest. However, for the further development of the programme some of the results with regard to the expected achievement of the set objectives might be of interest. In the Pamina area the expectation was that the projects have only had a minor impact with regard to the objectives “creation of employment opportunities” and “joint regional planning”. The contribution to the objectives “co-operation of the sub-regions”, “environmental protection” and “maintenance of the quality of life”, on the other hand, was seed as being substantial. In the Centre/South programme area the general opinion was that the organisational cohesion can very substantially be improved through the projects but that the projects only contribute in a very minor way to overcoming deficits which result from the border situation. With regard to all the other programme objectives the opinions varied considerably.

Proposals for Programming

Based on the discussions in the different workshops and groups the evaluators have put forward five principal proposals for the further development of the programmes.

Animation du territoire

Those responsible for the programmes should more actively encourage innovative projects in the regions, take problems on board and approach potential beneficiaries than is currently the case. Cross-border cooperation thrives on variety. Very different actors should be involved in the cooperation.
Impact instead of content
It is the object of many projects to tackle specific problems. Despite the fact that these may be cross-border problems it is not the principal aim of the INTERREG programme to solve specific problems. A stronger emphasis should be put on the impact of projects and their contribution to a sustained improvement and strengthening of cross-border cooperation. Such impacts can be particularly strong in the areas of culture, communication and training and education.

One single federal programme?
Opinions about the organisation of future INTERREG programmes vary considerably. A conceivable model would be the creation of an umbrella programme for the present programme area Upper Rhine-Centre/South and Pamina which would be divided into three small-scale sub-programmes. The structure of the programme should be the subject of comprehensive public debate particularly with a view to the viability of the structures in the light of cut-backs in financial support from Brussels.

Using synergies through project cooperation
Many of the INTERREG projects co-exist side by side with no interaction. In many cases the exchange of experiences and direct cooperation could lead to a much improved use of resources. Those responsible for the programmes could make a substantial contribution to encouraging and organising such processes.

Project monitoring
More intensive monitoring could contribute to a much more effective use of resources, particularly with regard to partners who have, as yet, little experience with cross-border cooperation.
All these tasks require additional work to be carried out by those responsible for the programmes who should therefore be allocated adequate resources. It is conceivable, however, that the amount of formal bureaucratic work will decline in the long term and that a higher emphasis can be placed on supporting work on the content or substance of the projects.

Proposals for the Procedures
Most projects criticised the administrative requirements as being very high. The lengthy and not always transparent procedures leading up to the acceptance of a project were regarded as a considerable access barrier. In order to increase the impact of the programme, improvements would be desirable in this area.

Clarify selection criteria
It is not obvious to the applicants which criteria are being applied in order to select projects. This does not only apply to those locally responsible but also to the application of the selection criteria in Brussels. More transparency in this area can lead to higher motivation amongst applicants.

Simplify application procedures
The application procedure for INTERREG projects remains very arduous, lengthy and non-transparent. In recent years there have been considerable improvements in this area but
further progress would appear to be possible. This could also improve the participation of private partners.

**Speed up individual agreements**

For each individual project an agreement is reached between numerous public authorities in three countries. The practicalities of this approach lead to considerable delays which can be quite a deterrent. These individual agreements, on the other hand, have had the result that there have later been relatively few disputes and little confusion compared to other INTERREG regions. However, there is scope for speeding up the procedure for concluding the agreements.

**Prefinancing of the final instalment**

While in the Pamina programme region a model solution has been found, the beneficiaries in the programme area Upper Rhine - Centre/South have to wait unbearably long for the payment of the final instalment. This situation creates major problems for many beneficiaries and deters potential applicants. Prefinancing through a regional institution would be desirable.

**Clear guidelines for the eligibility of expenses incurred**

There still appears to be some ambiguity as to which project expenses are eligible at the end of the project. There are different guidelines for the different structural funds contributing to INTERREG. On the part of the beneficiaries at project level this has lead to inestimable risks and insecurities. Those responsible for the programmes should cooperate with Brussels in order to clarify this area.

**Regional fund for cross-border cooperation**

The evaluators consider the following proposal, which has been discussed in a number of the workshops, as being worthy of further consideration: The main barrier for the realisation of projects is usually the co-financing from public bodies in the different partner regions. In many instances this leads to a useful involvement of those who are responsible for a particular problem. However, quite often this renders the procedures and project structures unnecessarily complicated. The creation of a regional fund for cross-border cooperation would be a possible solution to this problem. This fund would be constituted of larger contributions paid in at the start by institutions in the sub-regions involved in the programme. On the basis of the previously agreed programme the steering committee of this fund could decide on the co-funding of measures. In this way the number of partners could be clearly reduced in many of the projects. Furthermore, the establishment of this fund would also create a cross-border institution which could ensure the continued financing of common, cross-border projects should the INTERREG funding from the European Union be discontinued.

**The view of the clients**

The monitoring committees have discussed the results of the intermediate evaluation in two sessions. In a first session the report has been presented and accepted and has been referred back to the working group for further examination. The working groups of the two programmes, supported by the respective programme secretariats then elaborated more
Statements and envisaged measures

The monitoring committee Upper Rhine - Centre/South prepared a detailed statement concerning the individual criticisms and proposals put forward in the evaluation report.

Eligibility of costs

The monitoring committee has noted some progress concerning the transparency in the regulations for the eligibility of costs by the commission. However, still these rules are very complex and difficult to handle. It also regrets that it is still difficult to fund projects in the filed of health, social affairs and culture.

Financial management

The monitoring committee states that the evaluation report does not fully acknowledge that the conclusion of detailed financial agreements helps to attain transparency and to clarify all issues in this context beforehand in order to avoid later conflicts. The long duration of the procedures for the conclusion of these agreements is mainly caused by the large number of partners involved.

A considerable complication is caused by the fact that three structural funds are contributing to the INTERREG programme. Already a reduction to two (ERDF and ESF) would lead to easier procedures. Finally the monitoring committee criticises the present modalites of payment of the EU contributions.

Program administration

The monitoring committee thinks that the evaluators have been too critical concerning the present administrative procedures and that they have not analysed in detail the pros and cons of their propositions. It stresses that the long duration of the procedures is due to a series of external effects which have been discussed only partially. An enlagement of the monitoring committee for including labor union and environmental NGO representatives is not seen as to be practically feasible.

Short term measures

The envisaged consequences have been subdivied into short-term and long-term measures. A series of small short-term measures have already partly been initiated. They include

" The project applicants will get a model of the necessary financial agreements as soon as they have been preselected. The will be advised by the program secretariat how to draft them for their project.

" The program secretariat will advise the project applicants on how to modify their applications in order to speed up the procedure for obtaining formally correct applications.
The secretariat will provide a guideline for the eligibility of costs which will be provided to all potential applicants.

**Long term measures**
The working group was asked to prepare recommendations on the following aspects:

- Eligibility criteria
- Procedure for the conclusion of project agreements
- Financing conditions for the beneficiaries
- Geographical structuring of the programmes

**Conclusions of the clients**

In the view of the clients, an evaluation of this kind is useful despite the considerable administrative effort needed. Surely, where the co-financing comes from public bodies an examination of the projects is being carried out by these institutions thereby limiting the risk of bad investments. On the other side there is the risk that not only private but also public co-financing bodies try to use INTERREG funds for carrying out their usual business. The responsible of the INTERREG programme and the evaluators therefore must pay special attention to the added value by cross-border cooperation. This should be achieved by the formulation of corresponding objectives in the program, through appropriate selection criteria used the monitoring committees and by relying on the advice of the specialised administrations of the program partners. In the view of the program responsible, to get more or less objective measures by developing quantitative or qualitative indicators is particularly difficult in cross-border cooperation. It has been demonstrated that the evaluators have basically to rely on the "self-evaluation" of the program participants. A very unuseful instrument in this context have been the workshops facilitated by the evaluators. In dynamic discussions, difficulties have been identified and valuable propositions made.

There are limitations for putting into operation of the recommendations of the evaluation report. They mainly lie in the legal, administrative and political circumstances in which the program partners have to operate and which would probably differ between various cross-border regions. Only within these conditions an optimisation is possible. Commissioning evaluations to external consultants can help to discuss these circumstances with critical distance. A comparison between different cross-border regions would be useful.

The instrument "evaluation" can gain increasing importance when experience with it grows. The INTERREG programs, the associated administrative procedures as well as the evaluation methods have been new grounds where a certain routine is only slowly developing. Simplification and transparency should be the most important objective on this way.

**The Evaluation in Retrospective**

**Evaluators’ Experiences in the Upper Rhine Region**
The feedback from the participants in the evaluation process was predominantly positive. The aim of developing the intermediate evaluation into a joint learning process has been successful. The cooperation with all the participants was trusting and fruitful. Mistrust and anxieties which were evident at the beginning could be eliminated.
The evaluation had been commissioned by those responsible for the two INTERREG programmes. They in turn had been asked by the EU Commission to carry out such an evaluation. This constellation was not an easy one as the evaluators' brief therefore included an evaluation of the conduct of their actual clients. At the beginning there had indeed been some uncertainties in this respect. During the course of the work, however, it became clear that the members of the project group from the side of the clients contributed in a very constructive way towards a critical evaluation.

The development and first application of the method required a lot of work. The scope and quality of the results extended beyond the evaluators' brief. A smaller number of workshops would hardly have diminished the quality of the report. Now that the methodology has been developed and practised it will be possible to conduct future evaluations of a high quality with an acceptable input.

It can be concluded that the developed dialogue-oriented methodology has proved a success and that it can be recommended for intermediate evaluations, particularly in the field of inter-cultural cooperation. With a final evaluation, however, there could be a lesser motivation to learn.

Towards a Culture of Evaluation

Many actors still regard evaluations as primarily an instrument of formal control of correct implementation, and of financial control in particular. The evaluators were quite often confronted with such an attitude in the Upper Rhine area, too. Such an approach, however, would be inappropriate for the assessment of programmes with such complex sets of objectives as the INTERREG programme or the Structural Fund programmes of the EU in general. Here, the achievement of different objectives has to be acknowledged in their overall context.

An evaluation can be designed as a motivating learning process which helps to develop novel and more effective solutions at the programme level, at the project level and at the level of their interaction. Such an approach will be much more successful in achieving the best possible degree of efficiency in the use of financial means than any formal control. This, however, requires on the one hand a programming process which develops objectives as precisely as possible from the highest programme level down to the individual project and which states how these objectives can be achieved. On the other hand the evaluators must be able to work in an interdisciplinary way and they must be able to communicate effectively in order to encourage new learning processes between the participants in the programme.

The practice of programming and project monitoring still has many shortcomings. The development of more detailed proposals for objectives and indicators was quite an elaborate part of the evaluation process in the Upper Rhine region. It was noted that at the project level the French project leaders were generally more experienced in developing operationalised objectives than their German counterparts. Generally, however, the explicitly stated objectives played almost a more minor role than the implicit objectives which remained unstated. It is an important task of the evaluators to raise the awareness for such unstated objectives and to clarify the potentially associated misunderstandings and conflicts.

In innovative programmes or projects, however, there is the problem that objectives are sometimes only developed during the course of the projects or that the set objectives are modified. A static image of programming which insists on the achievement of hierarchically set objectives very quickly reaches its limits. The result is that objectives and indicators are often formulated in such a vague way that they can become worthless for an evaluation. If it is the aim to ensure the coherence of the programme, then intensive project monitoring and a regular assessment not only of the achievement of the set objectives but also an
assessment of the actual objectives at all programme levels is required. An intermediate evaluation is a crucial step in this process. While in the programming process the objectives and the financial allocations are planned from the top down, the intermediate evaluation provides a systematic feedback on the achievement as well the potential of achieving the set objectives from the bottom up. In innovative programmes and projects where the actual result is not foreseen form the start (e.g. the restoration of a sewage system) the aim of the evaluation is much less to control and press for the orderly implementation of the project than to scrutinise the entire set of objectives and the use of funds against the background of experiences gained and to suggest changes where appropriate. This is only possible if objectives are clearly and carefully formulated and continuously discussed and agreed. This should be an on-going process which calls for staff capacities in programme management which should not be underestimated. An intermediate evaluation can only summarise systematically but it can not be a substitute for project monitoring.

An "evaluation culture" would mean that not just the individual project but the whole programme is seen as a learning process in which all participants together continue to develop the objectives as well as the use of funds at the different levels. In order to do this they will also have to develop a common understanding of the problems at hand and a common "language". In many programmes the project level is currently hardly involved in such a process. In that case those responsible for the projects regard the programme as a mere source of finance which allows them to pursue their own aims. Quite possibly an important chance to optimally align the financed activities with the achievement of the programme objectives, is lost in such cases.

The role of the evaluators probably remains a challenge in each evaluation process and an appropriate answer to this challenge will have to be found each time. On the one hand the evaluators as independent outsiders must keep a distanced eye on the whole and, if appropriate, must also be able to ask unpleasant questions. On the other hand they must get deeply enough involved with the programmes and projects that they can understand their dynamics, their potential and their problems. In several respects the evaluators take on the role of the mediator. It is particularly important that they confront the different perspectives of the local actors and the financing institutions with one another and that they steer discussions towards these differences. As mediators they should instil amongst all the participants a common view of the objectives, the difficulties and the various different roles of the actors. Basically it is the task of the evaluators to stimulate and structure the discussion process between all those involved in a programme, from an independent perspective. One single evaluation process is not always sufficient to achieve and maintain such a discussion process. It may be useful to involve external evaluators already in the development of a monitoring system and then to involve them in the intermediate and the final evaluation.

To evaluate therefore means primarily to induce communication on objectives and the achievement of set objectives. Insofar as publicly financed and publicly discussed programmes are concerned the results of the evaluation should also be made publicly available.

**On the Peculiarities of the Evaluation of Cross-border Cooperation**

The evaluation of cross-border cooperation is particularly difficult for a number of reasons. Firstly there are difficulties in the inter-cultural communication which effect more than just the language. Communication problems and misunderstandings also arise as a result of differing administrative systems and procedures as well as differing conduct and customs in developing and leading projects. In order to create a mutual understanding on objectives,
expectations and the achievement of objectives the evaluators have to be well acquainted with the different cultures and this makes very specific demands on the evaluation team.

Secondly there are two types of objectives in the INTERREG programmes the interrelationship of which is not always entirely clear: The intensification of the cross-border cooperation is an objective in itself, and this is supplemented by the technical objectives in the different areas of activity. These two types of objectives occasionally conflict. The development of cross-border cooperation is a long-term process the pre-requisites for which are sometimes only being created within the context of multi-annual projects. The expectations for results with regard to the technical objectives are much more of a short-term nature. From the point of view of cross-border cooperation a project may be particularly useful where there are major communication problems. In the system of objectives of the INTERREG programme a stronger emphasis should be placed on advancing cooperation. However, this is a difficult subject where it comes to formulating objectives which can be operationalised and to evaluating. The impacts concerned are to a considerable degree of an indirect nature and can therefore hardly be assessed within the context of a standard evaluation. Consideration should be given to the usefulness of longer-term accompanying studies within the context of the programmes.

Thirdly a particular communication problem arises between the programme level and the project level as a result of the two 'layers' of objectives. More so than in many other programmes the logic of the programme is distinct from the logic of the projects. While those responsible for the programme focus on the advancement of the cooperation, those responsible for the projects focus primarily on solving their specific problems.

It remains to be concluded that the INTERREG programmes, in accordance with their own claim, are in fact still very innovative and present a number of unsolved questions. If programme monitoring and evaluation processes were to be intensified, considerable improvements with regard to the effectiveness of the programmes could probably be made and this could also provide important stimuli for other European programmes.

Contact: Ruggero Schleicher-Tappeser, EURES Institute, Basler Str. 19, D-79100 Freiburg, Tel. +49-761-70441-0, Fax +49-761-70441-44, e-mail r.schleicher@eures.de