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CROSS-BORDER ISSUES IN POLISH SUPRAREGIONAL STRATEGIES ON EXAMPLE OF STRATEGIES FOR WESTERN AND EASTERN POLAND

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Abstract

The main purpose of this paper is to present areas and directions of integration and disintegration in East-Central Europe. It is based on the comparison of the two development strategies for the two supraregional areas in Poland namely: Western Poland and Eastern Poland. Supraregions are groups of highest administrative units in Poland – voivodeships. It is not any kind of administrative unit, and neither statistical. The reason for supraregional strategies are common challenges of development of groups of voivodeships. In our analysis we present differences between those strategies in scope of cross-border cooperation. We concentrate on four thematic issues: transport connections, economy, academia and a role of foreign institutions in a preparation and a modification of documents. In this way, we confirm that in the East-Central Europe are existing areas of integration and disintegration reflecting also long lasting division of Europe into West and East. We stress that those disintegration areas, mostly the eastern frontier of the European Union, are the result of state policies.

Key words

supraregional strategies, Western Poland, Eastern Poland, cross-border cooperation.

1. Introduction

The division of Europe into West and East is a long lasting phenomenon and borders of such division were changing during the history moving from east to west (Hryniewicz, 2015). For ages 'West' was almost a synonym to 'Europe' (Ferguson, 2005). Historians mentioned about 'eastern' tribes penetrating 'West' after the collapse of the Roman Empire. Later, there was a division of Europe following the belongings of the Roman Catholic Church and the

Eastern Orthodox Church (Hryniewicz, 2015). After that, Poland could be seen as a bastion against 'East' helping survive Europe against the mighty Turks. Later on the frontier has been moved even further as founded St. Petersburg was for Russians 'a window on Europe' (Ferguson, 2005). The Battle of Warsaw has settled the border between Poland and the USSR as 'a defensive wall' of 'West' protecting from communism. In the XX c. the border between 'East' and 'West' were settled by the Cold War on the Elbe River. Nowadays we can say that boundaries of 'West'

are the boundaries of the European Union. It moves because frontiers are mainly in our minds, are mental, and it's much deeper than we could ever recognize. Of course, they show the boundaries of political control but real frontiers show the boundaries of the cultural influences as well as the style of living (Ferguson, 2005).

Borders influence strongly on the development challenges of regions. Central regions have different development possibilities than borderlands and therefore usually are growing faster (Miszczuk, 2013). It happens especially with regions where the borders that are closed or poorly permeable, and are a physical barrier of movement and contacts.

The splits can appear not only between countries and regions, understood as a group of countries, but also within states. This type of divisions is present in Poland and it has its West-East dimension, somehow long lasting. In scope of socio-economic and cultural development Poland is divided into so called 'Poland A' and 'Poland B'. Although it is a stereotypic approach, omitting a lot of details, it is a very popular point of view in a discussion about division of Poland. The separation line was different during history, once it was Vistula river or Bug and San rivers, then former border between Prussia and Russia in XIX. This break has been strengthened during the inter-war period but its beginning was even earlier, after the partitions of Poland. The Poland A is mostly the ex-Prussian partition with a higher level of transport and industry development. The Poland B is mostly the ex-Russian partition where lands were mostly agricultural with a low level of urbanization. It's now a XXI century but this breakdown still exists and the experts show that it's even bigger, both economically and politically. What is important to mention that division is symbolic, therefore sometimes could be seen as not fully logical, as from some points of view 'East' starts in Konin (especially for people living in Poznan), but then it starts on Vistula river (and also part of Warsaw that is on East bank could be seen in stereotypic way as in East Poland). In Polish minds this line is the frontier between 'East' and 'West' or, even more politically incorrect, as a border between 'Europe' and 'Asia'. Moreover, the two 'Polands' are quite the same as the supraregions of Western Poland and Eastern Poland and its strategies are the subject of this analysis.

The division into Western Poland (so called Poland A) and Eastern Poland (so called Poland B) overlaps the geopolitical division of Europe. After accession of Poland to the group of western countries (first NATO in 1999, then EU in 2004 with Schengen Zone in 2007) the possibilities of cooperation and integration of development were improved on Western and

Southern Polish border. Therefore Western Poland could benefit from growth of cross-border movements. In the same time borders in Eastern Poland were experiencing different changes and its permeability has been decreased. It is of course not a case of border with Lithuania but it is only 104 km length and Slovakia that is longer (541 km) but has a mountain character.

That division into Western and Eastern Poland is reflected in a specific of Polish documents that are covering areas of two or more voivodeships. Those documents, called supraregional strategies, were created for Eastern and Western Poland and adopted by Polish Council of Ministers. Therefore aim of the paper is to depict differences between two supraregional strategies: Strategy for development of Western Poland 2020 and Strategy for Socio-economic development of Eastern Poland until 2020 in scope of cross-border cooperation. Then those results will be used for presentation of integration and disintegration areas in Polish borderlands. The authors do not aim to validate the mentioned strategies. The comparative analysis should only be a base to start a discussion about the future of the supraregions and its strategies but also to point out possible guidelines for institutions preparing strategies for territories with bigger or smaller area.

2. Supraregional strategies in Poland

Supraregional strategies are a new and quite unique type of documents on regional development. In Poland they are common strategies for group of voivodeships that are prepared by the ministry responsible for the regional development (at present – the Ministry of Infrastructure and Development; before – the Ministry of Regional Development) with a cooperation of regional authorities. Those strategies are based on observations that some regions have similar, common challenges, that cannot be solved by themselves alone or only through the bilateral cooperation. This is the reason for preparation of supraregional strategies in Poland. It is similarly as added value of cooperation is a reason for preparing macroregional strategies in the EU (the EU Baltic Sea Region Strategy, the Danube Region Strategy, the Adriatic-Ionian Region Strategy and the Strategy for Alp Region). Describing it in the other way supraregional strategies like other documents settled above administrative borders are based on the territorial approach and the subsidiarity principle. The territorial approach, as well as subsidiarity criteria, is connected with challenges that are above borders and possibilities of regions. The subsidiarity principle is

fulfilled due to the fact that from one side not every development challenge mentioned in strategies can be solved by regions by themselves and from the other side there are different challenges in different regions of the country (Strategie ponadregionalne..., 2015). Therefore strategies have to differ from each other, as they have to face different challenges. Further in the paper there will be presented how the differences in situation of each region are reflected in the priorities of the strategies.

The legal basis for the supraregional strategies are created in the Act on principles of development policy. There are now strategies for four supraregions in Poland: Eastern Poland, Western Poland, Southern Poland, and Central Poland. In the EU nomenclature voivodeships are NUTS 2 regions. Supraregional strategies can be for NUTS 1 regions (as it is an example of Central Poland and Southern Poland), but in some cases (Western Poland) they are for two NUTS 1 regions or are for a NUTS 1 region plus an additional voivodeship (Eastern Poland). The present situation (August 2015) of the supraregional strategies in Poland is presented on figure 1. Only two voivodeships are not involved into any supraregional strategy: Pomorskie and Kujawsko-Pomorskie.

The supraregional strategies in their structure contain (Strategie ponadregionalne..., 2015):

- a diagnosis of development conditions in the field of a strategic programming with a scope of a state of the environment and the territorial differentiation,

- a forecast of development trends,
- a definition of priority policies, an intervention aims with indicators of success,
- a system of implementation, conditions and procedures regulating process of implementation of strategy,
- financial frameworks.

The first prepared supraregional strategy it was the Strategy for the Eastern Poland for the years 2007–2013. It was prepared for better spending of additional EU funding from Cohesion Policy for weakest regions of EU in term of the GDP per capita, for the moment of negotiations of the EU Budget (Polish regions lost that status in 2007 after the accession of Bulgaria and Romania). The spending of that special support was organised in form of the Operational Programme for all eligible regions. That cooperation was assessed as a success although a low level of the development, that was the reason for the special support from the EU, is a long lasting phenomenon and it was impossible to overcome all of the development obstacles. Therefore some other strategic documents, especially the National Strategy for Regional Development 2010–2020 (pol. Krajowa Strategia Rozwoju Regionalnego 2010–2020) found valuable a further special support for that area. As a result of that political support, the new strategy for the next programming period of the EU (2014–2020) was prepared.

Other regions, especially that one, that were losing their economic position in the period after the

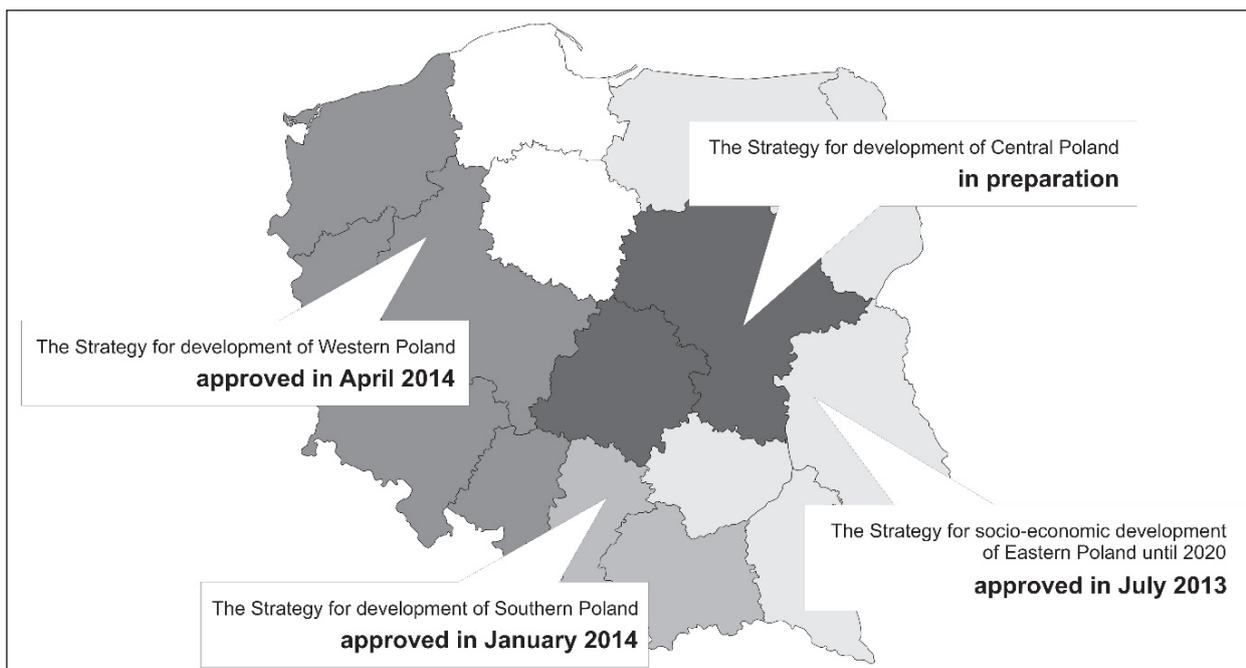


Fig. 1. Supraregional strategies in Poland

Source: Strategie ponadregionalne..., 2015.

accession of Poland to the EU were expressing their interest in an additional special support (Lubuskie and Zachodniopomorskie). Some other arguments had been used, among them the problem of a collapse of the former state farming (pol. Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne) and a loss of some economic functions of the borderlands due to accession to the Schengen Zone. Regions in the Western Poland already were cooperating strongly in different issues (mostly on Odra river and the development visions for the Polish part of the Borderland of Poland and Germany) and therefore they were ready for a joined action as a group of five voivodeships and applied to the state for a special Operational Programme from the EU Funds. That additional support hadn't been given but at the same time the added value of the integration of priority policies had been found by the regional authorities and the state government. Therefore strategy for Western Poland was created.

Other voivodeships were observing the struggles of the Western Poland and had decided to prepare their own supraregional strategies. The Strategy for socio-economic development of Eastern Poland until 2020 was approved in July 2013. The Strategy for development of Southern Poland was adopted in January 2014 and the Strategy for development of Western Poland was approved in April 2014. In time of writing that article the Strategy for Central Poland is in preparation.

3. General geographical characteristic of Western and Eastern Poland

The supraregion Western Poland consists of 5 voivodeships: Zachodniopomorskie, Wielkopolskie, Lubuskie, Dolnośląskie, and Opolskie. The supraregion borders with the Czech Republic in the South, Germany in the West, and the Baltic Sea in the North (and by that with Sweden and Denmark). The western frontier is delineated mostly on the Oder and Neisse rivers. The region is rather better developed than average for Poland although some of its parts face large problems with restructuring economy. The biggest cities in region and their functional urban areas are booming, especially Wrocław and Poznań (Szczecin is facing troubles of economic restructuring). High level of welfare is characteristic for Legnica-Głogów Copper Mining District, where is located one of the largest producer of copper and silver in the world. A linking element of the whole supraregion is the Oder river which flows through four out of five voivodeships. A high level of agriculture is characteristic for Wielkopolskie, Dolnośląskie and Opolskie, while Lubuskie and Zachodniopomorskie

have a large percentage covered by forests. The supraregion has locations attractive for tourist like sandy beaches with high cliffs in the North and the Sudety mountains in the South.

The Western Poland is generally better urbanised with smaller importance of agriculture than in the Eastern Poland. There are located three big cities that are changing into metropolitan areas: Wrocław (population of 634 ths. in 2014), Poznań (546 ths.) and Szczecin (407 ths.). For example, they were identified as weak Metropolitan European Growth Areas (MEGA) by ESPON (ESPON 2005..., 2004) and as metropolitan areas by National Concept for Spatial Development 2030 (Koncepcja Przestrzennego..., 2012). There are other capitals of voivodeships but much smaller like Gorzów Wielkopolski (124 ths.), Opole (120 ths.), and Zielona Góra (119 ths.).

The supraregion called Eastern Poland consists of 5 voivodeships: Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Podlaskie, Lubelskie, Świętokrzyskie, and Podkarpackie. Its eastern frontier is mostly the eastern border of the EU. The economy mostly depend on agriculture (especially in the central part – Lubelskie voivodeship) and forestry (in the North, Warmińsko-Mazurskie and Podlaskie Voivodeships). A high development potential of the southern part of the supraregion is created by the Podkarpacie Aviation Valley (pol. Podkarpacka Dolina Lotnicza) in Rzeszów. Very important for the region is its high value of natural resources although sometimes it creates barriers for transport links. The supraregion borders with Slovakia in the South, Ukraina, and Belarus in the East, and with Lithuania, the Russia Federation, and the Baltic Sea in the North. There are no big geographical barriers other than the Bug River in the East and the Carpathians in the South. Comparing to rest of Poland the supraregion is sparsely populated.

The cities in the Eastern Poland are generally smaller than in the Western Poland. The biggest city is Lublin with population of 342 ths., then Białystok (295 ths.), Kielce (199 ths.), Rzeszów (185 ths.) and Olsztyn (174 ths.). They are not seen as a metropolitan areas neither by Polish researchers (e.g. Smętkowski et al., 2009) or European studies (ESPON 2005..., 2004). For the reason of not wasting a development potential of this area the National Concept for Spatial Development 2030 (Koncepcja Przestrzennego..., 2012) called them as the potential metropolitan areas.

What differs Western from Eastern Poland it is a long lasting level of infrastructure development. It is connected e.g. with development of railway transport in the XIX century in Germany and Russia. Looking from the historical perspective the railway transport is better developed in the Western Poland (the

German Empire before WWI) than in the Eastern (the Russian Empire before WWI). Although an investment negligence of railway transport in the transition time contributed to balance the density of railways, still there are differences in dual-track lines. Some of the differences are also the result of the contemporary policies. Only the A4 highway was built further to the East than the line of the Vistula river. Nowadays the missing connections of express motorways are built. Taking into account all certainly justified arguments, that are influencing the development policies of Polish transport infrastructure on West and East, the differences in those policies are influencing the possibilities of cooperation between regional capitals and other regions in cross-border area.

4. Criteria of analysis of documents

It was necessary to make a profound reading to do a comparative analysis of both strategies. They were read almost simultaneously chapter by chapter. Fortunately, the structure of the strategies was close enough that the task was relatively easy to do. Moreover, after finishing reading of both documents the general conclusions has been made. Another way to make good and valuable analysis was a separate reading by both authors of the paper without making any consultation. Thanks to that the higher level of intersubjectivity has been achieved. All collected conclusions has been analysed and then separated twice. The first split was for the general and detailed separation. The second split took the detailed conclusions and separated them into four different categories: transport connections, an economic cooperation, an academic cooperation and a role of foreign institutions in preparation and modification of documents. This split is reflected in the further part of this paper.

5. General differences between documents

In that part we refer only to differences and common characteristic only in areas that are not object of deeper analysis. Some of the differences between strategies are coming from the very beginning. As we wrote it before, the intentions of creating that documents were different. The Strategy for Eastern Poland has been inspired by the national government and among main purposes was a proper spending of the EU Funds. The inspiration of the Strategy for Western Poland was from the voivode-ships that had to convince the ministry for that initiative. Therefore the Strategy for Eastern Poland is

more concentrating on themes that are connected with special financing from the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund) and the ESF (European Social Fund). One of the examples connected to this is a problem of a social inclusion. That isn't present in the Strategy for Western Poland, whereas, it is important in the implementation system of the Strategy for Eastern Poland.

Due to the process of the documents preparation the Strategy for Western Poland looks more like a strategy for regions in a federal state. Therefore documents look like a result of a bargaining of different interests from different responsible for development of their regions. In the same time, the style of the Strategy for Eastern Poland in much more for unitary state where the state decides (with consultation among regional authorities) what is good for those regions. The differences between those two strategies can be illustrated by a statement that the vision of Western Poland will be possible 'only with full involvement in a close cooperation of the regions' (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 60). That kind of statement is not included in the text of the Strategy for Eastern Poland. For analysis of the integration and disintegration areas it should be stressed that the Strategy for Western Poland see a interregional and cross-border cooperation as the most (the first) important condition for the best development (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 60). Such issues, especially an interregional cooperation, are hardly visible in the Strategy for Eastern Poland.

There are some differences that are coming from the regional specificity. One of that issues is the general difference in the economic development, which is higher, generally, in the Western Poland than in the Eastern Poland. Interesting is the importance of the capital of the country which it is much smaller in the Strategy for Western Poland. It should be noted that both of the strategies see a development potential of their regions as an improvement of connections mostly with 'west'. For the Strategy of Western Poland it is Germany and generally the EU. For the Strategy of Eastern Poland it is the Central Poland, mostly Warsaw but also Gdansk and Cracow, and then countries and regions further to the West. Another difference between those two strategies is a presence of tourism issues. It isn't included in the Strategy for Eastern Poland but it is considered as a potential for the development of some regions of the Western Poland.

The common characteristic of those strategies is a big concentration on 'repairing mistakes of the past', and overcoming the weakness from the SWOT analysis. The authors find it as a quite common problem of Polish strategic documents.

The vision of the regions in those two documents is similar. The Western Poland sets stronger emphasis on mobilisation of its endogenous potential, better integration (also transport) of area and innovativeness (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 62). The Eastern Poland sets priorities on a supraregional, endogenous specialisation, a knowledge based economy and an accessibility of the region (Strategy for Socioeconomic..., 2013, p. 72). The differences are in fact that the Western Poland is pointing on tourism as one of its potentials that can be used thanks to better accessibility of the Western Poland for tourists from the countries richer than Poland. The Eastern Poland is more concentrated on strengthening the major functional urban centres due to the fact, that they are weaker than in the West.

The main difference in visions in those two strategies is that the Strategy for Western Poland threat more about an integration of the whole area, and the Strategy for Eastern Poland concentrates on a general growth of economic performances. It could be seen when we compare the objectives from both strategies, although they are quite similar. For the Western Poland they are (Strategy for Western, 2014, p. 63):

- I. Spatial and functional integration of the supregion.
- II. Building the macroregion's economic offer.
- III. Strengthening the scientific and research potential of the supregion.

For the Eastern Poland the aims are following (Strategy for Socioeconomic..., 2013, p. 72):

1. Increasing the level of innovativeness of the macro-region (...).
2. Activating labour resources and improving the quality of human capital (...).
3. Increasing the external accessibility and internal consistency of the macroregion (...).

As we can see transportation issues are on the first place in the Strategy for Western Poland and on the last in the Strategy for Eastern Poland. An improvement in innovativeness is on the first place for the Eastern Poland and on the last for the Western Poland. The Strategy for Eastern Poland concentrates on issues connected with a development of human capital while the Strategy for Western Poland emphasizes more a better fit and use of existing economic assets (and of course their improvement – among them human capital) in a scope of innovativeness. Beside those small differences the main objectives and visions for both areas are quite similar what is an example of one of the weaknesses of present development policies in Poland (Górniak, Mazur, 2012).

6. Differences between documents in scope of cross-border cooperation

In our paper we've examined differences in the following thematic areas: transport infrastructure, an economic cooperation, an academic cooperation and a preparation of documents. From the perspective of a cross-border cooperation they are important, because they enable exchange of goods and ideas (transport connections), make it valuable in scope of exchange of goods (economic cooperation) and ideas (academic cooperation).

Any kind of cooperation is based on good or bad experiences from the past, therefore actions taken for better flow of information on any level should have potentially positive impact on future cooperation. Among those actions is listening to interest expressed by people and institutions from neighbouring regions and countries. Because of that all, the above-mentioned areas of analysis had been chosen.

7. Transport connections

One of the most visible results of development strategies is an improvement in a transport infrastructure. Quick and comfortable transport connections are one of the most important conditions of development. Bad transport accessibility was described by entrepreneurs as one of the biggest barriers of the economic development in Poland (Strykiewicz, 1999). However, there are also researchs arguing that investments in infrastructure have a marginal impact on economic development (Crescenzi, Rodríguez-Pose, 2008), especially when it is not the worst barrier for development.

From the perspective of cross-border cooperation investments in transport infrastructure are crucial. Lack or poor quality of transport infrastructure is harmful for a cross-border cooperation. It is about general transport connections and specific border infrastructure, namely border crossings. It has to be mentioned that the number and capacity of border crossings on the Polish eastern border were growing slower than on the West and are a barrier for development (Komornicki, Miszczuk, 2011). In that scope, it must be stressed the difference between the Western Poland and the Eastern Poland. All of the borders in the Western Poland are internal borders of the EU and the Schengen zone. The situation is quite opposite in the Eastern Poland. Only the borders with Lithuania and Slovakia are the internal border of the EU. Crossing the borders with the Russia Federation, Belarus and Ukraine is possible only on

border-crossings, therefore its existence is crucial for a cross-border cooperation.

The differences between the Strategy for Western Poland and the Strategy for Eastern Poland in transportation issues are quite clear. Generally, in the strategy for Western Poland transport issues on the interregional scale are more important than in the Strategy for Eastern Poland. What has to be mentioned, it's that they are concentrating on different axes, not only East-West. Summary of those differences was presented in table 1.

One of the objectives of the Strategy for Eastern Poland is to get better access to the biggest cities by some kind of centripetal connections or saying this in other words – by investments realized in each region. That should strengthen the paths connecting the Voivodship cities of the Eastern Poland with the biggest cities of Poland: Cracow, Warsaw, and Tricity. These connections with the Polish economic core should allow diffusion of innovative products. This strategy accepts only two transport paths – express roads (without highways) and railroads.

The Strategy for Western Poland treats transportation in a totally different way. At the beginning of the objectives description, there is mentioned that the supraregion should be functionally integrated with cities of Poland, Germany, Czech Republic and Scandinavia. Following this guideline there are sentences about building highways and express roads with a supraregional significance and also about modernization of the existing rail infrastructure that could allow connect Western Poland with Warsaw, Tricity, Katowice, Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Vienna and Scandinavian cities. In the result of this actions the transborder relations should be better and stronger (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 43–44).

The differences in thinking about cross-border transport connections in both strategies are clear and bright. The Strategy for Eastern Poland omits the significance of transport connections with the adjacent countries, not only with Russia Federation, Belorussia or Ukraine but also with the EU-members like Slovakia or Lithuania. The very important Via Baltica – a road with a key importance for the EU regarding integration with the Baltic States – has been omitted in the development directions and in the diagnosis as well. For the Western Poland, it looks totally different. The transborder connections have a key role in its development plans. It looks like both strategies concentrate on transport in only one direction – due west, but it means something different for both supraregions – for one it's the central Poland, for another it's something abroad.

An element that appears only in the Strategy for Western Poland it's a use of water transportation. This document contains sentences about a restoration of the Oder Waterway and connecting it with all European inland waterways. There is also mentioned about its role in strengthening the competitiveness of the Szczecin-Świnoujście Harbour. The restoration of this waterway should give another platform for a cross-border cooperation within e.g. water management and flood control (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 43). There is no information about waterways in the Strategy for Eastern Poland although the E40 waterway goes across that supraregion.

8. Economic cooperation

Economic cooperation is a field of human activity that in contemporary economies is not ruled by governments. However, economic issues due to their

Tab. 1. The presence of transport issues connected with a cross-border cooperation in the Strategy for Western Poland and the Strategy for Eastern Poland

Western Poland	Eastern Poland
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aims: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improvement of transport connections with Warsaw, Silesia, Gdańsk, Berlin, Prague, Wien and Dresden • modernization of Oder River waterway and improvement of the cross-border cooperation • better transport connections with Berlin and Dresden than with Warsaw and central Poland especially for Szczecin and Wrocław • bigger importance of North-South than East-West connections in infrastructure priorities • Baltic-Adriatic connections among them importance of Central European Transport Corridor CETC ROUTE-65 – European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stressing peripheral location without strong connections with activities • more important is the connection of Eastern Poland with Warsaw and further, to the West • missing information about Via Baltica • limited information about development of transport connections not only with countries outside of the EU but also within EU that are bordering with Eastern Poland (Lithuania and Slovakia)

Source: own analysis.

influence on society, are one of the main topics of political discussions. Therefore states are trying to improve their economic development by various measurements. That role is specific in a scope of international economic relations. Although states are not involved in direct economic cooperation, they are generally trying to influence decisions of firms on location of their activities. Within that influence is the public aid. From the perspective of an EU-member country possibilities of direct financing of economic cooperation are very limited. The EU regulations generally forbid the public aid, but there are some exceptions (among them is special support for cohesion regions with the framework of a regional aid).

Among instruments of the public aid is support for an international cooperation and an entering of firms on new international markets. There are also other forms of support for a cooperation that are growing in importance. Some of the very important factors are formal and informal links of cooperation within chambers of commerce, clusters and other associations of entrepreneurs. Unfortunately analysis of existing clusters in both strategies does not show any with cross-border members or ambitions for that kind of development even in some of clusters were in more than one voivodeship.

Cross-border and international economic links are playing generally bigger role in Western Poland than in Eastern. Remarkably it could be seen on the example of Slovakia. Although it is the neighbour of Podkarpacie in the Eastern Poland supraregion the country is not mentioned in the Strategy for Eastern Poland in issues of economic cooperation. The different situation is in the Western Poland, where it has been mentioned as an important partner in development around the Central European Transport

Corridor (CETC 65) (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 32).

The inflow of direct foreign investments is generally bigger in the Western Poland than in the Eastern, although differences are getting smaller (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 44). It is due to differences in investment attractiveness (Godlewska-Majkowska, Zarębski, 2011). It is understandable that countries lying west and north-west (Scandinavia) of Poland are better developed and the biggest inflow of foreign investments comes from the developed countries. For companies from Germany (and Denmark or Sweden in Zachodniopomorskie) Poland is one of the closest location for the international expansion. Geographical proximity to European growth areas is seen by the Strategy for Western Poland as playing an important role in the competitive position of the supraregion (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 15). It is more important for the Western Poland regions, cause they are closer than regions in Eastern Poland. From that point of view the cross-border cooperation with neighbouring countries is important for those regions and it could bring direct political benefits for their authorities.

Differences in the economic situation of the Western and the Eastern Poland in a scope of a cross-border cooperation and a policy response to it is seen in table 2. As it can be seen the economic situation is very different and policy responses are not so much.

9. Academic cooperation

Role of innovations, innovativeness, entrepreneurship and creativity in contemporary economy is growing. One of the elements of innovativeness is close cooperation of science with business. One

Tab. 2. The presence of economic cooperation issues connected with a cross-border cooperation in the Strategy for Western Poland and the Strategy for Eastern Poland

Western Poland	Eastern Poland
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • spatial proximity to European growth zones as a chance for the economic development • local industry heavily export-based (compared with the rest of Poland) • strong economic links with Germany because of the FDI • cooperation of Zachodniopomorskie with Scandinavia in maritime economy • building an economic offer for new investments is crucial for the economic success of the supraregion • there is no information about smart specialisations for the whole region 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the location peripheral to the European growth zones as a threat for economic development • local industry weak export-based with weak external economic links • a small inflow of foreign investments seen as a problem for development • relatively weak information about economic connections with the neighbouring countries and with the development plans • the main model of development is based on the use of endogenous potential • smart specialisations of the whole region are chosen without any connections with the neighbouring countries

Source: own analysis.

of the theory explaining relationships between economic growth, innovations and role of the state, business and academia, is triple helix theory (Ranga, Etszkowitz, 2013). Strategy of Eastern Poland is mentioning it and describing with emphasis that it is crucial element of improvement in innovativeness of whole region (Strategy for Socioeconomic..., 2013, p. 47). Strategy for Western Poland do not refer to that theory, although is highlighting role of transfer of knowledge between academia and business (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 72).

In general view both of the strategies are similar in scope of academic cooperation and differ only in relation to the fact, that generally scientific centres in Western Poland are better developed than in Eastern (Smętkowski et al., 2009). Therefore Strategy for Eastern Poland is giving stronger emphasis on general development of scientific centres (Strategy for Socioeconomic..., 2013, p. 76) and Strategy for Western Poland is concentrating more on cooperation of existing institutions but mostly within supracountry (Strategy for Western... 2014, p. 71). Although it should be mentioned that those differences are very slightly cause supracountry and cross-border cooperation is one of the way Strategy for Eastern Poland is planning to improve position of scientific centres (Strategy for Socioeconomic..., 2013, p. 76). Surprisingly cross-border scientific cooperation is not mentioned within the directions of intervention in the Strategy of Western Poland (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 72). It is weakness of that strategy, especially cause neighbouring regions from Germany and Sweden with Denmark (via Baltic Sea) are on much higher level of innovations and scientific research, what was recognized by authors of the Strategy (e.g. referring to European Regional Innovation Scoreboard 2012) (Strategy for Western..., 2014, p. 72). Taking into account that scientific centres in Western Poland are generally better developed,

situation that cross-border links for scientific cooperation are not envisaged in strategy, is also huge loss. It is even if there is existing institutional cooperation between universities from neighbouring cities, like mentioned in strategy cooperation on Collegium Polonium in Słubice.

Talking about the development of scientific centres in the Strategy for Eastern Poland it has to be mentioned that it is based on an implementation of academic institutions from this supracountry into the network of strong partners in Poland and abroad (Strategy for Socioeconomic..., 2013, p. 76). It is not mentioned from which country or regions those partners will probably come. Similar situation is for the strategy of Western Poland. The Strategy for Western Poland in terms of the scientific and technological development is based on similar foundations as the Strategy for Eastern Poland (Strategy for Western... 2014, p. 71). Presence of cross-border issues in international academic cooperation for both of strategies is presented in table 3.

10. Role of foreign institutions in preparation and modification of documents

An active role of foreign institutions in the process of preparation and modification of documents is something what is difficult for administration on local, regional and state level due to the legal and cultural barriers. In most of the countries in Europe law is generally limiting possibilities of an influence of institutions from other states on local and regional strategies. One of the exemptions from that is cross-border environmental impact assessment existing (only for countries that are in the European Union) since 1985 (Council Directive 85/337/EEC). Beside of that, the influence of authorities from neighbouring countries are generally limited and based on a goodwill of

Tab. 3. The presence of academic cooperation issues connected with cross-border cooperation in The Strategy for Western Poland and The Strategy for Eastern Poland.

Western Poland	Eastern Poland
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> concentrates on support of supracountry and international cooperation but do not mention cross-border academic cooperation mention common research centre Collegium Polonicum in Słubice established by Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder), academic centres from neighbouring countries are supposed to be included in general process of consultation of multilevel management of the development of Western Poland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> mentioned cooperation of Lublin with Lviv and Białystok with Vilnius on issues of academic cooperation mentioned general cooperation with Ukraine, Russia and Belarus threat of a leapfrog development cooperation of Warsaw with Minsk and Kiev without participation of academics from Eastern Poland cross-border dimension is important in improvement of R&D cooperation

Source: own analysis.

cooperating partners. It is fully understandable that states are somehow trying to protect their interest from the interest of other states and their administrative units. From a perspective of the political cohesion, it is also understandable that formal restrictions are bigger for regions than for communes. It is a case of Poland, where voivodeships are obliged to determine priorities of international cooperation, that needs to be approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ustawa z dnia 8 marca 1990 r. o samorządzie gminnym, 1990). Such obligation is not required from communes (gminas) and districts (poviats). Therefore, it is worth to mention that priorities of the international cooperation of regions in Poland also depend on priorities of the state foreign policy.

Due to differences in political climate there could be seen differences in the role of foreign institutions in the preparation process of documents. Existing tradition of the interregional and the cross-border cooperation in the Western Poland, as we describe it in a further chapter, and strong bottom-up pressure on state administration have influenced to the fact that foreign institutions were included in preparation of the strategy for that supraregion. Those institutions are envisaged in further evaluation of strategies and coordination with other documents. There are existing some documents of a common vision for the Polish Borderland in Western Poland (Studium Integracji..., 2013). In contrast such hearings of voices from other side of the border is not envisaged in the Strategy for Eastern Poland. Authors find it as one of the weakness that could be easily overcome and is not connected with high additional costs. It is important for example for investments priorities cause motorways on both sides of the border have to meet on border crossing and for higher utility they should be built in similar time.

Such a need of cooperation concerns not only linear infrastructure but also the development of human capital, joint provision of regional and local services (higher education, health care or fire prevention). On the Polish western border with Germany, it resulted with subregional studies and projects that can serve for both sides. A good example of an existing cooperation on different issues on a local level is the Szczecin Metropolitan Transborder Area (Tölle, 2014). This example is especially important when we compare present level of cooperation with existing in that borderland the postwar prejudices and a fact that on the beginning the cooperation was not developing rapidly (Miłosz-Augustowska, 2014). The existence of that cooperation stimulates coordination of development from both sides and therefore improve efficiency of spending public money on both sides of the border. That efficiency can be better ensured only through cooperation and coordination of common investment priorities.

The differences in a way how institutions from foreign states could be seen in both of the strategies is presented in table 4.

11. Other supraregional strategic documents concentrating on development of analysed area

Talking about differences between both analysed documents it cannot be omitted the differences in tradition of cooperation of regions in field of spatial planning and development programming. Such traditions are quite strong in Western Poland and quite weak in Eastern Poland. Cooperation of voivodeships in Western Poland was conducted in many cases in relation to neighbouring countries, mostly

Tab. 4. The role of foreign institutions in process of preparation and changes of The Strategy for Western Poland and The Strategy for Eastern Poland.

Western Poland	Eastern Poland
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • existence (or being in preparation) of common strategies for development of Polish-German and Polish-Czech neighbouring regions • participation of foreign partners in the consultation procedure (among them: the Berlin Senate) • existence of cross-border operational programmes taken under consideration by the managing authority (although in a limited spectrum) • generally predicted participation of foreign institution in evaluation, coordination and consultation of changes in strategy • foreign institutions are envisaged in a multilevel management of the development of the Western Poland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participation of foreign institution was not mentioned either envisaged in any step of preparation or modification of the document • existence of cross-border operational programmes for Poland and Lithuania as well as for Poland and Slovakia are not mentioned in the document

Source: own analysis.

Germany. One of the most important issues of cooperation was Odra river, that is also in some part border with Germany. Some of the documents were prepared together with other side of the border, some were prepared only for one part. Purpose for that split is better preparation for future binational cooperation. Examples of documents on spatial development of Polish and German side of the border prepared in last 25 years are (Studium Integracji..., 2013):

Concept for support of Odra region (pol. Koncepcja wspierania regionu Odry) from 1991 and called after name of initiator of the project, who was a prime minister of Land Brandenburg, as Stolpe Plan – which was rather suspiciously received by Polish side,

Polish-German borderland as a problem of regional politics (pol. Pogranicze niemiecko-polskie jako problem polityki regionalnej) – so called Willers Plan and was also prepared by German side,

The Study of directions of spatial development of area along Polish-German border (pol. Studium kierunkowego zagospodarowania przestrzennego obszaru wzdłuż granicy polsko-niemieckiej) – prepared by Polish side,

The Guideline Study of Spatial Development alongside the Polish-German Border from 2005 (pol. Studium kierunkowe zagospodarowania przestrzennego obszaru wzdłuż granicy polsko-niemieckiej) that was prepared by team from Polish Academy of Science under coordination of prof. G. Węclawowicz and was referring only to Polish part,

Study on Integration of Poland and Germany Borderland – Polish Part from 2013 (pol. Studium Integracji Pogranicza Polski i Niemiec) – that was prepared by planning administration from three neighbouring regions on Polish side: Zachodniopomorskie, Lubuskie and Dolnośląskie,

Maps of investments plans for Polish-German Borderland from 2009–2011 (pol. Mapa zamierzeń inwestycyjnych polskiej części pogranicza Polski i Niemiec) – that document was prepared separately first by Polish side by ministry of infrastructure, and then by German side by Federal Institute on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development.

Some of the documents listed above were objects of huge critique from both side (Guz-Vetter, 2002). Nature of them and atmosphere of cooperation is changing. Mostly it was way from naive expectations that via that cooperation all of the problems on borderland could be resolved. Then after first bitter experiences sometimes connected with misunderstanding it was switch to scepticism mixed with some sort of hostility and rivalry especially among public servants (in purpose from protecting interest

of their regions) that were involved in process of cooperation. Further cooperation change involved people expectations about motivation and possibilities from other side. People learn how to cooperate from each other and what they can afford via working together and what they cannot. It has also to be mentioned, that is existing also special intergovernmental agreement of Poland and Germany on issues that has to be implemented. Poland does not have such a document signed with any other countries. Similar strategies for socio-economic spatial development were prepared for Polish and Czech Borderland (Polish-Czech border region development study, pol. Studium zagospodarowania przestrzennego pogranicza polsko-czeskiego). They are existing studies on development of Polish-Slovak Borderland (Więckowski et al., 2012). Such documents are not existing on Eastern Poland although there were prepared studies for use of cross-border cooperation in OP Eastern Poland 2014–2020 (e.g. Komornicki, Miszczuk, 2011).

Other important issue connected with cross-border cooperation is existence and nature of euroregions. All of Polish borders are covered by euroregions, although generally speaking euroregions on west are smaller and bottom-up initiatives. On Eastern border they are rather bigger and top-down initiatives and therefore they are more fragile on present changes in international policies (Kaczmarek, 2005).

12. Summary

Analysis conducted in that article proved that there are existing areas of integration and disintegration in space of Central-Eastern Europe. Western border of Poland and in some extent North-West and South-West border are areas of integration. In contrast Eastern border of Poland, than in most part is also external border of the EU, is area of disintegration. Unfortunately in strategies like Strategy for Eastern Poland it is not clearly visible that there is no big political reasons for strong development of cooperation with other EU countries: Slovakia and Lithuania. The north-south connections are hardly visible in Strategy for Eastern Poland, what is one of the weakness and threat for future cross-border integration of supregion.

In our article we can confirm what was stated in expertise conducted by T. Komornicki and A. Miszczuk (2011) for Eastern Poland Strategy for that supregion border is rather barrier than development possibility. Unfortunately Strategy for Eastern Poland rejected ex-ante evaluation result for implementing

cross-border issues in its content. When the state on the frontier of the EU do not see it as an important issue, then it could be seen as a threat for further deepening of division of Europe into West and East and further disintegration of continent.

Strategy for Eastern Poland is prepared in order to minimise existing differences within Poland and division into so called Poland 'A' and 'B'. Existing policies are decreasing differences although in some scope they are deepening them or threatening that they will be deeper in future. One of that kind of issues is general accessibility of regions in different directions. While strategy for Western Poland is taking actions in purpose for general accessibility of region from all directions also cross-border relations, strategy for Eastern Poland concentrate mostly on accessibility to fastest growing economic centres in Poland. It is understandable, as far as bad accessibility from economic centres is one of main present challenges of development for that region. However, in future it is threatening development of that region cause it will remain accessible only from one direction and therefore stay longer as a periphery. It is also growing threat that frontier of the EU will remain disintegration area in scope of transport connections and therefore economic performances. Of course all of other assumptions and conditions for development have to be taken into account and threat of overinvestments (Crescenzi, Rodríguez-Pose, 2008) in infrastructure in Western and Eastern Poland is existing.

For development of cross-border intraregional cooperation socio-economic situation of biggest cities is very important. The difference in development of metropolitan functions between cities in Eastern and Western Poland (Smętkowski et al., 2009) has negative impact on cross-border cooperation in Eastern Poland. Foreseen by the strategy, support for development of metropolitan functions in biggest cities in Eastern Poland will help in minimalizing existing barriers of economic and academic cross-border cooperation. It should be also mentioned that cross-border scientific cooperation is not fully utilized in strategy for Western Poland and is less visible than in strategy for Eastern Poland. It is threat for integration of that area with European Science Area.

Comparing both of the strategies we can see that interregional and cross-border cooperation and transport connections are generally more important for strategy that was bottom-up initiative (Strategy for Western Poland). Cross-border scientific cooperation is more important in strategy for Eastern Poland although potential benefits from cooperation with cross-border partners are bigger in Western Poland (as those regions are better developed in that field). Lack of concentration of cross-border

scientific research on western border is a bad prognosis for future integration of Poland into European Research Area. Another type of activities that are important for local and regional authorities is tourism. It has its reflection in documents, where cross-border changed for tourism development are visible in strategy for Western Poland and tourism is omitted in Eastern Poland.

On example of strategies for Western and Eastern Poland we can show that integration and disintegration of European space strongly depends from general geopolitical situation. Therefore success or defeat in economic development of regions is depending strong from changes in geopolitics (Miszczuk, 2013), although they are not only one reasons for economic development. Generally speaking opening of borders improve economic performance of regions. Those influences are not always clear and easy to predict. Sometimes even general opening of economy and abolition of border control can have negative effects on development of border regions due to the fact of leapfrog development. Opening of the economy can influence also a directions of trade and therefore has negative impact of development of some regions. One of the good example of that kind of bad influence of general geopolitical changes is development path of Szczecin and Zachodniopomorskie in socio-economic transformation of Poland (Smutek, Łonyszyn, 2014). Beside of those exemptions EU integration is supporting of integration on western border of Poland and disintegration on eastern direction.

13. Recommendations for state policy

Analysis of those two strategies in context of cross-border issues enabled authors for policy recommendations in future changes of those documents. Recommendations for future supraregional strategies are:

- for strategy for Western Poland – bigger support of cross-border scientific cooperation of supraregion with nearest big academic centres (mainly Berlin, Oresund region and Prague),
- for strategy for Eastern Poland – development of cross-border transport connections, especially on north-south axes, with countries within EU and not only with biggest Polish economic centres (mainly Warsaw),
- for strategy for Eastern Poland – involvement of foreign institutions, mostly cross-border, in process of future changes, evaluation and implementation of next edition of the strategy.

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