

Historical Towns Divided by International Border Rivers
– the Way to Cooperation and Integration

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

The topic of this thesis is divided towns, defined as the towns which once existed as unified administrative units before an international border divided them. In a time of globalization, the character of many border lines is changing. In many places, borders are losing their dividing character. In the European Union, divided towns might be perceived as natural symbols of integration between neighboring countries.

The main goal of the study is to answer the research question: “In towns divided by an international border that is a river, what are the conditions that must be met to achieve a mutually beneficial level of cooperation?” In order to address the research question, benefits and barriers in cross-border cooperation and integration are studied. A quality of cooperation and an advancement of integration between bordering communities are explored. Impact of actions undertaken by local decision makers to improve the cross-border cooperation and integration are examined.

Görlitz-Zgorzelec, located on the German-Polish border, was chosen as a case study place. The research methods used in the study requiring public involvement are official and non-official interviews and questionnaires. Additional information was also collected from academic and non-academic sources. Based on the data collected during the research, a set of key indicators was created to measure an advancement of cooperation between the divided town sections, in the field of spatial planning, culture and social integration.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Problem Statement.....	3
1.2. Methodology	4
1.3. Case Study Town.....	5
1.4. Rationale for Research	7
1.5. Thesis Organization	8
1.6. Summary.....	8
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.1. Borders, Borderlands and Divisions	9
2.1.1. Definitions of International Border.....	10
2.1.2. Impact of Globalization on International Borders and Borderlands.	10
2.1.3. Different Characteristics of Town Divisions by Borders	11
2.1.4. Natural Borders.....	14
2.1.5. Towns Divided by Natural Borders and Their Role in Uniting Europe.....	15
2.2. Benefits from Cross-Border Cooperation in Divided Towns.....	17
2.2.1. Benefits in Local Economy.....	17
2.2.2. Benefits in Spatial Planning.....	20
2.2.3. Benefits in Culture	20
2.3. Barriers in Cooperation in Divided Towns	22
2.3.1. Economic Barriers	22
2.3.2. Barriers in Spatial Planning	23

2.3.3. Language Barriers	24
2.3.4. Barriers in Social Integration	25
2.4. Examples of Cross Border Spatial Planning Cooperation Around	
Europe: Arrangement of Riverbanks in Towns Divided by International	
Border that is a River	28
2.4.1. International Town Centre	29
▪ Tornio-Haparanda (Finland-Sweden)	29
2.4.2. International University	29
▪ Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice (Germany-Poland)	30
2.4.3. International Park.....	31
▪ Strasbourg-Kehl (France-Germany)	31
▪ Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín (Poland-Czech Republic).....	34
▪ Irún/ Hondarribia-Hendaye (Spain-France) and Guben-Gubin	
(Germany-Poland).....	36
▪ Tornio-Haparanda (Finland-Sweden)	36
2.4.4. Connecting the Riverbanks in Their History	36
▪ Komarno-Komarom (Slovakia-Hungary).....	36
▪ Tui-Valença (Spain-Portugal).....	37
2.4.5. Conclusion	38
2.5. Case Study Town Görlitz-Zgorzelec	39
2.5.1. General Information about Görlitz-Zgorzelec	39
2.5.2. History of Görlitz-Zgorzelec.....	40
2.6. Summary.....	48
3. METHODOLOGY	49
3.1. Criteria for Choosing the Case Study Town	49
3.1.1. Criterion 1: Rivers as International Borderlines	49
3.1.2. Criterion 2: Both Divided Town Sections Located in EU	52
3.1.3. Criterion 3: Population Size Restrictions.....	53
3.1.4. Final Choice of the Case Study Town	54

3.2. Methods Used for Data Collection.....	55
3.2.1. Methods Requiring Public Involvement	55
▪ Questionnaire	56
▪ Interviews.....	56
3.2.2. Methods Not Requiring Public Involvement	60
▪ Documentary Sources	60
▪ Observation	61
3.3. Techniques Used to Organize and Analyze Data.....	62
3.3.1. Indicators.....	62
3.4. Limitations.....	63
3.4.1. Requirement of Translation	63
3.4.2. Methods Chosen to Collect Research Data.....	64
4. FINDINGS: INITIATIVES FOR COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN GÖRLITZ-ZGORZELEC.....	65
4.1. Planning for Neisse Riverbanks.....	66
4.1.1. Historical Background	67
4.1.2. Elements of Neisse Riverbanks Revitalization	70
▪ Rebuilding Bridges on the Neisse River	70
▪ Renovation of Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard	75
▪ Rebuilding the Zgorzelec Postal Market.....	77
▪ Restoration of Roads and Sidewalks.....	84
▪ Green Space Arrangement	85
▪ Rebuilding Tram Line.....	86
4.1.3. Opinions of Residents on Spatial Planning Cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec	88
▪ Benefits from Spatial Planning Cooperation	88
▪ Barriers in Spatial Planning Cooperation	89
▪ Opinions on Neisse Riverbanks Revitalization.....	91

4.2. Actions Undertaken in the Field of Culture	93
4.2.1. Historical Background	93
4.2.2. Common Cultural Activities	94
▪ International Cultural Programs	95
▪ Annual events	100
▪ One-Time Events	105
4.2.3. Opinions on Cooperation of Görlitz and Zgorzelec Residents in Field of Culture	106
4.3. Actions Undertaken to Decrease Language Barrier between Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec	108
4.3.1. Historical Background	109
4.3.2. Actions Undertaken in Görlitz-Zgorzelec to Decrease Language Barrier	110
4.3.3. Opinions of Residents and Data Collected about Language Barrier in Görlitz-Zgorzelec	111
▪ Opinions on Language Barriers	111
▪ Data Collected about Language Barriers in Görlitz-Zgorzelec	113
4.4.1. Historical Background	116
4.4.2. Integration Organizations and Actions Undertaken by Them	118
▪ Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Görlitz)	118
▪ Europa-haus (Görlitz)	119
▪ Euroopera (Zgorzelec)	120
▪ My dla Zgorzelca (Zgorzelec)	121
4.4.3. Opinions of Residents and Data Collected about Social Integration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec	121
▪ Historical Nature of Görlitz-Zgorzelec	122
▪ Görlitz-Zgorzelec More Powerful Together	123
▪ Historical Problems	124
▪ Nationalist Problems	125
▪ Crime Difficulties	126
▪ Difference in Standard of Living	126

▪ Pretended Integration	127
▪ Data Collected from Questionnaire Survey about Social Integration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec	128
4.5. Summary.....	130
5. ANALYSIS OF INDICATORS OF SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION.....	131
5.1. Indicator: Spatial Planning - Planning for the Neisse Riverbanks ...	132
5.1.1. Do the Görlitz and Zgorzelec Spatial Planners Cooperate?.....	132
5.1.2. How Advanced is the Process of Revitalization of the Area Adjacent to the Border Crossing?	133
5.1.3. Is the Integration Area Frequently Visited by the Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?	134
5.1.4. What Are the Main Problems in Spatial Planning Cooperation?	136
5.2. Indicator: Cultural Cooperation	137
5.2.1. Do the Residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec Feel a Need for Cultural Cooperation?	137
5.2.2. Is the Number and Variety of Common Activities Sufficient?...	138
5.2.3. Is the Quality of Promotion of Cultural International Events Sufficient?	138
5.2.4. Is a Common History of Görlitz and Zgorzelec Promoted?	139
5.3. Indicator: Language Barrier	139
5.3.1. Is the Language Barrier Significantly Hampering Cross-Border Cooperation?	139
5.3.2. What Actions Have Been Undertaken to Decrease the Language Barrier Between Görlitz and Zgorzelec Residents?	142
5.4. Indicator: Social Integration.....	142

5.4.1. Are the Residents Willing to Integrate?	142
5.4.2. What is the Role of Integration Institutions in Improving Relations between Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?	151
5.4.3. What are the Main Problems in Relations between Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?.....	151
5.5. Summary.....	153
6. CONCLUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	156
7. REFERENCES.....	158
8. APPENDIXES	168

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Different ideas for arrangement of areas adjacent to border crossings in divided towns.....	38
Table 2	General information about Görlitz-Zgorzelec	39
Table 3	History of Görlitz-Zgorzelec – Summary.....	46
Table 4	Towns divided by an international border that is a river.....	51
Table 5	Towns divided by an international river border and meeting the three research criteria.....	54
Table 6	List of official interviewees.....	57
Table 7	List of non-official interviewees	59
Table 8	Spatial Planning - Questionnaire.....	92
Table 9	Cultural events in Görlitz-Zgorzelec in May 2007.....	105
Table 10	Social integration – questionnaire	129
Table 11	Spatial Planning A – Questionnaire	135
Table 12	Spatial Planning B – Questionnaire.....	136
Table 13	Social Integration A – Questionnaire	143
Table 14	Social Integration B – Questionnaire	145
Table 15	Social Integration C – Questionnaire	146
Table 16	Social Integration D - Questionnaire.....	147
Table 17	Social Integration E - Questionnaire	148
Table 18	Social Integration F – Questionnaire.....	149
Table 19	Social Integration G – Questionnaire	150

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Görlitz-Zgorzelec on the map of Europe (www.alabamamaps.ua.edu)	6
Figure 2	Satellite image of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (www.wikimapia.org)	6
Figure 3	Satellite image of Nicosia (wikimapia.org)	12
Figure 4	Berlin – satellite image with Berlin wall (yellow line) (wikimapia.org)	13
Figure 5	Schematic example of town divided by an international border (personal sources)	16
Figure 6	Dependence of labor market on cross-border cooperation (Janssen, 2000, p.49)	18
Figure 7	3D visualization of border area arrangement in Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice (European Viadrina University: www.eu-v-frankfurt-o.de)	30
Figure 8	Photograph of European Viadrina University in Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice (European Viadrina University: www.eu-v-frankfurt-o.de)	31
Figure 9	Plan of Two Shores Garden (www.france-for-visitors.com)	32
Figure 10	Satellite image of Two Shores Garden (www.wikimapia.org)	32
Figure 11	View on pedestrian bridge in Two Shores Garden (www.france-for-visitors.com)	33
Figure 12	Entertainment areas in Two Shores Garden (www.france-for-visitors.com)	33
Figure 13	Area of the project Enjoy Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín – Park of Two Banks (Municipality of Cieszyn & Municipality of Ceský Tešín; 2006)	34
Figure 14	Art exhibitions on Olze River – symbolic connection of two divided banks (private source)	35
Figure 15	3D visualization of pedestrian bridge planned to be built in Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín (Municipality of Cieszyn & Municipality of Ceský Tešín; 2006)	35
Figure 16	Map of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (www.wikimapia.org)	40
Figure 17	Neisse River in Görlitz-Zgorzelec before 1945 and now (Municipality of Zgorzelec (www.chwila.com))	41
Figure 18	German-Polish and Polish-Russian Borders	43
Figure 19	Oder-Neisse line (blue line) - border between Germany and Poland	43
Figure 20	Divided towns in Europe	52
Figure 21	Vision of a modern bridge/ music hall on Neisse River in Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006, p.2)	71
Figure 22	Vision of a modern music hall that was planned to be built behind the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera)	71
Figure 23	Old Town Bridge in Görlitz-Zgorzelec before 1945 (up) and nowadays (down) (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com ; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info)	72
Figure 24	Old Town Bridge in Görlitz-Zgorzelec - photograph made at the moment of its construction (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)	74
Figure 25	Photographs of the Böhme House made before (on left) and after (on right) renovation (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006, p.5)	75

Figure 26	Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard in 1990's	76
Figure 27	Project of Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard renovation. Elevations (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004)	77
Figure 28	Renovation of Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard, 2004-2007 (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004)	77
Figure 29	Via Regia on the map of Europe (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz- Zgorzelec, 2007)	78
Figure 30	Zgorzelec Postal Market in different moments of history (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info/stary ; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)	79
Figure 31	Project of rebuilding of Zgorzelec Postal Market (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004)	82
Figure 32	Implementation of project of Zgorzelec Postal Market rebuilding	83
Figure 33	Restoration of roads and sidewalks in Zgorzelec Old Town (personal sources)	84
Figure 34	Banks of Neisse River before 1945 and nowadays (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)	85
Figure 35	Different forms of transportation crossing the Neisse River (John Paul II Bridge) (www.chwila.com)	87
Figure 36	Zgorzelec and Görlitz banks of Neisse River (personal sources)	90
Figure 37	Logo of Meeting Point Music Messiaen (Meetingpoint Music Messiaen: www.messiaen.themusicpoint.net)	98
Figure 38	Logo of City Twins (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec; 2006)	99
Figure 39	Towns participating in Twin City project (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec; 2006)	99
Figure 40	Poster of Jacob Days - Old Town Fest 2008 Town Fest: www.altstadtfest-goerlitz.de	(Old 101
Figure 41	Logo of Night of Museums of Museums: www.museumsnacht-goerlitz.de)	(Night 102
Figure 42	Via Thea 2008 – Poster (Via Thea: www.viathea.de)	103
Figure 43	European Neighbor's Day 2008 – Poster (EU Europe for Citizens Program: www.european-neighbours-day.com)	104
Figure 44	Logo of Europe-Marathon (Europamarathon: www.europamarathon.de)	104
Figure 45	Logo of Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec: www.europastadt.org)	119
Figure 46	Logo of Europa-haus (Europa-haus: www.europa-haus-goerlitz.de)	120
Figure 47	Logo of Euroopera (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera)	121

1. INTRODUCTION

A process of creating an international border is related to a division of land and space. One of the methods of drawing borderlines is applying universal laws based on natural geographical features, such as rivers, seas, marshes and mountains. Precursors of this method believed that the inherent artificiality of borders could find its ideal image and its true origin in the physical barriers created by nature. Over time, rivers have been favorite natural features used to divide lands as international borders. They were considered to be easily recognizable and defensible in practice, and able to bring balance and logic to space (Fall, 1974; Zanini, 1997; Markusse, 1999; Barjak & Heimpold, 2000; Anderson & Bort, 2001; Morehouse, 2004; Jendroszczuk, 2006).

This research focuses on towns split by an international border that is a river. The history of these places is usually very interesting. These places often developed as one organic town for a length of time, sometimes even centuries. Then, as a result of political decisions, the rivers passing through the towns became international borders, dividing societies and urban structures. The two separated town sections needed to start living totally independent lives in a very short period of time. In most cases, the moment of the division was traumatic for the town residents. Some inhabitants had problems accessing basic products necessary to live, such as water and electricity (Council of Europe, 2002).

Nowadays, in a time of globalization, some borders are losing their traditional dividing character and some divided towns have an opportunity to improve cooperation between the split sections. Usually, residents of these places are aware of mutual benefits that the divided places can gain from an improvement of collaboration in different fields, such as spatial planning, culture and economy.

However, there are numerous problems standing in the way of this improvement. For example, different political systems in neighboring countries hamper their relations. Standards of living on opposite riverbanks are different.

Usually, neighboring communities have different cultures and traditions, and they speak different languages. Because of all these barriers, most divided towns do not have a possibility to create one reunited town organism. However, improvements usually can be made (Buursink & Ehlers, 2000; Schultz, 2004; Knippenberg, 2004).

Nowadays, many local decision makers are trying to improve collaboration between divided town sections. In some divided towns, common actions in different fields of cooperation and integration have been undertaken. In the field of spatial planning, some municipalities have tried to create for neighboring residents a place where they can spend time together. For example, projects of international gardens located by border crossings have been implemented. In the field of culture, there have been various kinds of international events organized, such as common concerts and workshops. In the field of social integration, various actions have been undertaken to give the residents of split towns an opportunity to get to know each other, such as common international trips. These actions and their effects are the focus of this study.

1.1. Problem Statement

The quality of cross-border cooperation between the divided town sections is determined to a certain extent by the politics and the economy in the countries where the sections are located (Buursink & Ehlers, 2000). However, this research does not focus directly on the politico-administrative complications and constraints. The study concentrates on issues at the local level that have a direct impact on cooperation between split lands and nations, such as urban planning and cultural cooperation and social integration of local communities. The research is concerned with the way the population experiences the place. The goal is to find out how the residents of divided towns feel about cooperation between the split sections, and what they perceive as barriers and benefits from this cooperation. The main goal of the study, therefore, is to answer the research question: **In towns divided by an international border that is a river, what are the conditions that must be met to achieve a mutually beneficial level of cooperation?**

In order to address the main research question the objectives of this research are:

- ✓ to identify benefits and barriers in cross-border cooperation and integration for local communities
- ✓ to explore a quality of cooperation and an advancement of integration between communities living in the case study place Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Germany-Poland)
- ✓ to find out what impact actions undertaken by local decision makers have on cooperation and integration between the societies of Görlitz and Zgorzelec

1.2. Methodology

According to Perkamann and Sum (2002), border areas are socially constructed spaces that mediate and negotiate the existence of linear demarcations between territories. Because of the nature of this work a case study in Görlitz-Zgorzelec, an old town divided between Germany and Poland since 1945, was chosen and the involvement of residents was sought. The inhabitants shared their knowledge and experiences about living in the divided town. The research methods used in the study requiring public involvement were official and non-official interviews and questionnaires.

This thesis also contains information from sources not requiring public involvement. Academic and non-academic written sources, such as brochures, local newspapers and official websites, were used. Additional knowledge was gained from observations made during the study.

Based on the data collected during the research, a set of four key indicators was created to measure an advancement of cooperation between the divided town sections:

- ✓ indicator in the field of spatial planning: arrangement of an international integration place in the area adjacent to the border crossing,
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: common cultural events,
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: language as a barrier in cross-border relations,
- ✓ indicator in the field of social integration: willingness of divided town communities to cooperate

1.3. Case Study Town

This study focuses on the issues at the local level that have a direct impact on cooperation between the split lands and nations. To minimize the impact of the external barriers, such as politics and economy, it was decided to concentrate on the divided towns located in the EU (European Union), assuming that cross-border cooperation in those places is not significantly harmed by external problems (Newman & Paasi, 1998). The divided town Görlitz-Zgorzelec, located at the boundary between Germany and Poland, was chosen from among dozens (Table 4, p.66) of the potential European sites as a case study location.

The history of the settlement on the land where Görlitz-Zgorzelec is located started in the mid-seventh century. The town changed its nationality a few times, and finally in 1945 the Neisse River passing through the town became an international border line between Germany and Poland. At that moment, the land was split and the two different nations settled into living on opposite sides of the river. For many years, cooperation between the separated lands was hampered by various political, economic, and social factors. Since 2004, when Poland was admitted to the EU, both sections of the divided town have been a part of the European Union territories. Nowadays, the sections of the divided town Görlitz-Zgorzelec have the political and economic possibilities to cooperate and integrate (Meinhof, 2002; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info).

Below, Figure 1 shows Görlitz-Zgorzelec on the map of Europe, and Figure 2 shows a satellite image of the town.



Figure 1 Görlitz-Zgorzelec on the map of Europe (www.alabamamaps.ua.edu)



Figure 2 Satellite image of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (www.wikimapia.org)

1.4. Rationale for Research

Divided towns are a very rich source of information in various fields of knowledge. Some people call them “experimental gardens” of the international cooperation abilities (Buursink & Ehlers, 2000, p.182) or “laboratories” in which researchers can observe the dynamics of spatial and transformational processes (Dürschmidt & Matthiesen, 2002, p.18). As the role of the European borders changes, every year the divided towns located in the EU play increasingly more important roles in international cooperation of the EU countries. They are a kind of symbols of integration between neighboring nations.

The study of divided towns is relatively novel. Many issues have yet to be articulated. Data is missing in fields such as spatial planning cooperation and social integration. However, the existing literature suggests that the improvement of cooperation between the sections of divided towns is possible and useful for the development of these places and for the improvement of EU cooperation in general. It is therefore necessary to investigate and develop knowledge about these places.

The study might be very useful not only for authorities of divided towns, but also for other people involved in collaboration and integration of any international communities. Collecting and analyzing information about international development in divided towns will add to understanding of general cross-border relations (Ehlers, Buursink & Boekema, 2001).

1.5. Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized into six chapters: first, introduction; second, review of literature set in the context of cross-border cooperation in divided towns; third, description of data collection methods and of techniques used to analyze the data; fourth, introduction of findings from the research in four main areas of interest: urban planning, culture, language and social integration; fifth, analysis of these findings; and finally, conclusion of the thesis and outline of directions for future research.

1.6. Summary

The purpose of this study is to collect information about cooperation between residents of divided town sections, mainly in the fields of spatial planning, culture, and social integration. The goal of the research is to combine the knowledge from the literature and from the field research, and to create a base line for future research about the divided towns and life of their inhabitants.

The main research question is: In towns divided by an international border, what are the conditions that must be met to achieve a mutually beneficial level of cooperation?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of the literature review is to introduce the concept of divided towns and to place them in a broader context of cross-border collaboration between the regions and the countries where they are located. In this chapter, international borders, borderlands and different kinds of divisions are introduced, benefits of cross-border cooperation in divided towns are described, barriers in this cooperation are shown; examples of a spatial planning arrangement of areas adjacent to international borders in European towns divided by international borders are shown, and finally the case study town Görlitz-Zgorzelec located on the German-Polish border is introduced.

2.1. Borders, Borderlands and Divisions

Borders and borderlands are very interesting places from a research perspective. Over the last few years, they have become increasingly popular in the work of a wide range of academics and intellectuals including journalists, novelists, poets, artists and social scientists (Donnan & Wilson, 1999). The study of borders is rapidly developing as one of the major areas of interest for scholars of the European integration (Walters, 2004).

Here, various definitions of an international border are introduced, different characteristics of town divisions by borders are shown, an impact of globalization on characteristics of the borders and the borderlands is explained, a concept of natural borders is introduced, and towns divided by natural borders are introduced and their role in the uniting Europe is explained.

2.1.1. Definitions of International Border

The literature provides many definitions of international borders. Geographers define them as “physical and highly visible lines of separation between political, social and economic spaces (Newman, 2006, p.144).” For anthropologists and sociologists, Newman goes on to say, international borders are abstract lines of “separation between the ‘us’ and the ‘them’, the ‘here’ and the ‘there’ (p.154).” Historians see international borders as reminders of the past. For them, the borders are the products of previous conquests, invasions, or movements of population. Any redefinition or transformation of the borders is an engagement with the past (O’Down & Wilson, 1996).

There are also other researchers, such as economists and international lawyers. All of them have their own definition of an international border (Newman, 2006).

2.1.2. Impact of Globalization on International Borders and Borderlands

This section describes the impact of globalization on international borders and borderlands. The traditional role of an international border is to secure territories by regulating an entry of people, goods, resources and communications deemed illegal or undesirable (Morehouse, 2004). However, over the last few years, in many places, the process of globalization, considered often as the primary motivator of the contemporary history, has changed the role of many international borders. Depending on the advancement of the globalization, the borders can be “bridges” or “doors”, “gateways” or “barriers” (Simmel, quoted in Dürrschmidt, 2006, p.245).

Nowadays, most international borders in Europe are the points of contact and cooperation. In some places, the borders are becoming so porous that they no longer fulfill their historical role as barriers (Monnesland & Westlund, 2000). Distance and place do not seem to be as important as they were in the past (Paasi, 2001). In recent years, concepts such as borderless economies, global villages,

cross-boundary collaboration, bi-nationalism, and multiculturalism became popular (Morehouse, 2004). Many border regions are the places where people share values, ideas, customs and traditions of their counterparts across the boundary line. Because of the continuous presence of the “others” living on the other side of the border, borderlands construct very specific identities of people (Meinhof, 2003, p.783). As a consequence of cross-border cooperation, sometimes it happens that the patterns of the neighboring societies are significantly different from the patterns of the two neighboring nations (Donnan & Wilson, 1999; Dürrschmidt, 2006).

2.1.3. Different Characteristics of Town Divisions by Borders

Characteristics of international borders depend on political relations between neighboring countries and their economic situations. Also, they depend on many social values that have impact on the bordering societies, such as cultural, religious and ethnic diversity. Below, two towns are introduced: Nicosia (Cyprus) and Berlin (Germany). Although both these towns, at some point of their history, were divided by what were essentially international borders, the characteristics of these borders were very different.

Nicosia (Cyprus)

During its history, Cyprus was controlled by various groups of people, such as Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Venetians, Turks, Greeks, and British. However, the influence of the Greeks and the Turks has remained the most significant for the history of the island.

The Greeks began settling the island in approximately 1500 BC. In 1571 AD., the island was annexed by the Turkey, who brought people from the Turkish mainland to settle there. In 1878, the British took control of the island. By then, the Turkish and the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus had begun to demonstrate notable differences. The identities of the groups were firmly rooted in different

heritage, culture, language, religion and ethnic practices of their motherlands. That is mainly why for a long time the land was a place of numerous internal conflicts (Webster & Timothy, 2006).

In 1974, the Turkish army invaded Cyprus and partitioned it. The newly created border divided the island, passing through one of its main towns called Nicosia. Until today, Northern Nicosia belongs to the Turkish Cypriots and Southern Nicosia belongs to the Greek Cypriots. The buffer zone was created by the United Nations, functioning as a major barrier between these groups (Webster & Timothy, 2006).

For many years, the neighboring nationals were not permitted to cross to the opposite side of the border. The political situation changed entirely in 2003, when the border was open for travel by Cypriots from both sides. However, although the political characteristics of the border have changed, many Cypriots still refuse to cross the border. Nearly half of the Greek population has not crossed into the Turkish part of Cyprus for a variety of reasons, including moral barriers, ethical constraints, nationalistic reasoning and a simple lack of interest. There is a lot of historical tension between the two groups and it might be very hard to encourage them to improve the cross-border cooperation (Webster & Timothy, 2006).

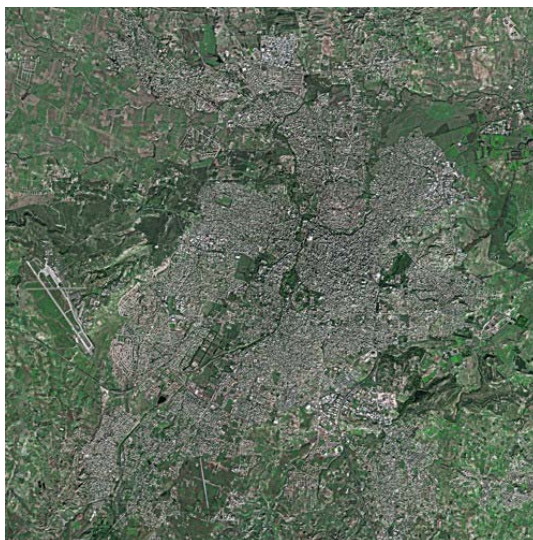


Figure 3 Satellite image of Nicosia (wikimapia.org)

Berlin (Germany)

Before the Second World War, Berlin was a well-developed German city. After the War, Germany was divided into the Western Zone occupied by the victorious allies, and the Soviet Zone. For more than 45 years, Berlin was divided and was on the frontline of the escalating “Cold War” between the West and the USSR. West Berlin was a part of Federal Republic of Germany, and East Berlin was the capital city of the German Democratic Republic. The internal administrative line, called the “Berlin Wall”, was created in the city as an international border with the stringent military control. Figure 4 shows the satellite image of Berlin with the location of the Berlin wall.



Figure 4 Berlin – satellite image with Berlin wall (yellow line) (wikimapia.org)

In November 1989, after several weeks of civil unrest in Berlin and other parts of Germany, the East German government announced that all GDR citizens could visit West Germany. At that time, crowds of East Germans streamed through breaches in the Berlin Wall and marched into Western Berlin. The Berlin Wall was removed. In December 1989, the Brandenburg Gate was opened, symbolizing the end of the European division.

Since 1989, Berlin is again developing as one city. As the 25 years of the division had mainly a political character, there are not many social problems in cooperation between the inhabitants of the Western and the Eastern parts of the town. The people living on opposite sides of the border have a common language, culture, traditions and a historical background. After the border was open, there was much willingness and curiosity among the inhabitants, encouraging them to cross the border (Webster & Timothy, 2006). Most problems in cooperation between the Eastern and Western parts of the town had an economic character (Pounds, 1962; Ritter & Hajdu, 1989; Barjak & Heimpold, 2000; Meinhoff, 2002).

2.1.4. Natural Borders

The process of creating an international border is naturally related to the division of land and space. One of the historical methods of drawing borderlines was applying universal laws based on the natural geographical features, such as rivers, forests, moorland and mountains. The idea of dividing space by natural features rested on a deterministic view that topography should influence political organization. Many authorities believed that the natural borders, easily recognizable and defensible in practice, can bring balance and logic to the maps (Fall, 1974; Zanini, 1997; Markusse, 1999; Morehouse, 2004).

Natural barriers have been used to divide spaces since ancient times. For example, rivers and mountains in the Roman Empire were used to show its natural limits. In late 16th century, the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine River were used as natural frontiers describing the French territory. In the 18th century, the concept of natural borders found favor in the Napoleonic idea of using particularly rivers as frontiers. In the 20th century, in the final stages of the Second World War, when the shape of the postwar European order was discussed and negotiated by the world powers, the planners were hoping to improve the territorial order in Europe by recognizing the natural boundaries between

nations. The idea of natural borders became a central point of discussions at Teheran (1943), Yalta (1945), and Potsdam (1945), where the decisions about the new European borders were made (Strab, quoted in Fall, 1974; Anderson & Bort, 2001; Ingham & Ingham, 2002).

Over time, the idea of using natural features to divide lands seemed to be quite popular. However, it was learned that natural borderlines have many disadvantages. They do not guarantee the precision of the boundary. Natural lines constituting the borderlines can be changeable. For example, rivers change their flows on the time scale of human lifetimes. But what seems to be more important, the idea of using natural features does not seem to be consistent enough to be used for such an important decision as dividing national spaces (Fall, 1974; Anderson & Bort, 2001). In practice, human settlement has never been tidily distributed according to these natural features, and the borders do not prevent the movement and settlement of people across the topographic features (Anderson & Bort, 2001).

2.1.5. Towns Divided by Natural Borders and Their Role in Uniting Europe

Traditionally, rivers have been favorite features used as natural borderlines (Morehouse, 2004). However, since the earliest times riverbanks also have functioned as preferred locations for settlement and places linking people together. As a result of these contradictory roles of some rivers, the bilateral agreements or political decisions turning the rivers into international borders have interfered with their natural role as the places of settlement. In some places, the newly created borders divided towns spreading on both riverbanks, together with people organized in communities (Jendroszczyk, 2006).

Drawing the border line on the rivers passing through the towns was combined with many traumatic moments for their residents. In most cases, the division meant the destruction of the infrastructural unity, such as a system of roads, schools and hospitals, which was often built up over many generations. New houses needed to be built in a short time to let the residents of the separated

sections function normally. In some cases, people were forced to leave their families and properties and move to the other side of a newly created frontier. Sometimes new people, who were previously living in totally different locations, replaced them (Schultz, 2004).

Figure 5 shows a schematic example of a typical town divided by an international border.

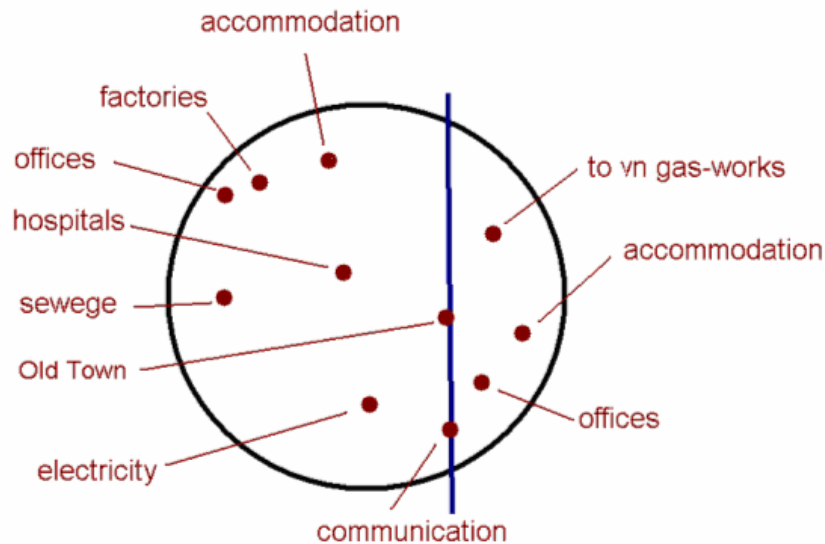


Figure 5 Schematic example of town divided by an international border (personal sources)

Nowadays, some European divided towns play a significant role in the process of improving international relations in the EU. Because of their history and location, they are perceived as natural symbols of European integration. The attempt to reunite the split places, or at least to improve cooperation between them, is a reflection of relationships between neighboring countries (Schultz, 2004).

Below, benefits from cross-border cooperation in divided towns are described.

2.2. Benefits from Cross-Border Cooperation in Divided Towns

Cross-border cooperation is grounded on the perception that it brings mutual advantages for the neighboring regions (Council of Europe, 1993; O'Dowd & Wilson, 1996). In this part of the section, the benefits in three fields are introduced: local economy, spatial planning, and culture.

2.2.1. Benefits in Local Economy

In the moment of division, divided towns became peripheral places, generally less prosperous and less developed compared to the core regions of the countries. Very often in peripheral locations, the physical infrastructure is missing or is not sufficient to compete with the core regions. The border splits economically the markets of trade, investment, and employment. The total demand for goods and services is reduced. At the same time, the high costs of transportation do not allow the businesses located in the borderlands to enlarge their sales area further inland. Because of the economic difficulties, people living near international borders tend to have a lower level of income per capita than those living in inland regions. Moreover, the people are usually distanced not only from the main centers of economic activity, but also from political decision-making (Baker, 1996; van Houtum, 2000; Barjak & Heimpold, 2000).

Cross-border economic cooperation can be very helpful in resolving the peripheral location problems in divided towns. For example, by the improvement of cross-border networking the authorities of bordering regions can search for stronger regional autonomy, greater local power and decision making (Baker, 1996). Geenhuizen, Knaap and Nijkamp (1996) saw the power of trans-boundary cooperation in an exchange of technological knowledge, cost reduction, and an increase of efficiency. According to Paasi (1996), the overall objective of strengthening international relations on the borders is to allow people, goods and capital to move freely across the international boundaries.

Figure 6 shows the dependence of the local economy, particularly the strength of the labor market, on transborder collaboration. In many places in Europe, labor market is one of the chief motives to cooperate. The cross-border commuting enables the local residents to obtain access to a more varied selection of jobs. People have a possibility to keep their place of residence in their own country and work across the border (Baker, 1996; Janssen, 2000; Hansen & Nahrstedt, 2000; van Houtum, 2000).

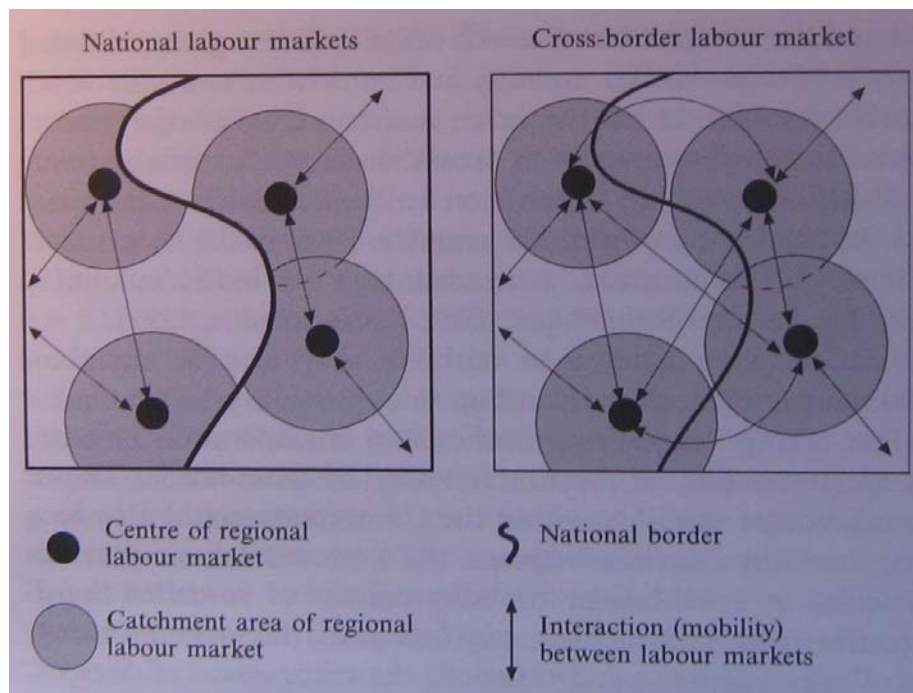


Figure 6 Dependence of labor market on cross-border cooperation (Janssen, 2000, p.49)

The difference in prices for particular goods and services on opposite sides of borders are usually the main reason for the so-called “shopping tourism” to appear. For example, this phenomenon appeared immediately on the long-closed border between Western and Eastern Europe after it was opened in 1991. The so-called “bazaar economy” developed very quickly in these areas (Kratke, 1999, p.633). The residents of both sides of the border were providing their small-scale retail services in the second-class buildings and tents. The most popular products for exchange in these times were cigarettes, alcohol, and petrol

(Werner, Nekvapil, Scherm & Tiserova, 2003, p.821; Baker, 1996; Ingham & Ingham, 2002; Dürschmidt, 2006; Jendroszczyk, 2006).

Nowadays, although the price differences have been somehow reduced in many border places in Europe, shopping tourism is still popular. For example, in the divided town Komarno-Komarom (Hungary-Slovakia), the attractive prices of alcoholic drinks on one side of the border still attract the residents from the opposite borderland to visit the neighboring restaurants and pubs (Werner, Nekvapil, Scherm & Tiserova, 2003; Schultz, 2004). Also in the divided town Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Germany-Poland) shopping tourism is still popular in both directions. For the residents of Görlitz, an opportunity to shop in Poland helps to stretch the comparatively low incomes of the East German borderlanders. At the same time, some particular articles, such as high-quality clothes, are cheaper in Germany than in Poland, which encourages the Poles to cross the border (Wastl-Walter, Varadi & Veider, 2003; Dürschmidt, 2006).

Some bordering towns benefit from economic trans-border collaboration by joint management of public services, which gives them an opportunity to save their money. For example, the divided sections of Baarle/Hertog-Baarle/Nassau (Belgium-Netherlands) share the costs of waterworks and gasworks, as well as street cleaning and refuse disposal. They also link fire fighting services and sewage plant utilities. The split town Guben-Gubin (Germany-Poland) has a common sewage treatment plan. The tri-national town of Basel (Germany-France-Switzerland) shares delivery of electricity and some medical services. Public health offices of Frankfurt/Oder-Słubice (Germany-Poland) exchange information on a regular base about infectious diseases, and about outbreaks. The authorities of these split sections work together to prevent HIV/ AIDS (Lubuski Komitet Europejski, 1999; Schultz, 2004; Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006).

2.2.2. Benefits in Spatial Planning

Nowadays, many borderlands in Europe are frontier-free areas, and many towns divided by international borders have a possibility to improve their cooperation in the field on spatial planning. A common spatial development of these places can bring them a lot of benefits. For example, creating jointly elaborated and harmonized procedures for spatial planning can help the authorities of divided towns to identify appropriate strategies and to propose measures to implement them. Additionally, the spatial planning collaboration gives the opportunities for the neighboring lands to complement one another. For example, the housing market has a great potential to influence the flow between the border commuters. Sometimes, on one side of the border the flats are being unused, and on the other side there are not enough of these (Council of Europe, 1993; Baker, 1996; Hansen & Nahrstedt, 2000; Holly, Nekvapil, Scherm & Deserve, 2003).

2.2.3. Benefits in Culture

Usually, cultures of nations living on opposite sides of the border differ from each other. These differences can be favored means of gaining competitive advantages (Griffiths, 2006). According to Morehouse (2004, p.6), cultures of communities living by international borders are characterized by “values, language, traditions, and practices of their home country, but mixed to a greater or lesser extent with cultural elements of the neighboring country.”

One of the main benefits from cultural cooperation is an opportunity to exchange cultural values across the border. For example, both sections of the divided town Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Germany-Poland) are very rich in various styles of music performances. Görlitz can be proud of its New Lausitz Philharmony and local choirs. At the same time, Zgorzelec can be proud of the Zgorzelec Mandolin Orchestra and the annual Polish Festival of Greek Music organized annually in Zgorzelec which are popular in many European countries.

Undoubtedly, a musical exchange can enrich these divided communities (Schultz, 2004; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005).

Trans-border cultural activities are one of the most dynamic tools in strengthening their regional identity. Gathering the neighboring societies on international events appears to be very important for improvement of their relations. In many divided towns, various cultural events, such as concerts and art workshops, are being organized. In some divided towns, the international events have already an annual character. For example, in Cieszyn-Český Těšín (Poland-Czech Republic) the so-called “Movie Festival of Three Borders” has been taking place for over ten years (Constantin & Rautz, 2003).

Some authors point out sport activities as very beneficial in integrating the local communities. The greatest strength of the sport activities is that they do not require from residents of divided towns an ability to communicate in this same language. In some places, sport events are already inscribed to the history of divided towns. For example, for many years, an international street-run in Komarom-Komarno brings together many residents from both sides of the border (Perkamann & Sum, 2002). In some divided towns, sport facilities are already shared across the border. For example, a swimming pool in Tui-Valença (Spain-Portugal), located on the Spanish part of the border, is frequently visited by 70% of the Portuguese residents of the divided town (Council of Europe, 2002; Schultz, 2004).

Divided towns can gain many financial benefits from cultural networking. First, collaboration between cultural institutions such as museums or art galleries can help in saving their money (Anderson & Bort, 2001; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). Second, sharing cultural facilities between the divided sections might be very useful for them. For example, Görlitz City Hall (Germany) is one of the best concert halls in Germany, and at the same time, Zgorzelec (Poland) has one of the best amphitheatres in the region. Sharing these facilities can bring profits for both sections of the divided town (Schultz, 2004).

2.3. Barriers in Cooperation in Divided Towns

In this part of the section, barriers in cooperation in divided towns in four fields are introduced: economy, special planning, language, and social integration.

2.3.1. Economic Barriers

Cross-border economic development is perceived as the single most important obstacle to flourishing of transfrontier collaboration. However, at the same time there are various kinds of economic barriers characterizing frontier areas, such as different standards of living, different currencies and lack of possibilities to work on the other side of the border (Anderson & Bort, 2001; Council of Europe, 2002).

Different standards of living of societies residing on opposite sides of international borders can have a strong impact on their cooperation abilities. When looking across the border, the neighboring communities look across a “socio-economic fault-line (Meinhof, 2003, p.789)”, dividing the richer society from the poorer one (Barjak & Heimpold, 2000). On many borders, the economic differences created so called “economic culture (Anderson & Bort, 2001, p.26).” Inhabitants living on opposite sides of the border have “different system of values and different habitual ways of doing things in domain of economy (p.26)”.

The next problem on the borders is that many neighboring countries use different currency. For example, currency differences appear to be problematic on the German-Polish border. In Germany, the Euro has been official currency since 1999; however, even though Poland has been a part of the EU since 2004, the official currency is still the Złoty (Buursink & Ehlers, 2000). Elimination of the costs of currency transactions might be very beneficial for the cross-border collaboration (Ingham & Ingham, 2002).

One of the greatest barriers in cross-border cooperation between some European divided towns is lack of the possibility for local residents to work on the other side of the border. Although opening the labor markets generally seems

to be mutually beneficial for the residents of many bordering towns in Europe, very often international relations, differences in national economies and law do not give them this possibility (Baker, 1996; Janssen, 2000; Hansen & Nahrstedt, 2000).

2.3.2. Barriers in Spatial Planning

There are numerous spatial planning problems in cross-border cooperation in divided towns. Below, problems such as urban inequalities and legal differences are mentioned.

Urban inequalities are usually direct results of different historical development of the divided town sections. In many places, for several centuries, the older part of the town developed on one bank of the river and the opposite bank was settled only as a suburb of the town. Then, after the division the suburb portion was transformed to an independent municipality. As a result, the split sections are sometimes unequal in size and wealth. Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Germany-Poland) can serve as an example of the inequalities. Although for many centuries both banks of the river were developing as one municipality, the most splendid architecture and infrastructure stayed on the present German side of the border river. Today, Görlitz is considered to be one of the most beautiful architectural treasures in Germany. It is a “giant open air museum (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005, p.49)”, containing 3600 culturally protected houses. From the architectural perspective, Zgorzelec is undoubtedly poorer than Görlitz (Kordan, 1997; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005).

Urban inequalities can influence relations between communities living on opposite sides of divided towns. When collaborating, the more developed municipality may put the smaller one to a role of a commuter-town. For example, the development of Kehl, the German town that historically was a province of Strasbourg (France), is very dependant on its powerful neighbor. Strasbourg – the seat of several European institutions such as the Council of Europe and the European Parliament – attracts businessmen and tourists to the area, which has

a direct impact on local economy in Kehl. Undoubtedly, cross-border cooperation is very beneficial for Kehl. However, the decisions about this cooperation are being made mainly by the Strasbourg authorities (Buursink, 1994; Ehlers, 2001; Schultz, 2004).

In many border places, legal and administrative differences can also make cross-border spatial planning cooperation difficult. For example, in some places, such as borderlands between the old and the new EU participants, implementing spatial planning projects can be hampered by different systems of national planning and different building codes on opposite sides of the border (Orjol, 2006).

2.3.3. Language Barriers

Common language on both sides of the national border is a great opportunity for collaboration between border communities. It encourages the residents to cross the border, and gives the local authorities a possibility to establish direct contacts. Irun/ Hondarribia-Hendaye (Spain-France) is an example of the divided town where the split communities use a common language. They communicate in a Basque idiom that is officially recognized by authorities of both countries. Tornio-Haparanda (Finland-Sweden) is brought as the next example. In this place, native people living in both divided sections communicate fluently in a Finnish Meänkieli dialect (Council of Europe, 2002; Schultz, 2004).

Regardless of these few examples, most EU countries are characterized by the linguistic diversity, which constrain the degree of cooperation and social integration (Anderson & Bort, 2001; Schultz, 2004; Newman, 2006). Additionally, language differences are sometimes combined with attitude problems on the borders. For example, according to Anderson and Bort (2001) the Germans and the Poles living on the border do not like the language of their neighbors. For the Germans, Polish has a kind of rustle-whispering sound. Many Germans stated that they are not really able to repeat correctly even one word in Polish. At the same time, for the Poles the German language is indelicate

and rigid. These kinds of problems may prevent the local communities from learning or trying to communicate in the language of the neighbors.

Although the EU puts a lot of attention to resolving the language problems, language diversity is still a social phenomenon that remains very difficult to cross (Carli & Guardiano, 2003). One of the main language problems in Europe is that the EU lacks the legal instruments to shape a European language regime. There are numerous regulations that have been enacted to protect minority languages, although as yet not many regulations to enhance linguistic coordination were made. The language of each member states has its official status, but only English and French function as the languages of the EU bureaucracy (Knippenberg, 2004).

Anderson and Bort (2001) see the power of the English language, the “dominant international language of diplomacy, international institutions, science, commerce, finance and transport (p.50).” The idea of setting one common language of communication between the EU counties forces international communities to learn another language, and to make translations from the language they think in. In practice, both societies would use simpler sentences to understand each other. Although the usefulness of English as an international language seems to be very obvious, there are some fears that the phenomenon might have a negative impact on national cultures as it can eliminate the use of native languages.

2.3.4. Barriers in Social Integration

There are many psychological barriers hampering the process of cooperation and social integration in divided towns. The residents of the split sections feel different from the ones living on the opposite riverbank. Some authors argued that the split societies “live next to each other rather than with each other (Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005, p.56).” Below, the psychological barriers that have a historical and crime backgrounds, and the problems with

stereotypes are described. Later, actions undertaken by the EU to decrease the barriers in social integration and results of these actions are mentioned.

Many psychological problems have their background in the history of the divisions. For example, people living on the German-Polish border feel mutually hurt by historical events. In 1945, the Nazi Germany lost the war, and the Eastern border between Germany and Poland was moved further westwards from its pre-war alignment. It was decided to draw the new border line on the course of the rivers Oder and Neisse. The Eastern part of the riverbanks was given to Poland, and the Western part remained in hands of Germany. For a long time, the resettled Germans were hoping to return to their former homes. At the same time, the Poles who settled in the post-German regions believed for a long time that their stay in the place was temporary. They feared a revision of the border and the return of the Germans. In 1970 the Federal Republic of Germany formally recognized Neisse River as a boundary line between Germany and Poland. Since then, it was possible to observe some improvements in relations between the Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents. However, until today both communities have some problems with identifying themselves with their own places. Sporadic Polish fears are voiced that the Germans may return to reclaim their property. Some other Poles presume that after creation of an appropriate law the foreigners will seek to buy up land in Poland (Anderson & Bort, 2001; Meinhof, 2002; Meinhof & Galasiński, 2002; Meinhof, 2003; Wastl-Walter, Varadi & Veider, 2003; Wood, 2004; Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005).

The next psychological barrier that might be noticeable in divided towns is crime. For example, after political changes in Eastern Europe in the 1990's there were many smuggling and theft problems on the German-Polish border. The border was termed publicly and repeatedly a "crime zone (Anderson & Bort, 2001, p.4)." According to statistics from 1995, there were 3000 stolen German cars seized in Poland, representing value of \$37 million (Anderson & Bort, 2001). Popular illegally traded goods were drugs, cigarettes and alcohol. Nowadays, there are only insignificant crime problems on the German-Polish border, and the crime rates are still decreasing. However, it is hard for the residents to forget

about their fears from the past (Wastl-Walter, Varadi & Veider, 2003; Schultz, 2004). According to Meinhof (2002), there is more fear of crossing the border among the Germans than there is among the Poles. The author stated that “Zgorzelec seems to be much further away from the people of Görlitz than Görlitz is for their Polish neighbors (p.133).” In 2003, Wastl-Walter, Varadi and Veider wrote that the Germans are still afraid of their Eastern neighbors, and many of them still preserve arrogant and negative attitudes towards the residents of Poland. In 2005, Galasińska and Galasiński stated that the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec are still concerned for their safety and not enthusiastic about relaxing near the frontier area. According to Dürrschmidt (2006, p.142), this “low trust environment” is a serious developmental blockage with regard to the emergence of cross-border cooperation.

The relations between neighboring societies are also hampered by stereotypes about people living on the other side of the border. International neighbors perceive themselves through the experiences and observations of their ancestors. For example, the Germans living by the German-Polish border imagine the Poles as Catholics who drink a lot of vodka and are not organized. At the same time, the Germans are considered to have beer-bellies, to be organized, punctual and very hard-working (Paasi, 1996).

Over the last decades, the EU has become increasingly involved in reinforcing the solidarity and openness between neighboring communities and in breaking down the traditional barriers of national suspicion between the people living on opposite sides of international borders. A lot of networking programs were sponsored, such as cultural exchanges, joint curriculum development for regional universities, vocational training, local social services and public agency networking. Many multilevel institutions were created, supporting the cross-border actions (Geenhuizen, Knaap & Nijkamp, 1996; Wilson, 1996; Scott, 1999; Perkmann, 1999). However, in spite of all these efforts in many regions in Europe the cross-border social relations are still falling short of their development aspirations. The removal of the social barriers seems to be very hard, and the effects of integration are relatively low when seen from a larger perspective

(Scott, 1999; Dürrschmidt, 2006). Additionally, the phenomenon of cross-border integration needs to be observed not only from the side of local authorities, but also from the side of the residents. Sometimes their perceptions are very different, and even though the municipal staff and elected people have a plan to improve cross-border networking, the inhabitants still do not perceive the cooperation as visibly beneficial for them (Perkmann, 1999; Ehlers, Buursink & Boekema, 2001).

2.4. Examples of Cross Border Spatial Planning Cooperation Around Europe: Arrangement of Riverbanks in Towns Divided by International Border that is a River

Areas adjacent to border crossings in divided towns are very important for the perception of trans-border cooperation among the residents. Border surroundings are a kind of continuum between neighboring spaces. Because of the international character of these places, a great many factors need to be considered when creating plans for their arrangement (Buursink, 2001; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). Border surroundings should assure safety and comfort to the inhabitants, give them an opportunity to spend time together and to exchange their experiences (Geenhuizen, Knaap & Nijkamp, 1996). Zawada (2002) suggested that there should be a variety of facilities located in the direct neighborhood of border crossings so the residents of divided towns profit from visiting these places. Premius and Zonneveld (2004) brought into the frame a necessity to locate in these areas the occupational patterns of housing, employment, shopping and recreation facilities. Geenhuizen, Knaap and Nijkamp (1996) emphasized the importance of cultural values that need to be brought in when planning the arrangement of these places.

In the last few years, there were many different urban planning initiatives undertaken to arrange the areas adjacent to border crossings in divided towns. Various ideas appeared, such as creating an international garden spreading on

both sides of the border, building an international university campus on both riverbanks, building a town centre on the border line, and revitalizing the historical part of the town located by the river. Below, some examples of these arrangements in divided towns around Europe are mentioned and then summarized in Table 1. The data presented in this part of the chapter comes from literature and from internet sources.

2.4.1. International Town Centre

Authorities in some divided towns decided to connect the divided lands of their towns by building business and shopping centers on both banks of the border river. Their idea was to attract international businessmen to offices located on the border, and additionally to gather the residents in shopping centers (Geenhuizen, Knaap & Nijkamp, 1996).

- **Tornio-Haparanda (Finland-Sweden)**

In Tornio-Haparanda, a futuristic downtown entitled “At Boundary” has been located on the banks of the Torne River. The construction started in 2005. Now, the development consists of hotels, restaurants, shops and business offices. It also combines infrastructure for the town authorities, police, fire brigade and local communities (Ehlers, 2001; Waits, 2001; Schultz, 2004).

2.4.2. International University

According to Schultz (2002), there is a great role for educational institutions in improving cross-border networking in divided towns. Schools and universities can create an opportunity for neighboring societies to communicate, exchange their ideas and share their knowledge. These are also good places for the border residents to learn the language of their neighbors, and to experience their culture and traditions.

- **Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice (Germany-Poland)**

In 1991, realizing the importance of educational institutions in improving trans-border cooperation, the authorities of the divided town Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice (Germany-Poland) opened the European Viadrina University. The international university offers learning programs shared between both sides of the border, and brings together the professors and students from Germany, Poland and other countries (Buursink, 2001; Ingham & Ingham, 2002; Schultz, 2004).

The student campus spreads on both banks of the Oder River. Before Poland signed the Schengen Treaty giving the German and Polish citizens an opportunity to freely cross the border. This was very important for the daily commuting since the international campus was supplying special permits for the university students and staff allowing them to bypass the long lines on the German-Polish border (Schultz, 2004; European Viadrina University: www.euv-frankfurt-o.de). Figure 7 provides 3D visualization of the border area arrangement in Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice. Figure 8 shows a photograph of the campus made after the implementation of the project.



Figure 7 3D visualization of border area arrangement in Frankfurt/ Oder-Słubice (European Viadrina University: www.euv-frankfurt-o.de)



Figure 8 Photograph of European Viadrina University in Frankfurt/ Oder-Slubice (European Viadrina University: www.euv-frankfurt-o.de)

2.4.3. International Park

Creating an international park spreading on both sides of border-rivers seems to be the most common idea to arrange cross-border areas in divided towns. Below, five international parks are introduced.

- **Strasbourg-Kehl (France-Germany)**

One of the most popular international parks connecting two divided town sections is the “Two Shores Garden.” Created in 2004, it connects the two banks of the Rhine River in Strasbourg-Kehl. Because of the very representative role of Strasbourg in the EU, as the seat of the Council of Europe, the Eurocorps, the European Parliament and the European Ombudsman, the international park is promoted by authorities of Strasbourg-Kehl not only as a symbol of friendship between the divided sections, but also as a symbol of integrating Europe (Dürschmidt & Matthiesen, 2002; Zenderowski, 2002).

The sixty hectare garden has a symbolic shape of the EU logo. The circular area of the park is surrounded by stars of water and waterfalls. A central point of the complex is a modern footbridge for pedestrians and cyclist traffic.

From the social perspective, the creation of the Two Shores Garden appears to be very successful. The park is visited by many residents from

Strasbourg-Kehl and by foreign guests. Numerous cultural events are organized in the park on a regular basis (Orjol, 2006; www.france-for-visitors.com).



Figure 9 Plan of Two Shores Garden (www.france-for-visitors.com)



Figure 10 Satellite image of Two Shores Garden (www.wikimapia.org)



Figure 11 View on pedestrian bridge in Two Shores Garden (www.france-for-visitors.com)



Figure 12 Entertainment areas in Two Shores Garden (www.france-for-visitors.com)

- **Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín (Poland-Czech Republic)**

Based on the knowledge and experience of authorities from Strasbourg-Kehl, in 2005 the Municipalities of the divided town Cieszyn-Český Tešín created a project similar to the Two Shores Garden, called “Enjoy Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín – Park of Two Banks.” In 2006, the project was introduced to the residents of the town. Bilingual billboards appeared on both sides of the Polish-Czech border with the information: “The time has come to reunite Cieszyn and Český Tešín – one town divided by the international border river. Joined Municipalities of the divided town Cieszyn-Český Tešín introduce a common project called ‘Enjoy Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín – Park of Two Banks’ aiming to bind the two riverbanks together.” The whole new complex should be built by the end of 2010 (Municipality of Cieszyn & Municipality of Český Tešín; 2006).

Figures 13 -15 introduce Enjoy Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín – Park of Two Banks.

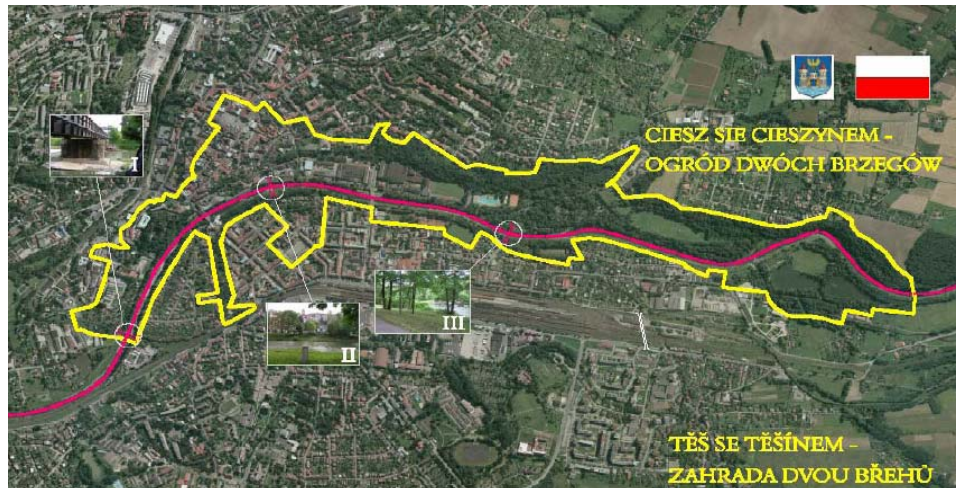
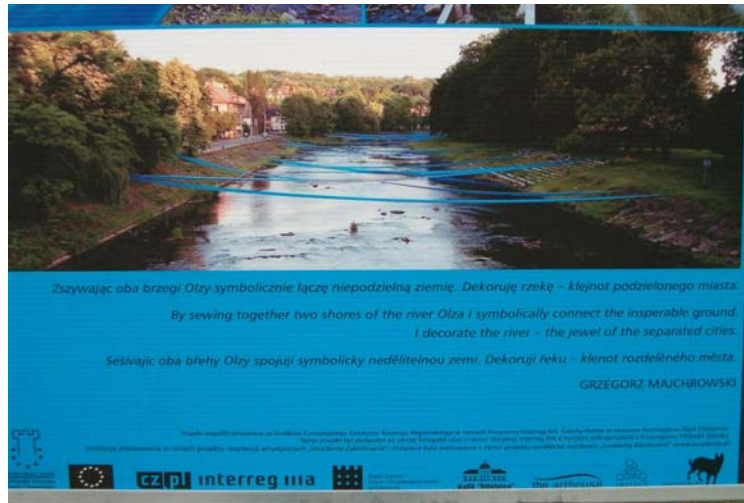


Figure 13 Area of the project Enjoy Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín – Park of Two Banks (Municipality of Cieszyn & Municipality of Český Tešín; 2006)



“By sewing together two shores of the river Olza I symbolically connect the inspirable ground.
I decorate the river – the jewel of the separated cities” – G. Majchrowski, artist
 (text from the poster)

Figure 14 Art exhibitions on Olze River – symbolic connection of two divided banks (private source)

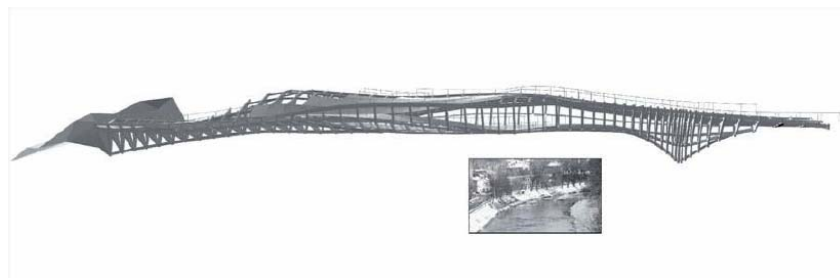


Figure 15 3D visualization of pedestrian bridge planned to be built in Cieszyn-Ceský Tešín (Municipality of Cieszyn & Municipality of Ceský Tešín; 2006)

- **Irún/ Hondarribia-Hendaye (Spain-France) and Guben-Gubin (Germany-Poland)**

A few years ago, a promenade was built in the divided town Irún/ Hondarribia-Hendaye, connecting the recreation areas spreading on the banks of the Bidasoa River, on the Spanish-French border. This promenade connects not only the riverbanks, but also combines them with an international island located on the river (Schultz, 2004).

A very similar promenade, also connecting the riverbanks and the island, was built in the divided town Guben-Gubin, on the Oder River, as a part of the project entitled the “Euro-town Guben-Gubin (Euroregion Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr, 1999).”

- **Tornio-Haparanda (Finland-Sweden)**

The authorities of the divided town Tornio-Haparanda had slightly different idea of using natural resources to connect the divided banks of the Torne River: the Finnish and Swedish banks were connected by the first international golf course (Ehlers, 2001).

2.4.4. Connecting the Riverbanks in Their History

In some divided towns, the authorities decided to integrate residents by bringing the historical character back to the border crossing. Below, two examples of these kinds of projects are introduced: in Komarno-Komarom (Slovakia-Hungary) and in Tui-Valença (Spain-Portugal). Later, the second part of Chapter 4 describes in detail how the authorities of the case study town Görlitz-Zgorzelec connected the Neisse riverbanks in their history.

- **Komarom-Komarno (Slovakia-Hungary)**

In 2000, the project called the “Europe Centre” was implemented in Komarno-Komarom. The idea was to create a complex combining newly

renovated historical buildings with new futuristic ones. Now, the revitalization of the border crossing area is considered by residents of Komarno-Komarom to be very successful (Schultz, 2004)

- **Tui-Valença (Spain-Portugal)**

Reconstruction and preservation of historical infrastructure in Tui-Valença was on the top of the agenda of the divided town authorities. Common heritage was promoted as an element binding two neighboring lands. A few years ago, the old bridge originally designed by Gustave Eiffel was reconstructed. Today, it connects the Spanish and the Portuguese banks of the Minho River. Together with an implementation of this project, Tui and Valença have applied as one town for recognition on the UNESCO list of the World Cultural Heritage sites (Schultz, 2004).

2.4.5. Conclusion

Table 1 placed below summarizes the ideas of an arrangement of areas adjacent to border crossings in divided towns.

International Park	Strasbourg - Kehl
	Cieszyn - Český Těšín
	Tornio - Haparanda (golf course)
	Gubin - Guben (common island)
	Irún/ Hondarribia - Hendaye (common island)
International University	Słubice - Frankfurt/ Oder
Business Centre	Tornio - Haparanda
Rebuilding/ Restoration of a Heritage Infrastructure	Komarno - Komarom (combining heritage buildings with futuristic ones)
	Tui - Valencia (rebuilding of the Old Bridge)
	Görlitz - Zgorzelec (revitalization of the Old Town)

Table 1 Different ideas for arrangement of areas adjacent to border crossings in divided towns

2.5. Case Study Town Görlitz-Zgorzelec

This section introduces the case study town Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Germany-Poland) in two parts: first, general information about the town is provided; second, a synopsis of the divided town Görlitz-Zgorzelec, subscribed in a history of the region it is located and of the two neighboring countries is described.

2.5.1. General Information about Görlitz-Zgorzelec

Görlitz-Zgorzelec is located on the border between Germany and Poland, and between Western and Central Europe. The town is located on the 15th meridian, the Eastern longitude, which serves as a guideline for the Central European Time. Table 2 gathers general information about both sections of the divided town (Meinhof, 2002; Municipality of Görlitz: www.goerlitz.de; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info).

	Görlitz	Zgorzelec
Country	Germany	Poland
Location	Saxony	Lower Silesia
Area [km²]	67.20	16.00
Population	65,000	40,000
Language	German	Polish
Language Family	West Germanic	West Slavic

Table 2 General information about Görlitz-Zgorzelec

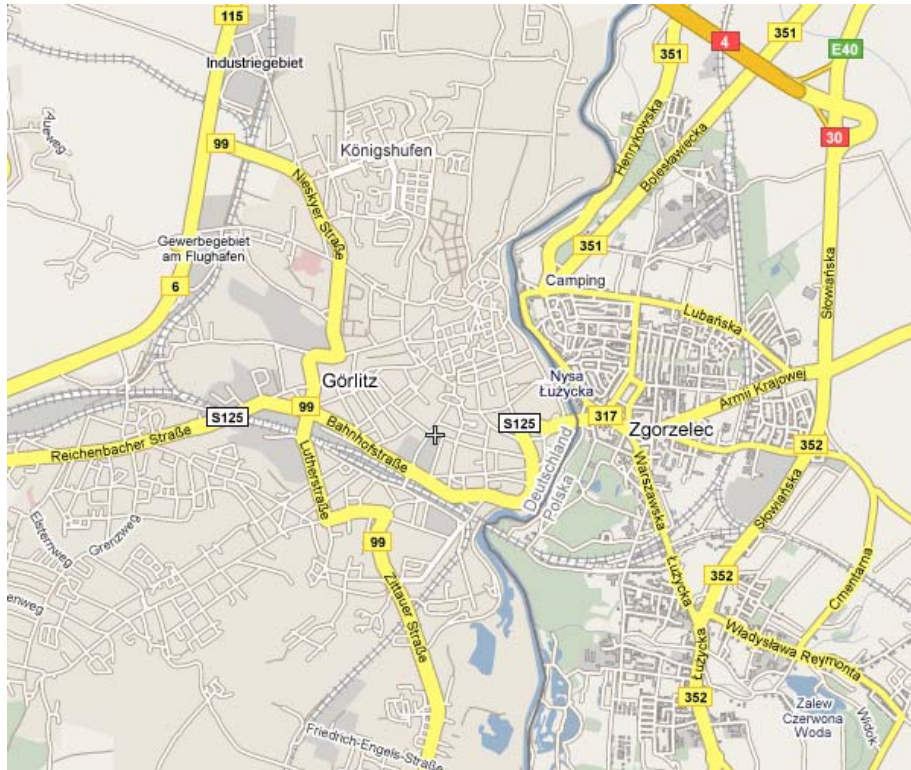


Figure 16 Map of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (www.wikimapia.org)

2.5.2. History of Görlitz-Zgorzelec

The land where Görlitz-Zgorzelec is located was settled in the mid-seventh century. The name Görlitz was first time mentioned in 1071, in documents written by Heinrich IV. In the 13th century, the village gradually became a city and in 1268 it existed as an autonomous territory.

The town is located on the “Via Regia” – an ancient and medieval trade road. That is mainly why it developed very quickly and became rich in a relatively short time. The Görlitz Lower Market was well known in Europe as the point of international meetings and the significant place of trade. However, together with the fast development at those times the political situation was very unstable. The land changed its allegiance very often. It started its development as a part of Bohemia. Then, from 1635 it was a part of Saxony. In 1815 it became a part of Prussian province of Silesia (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005).

From the beginning of the case study town history, its urban development was dependant on the Neisse River. The first infrastructure developed by its banks. The river was a source of life and the source of recreation. Historical Görlitz was called the “Town of Bridges”, as the parks spreading on both banks of the river were connected by seven bridges (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera). Figure 17 presents the photographs of the Neisse riverbanks taken from these same places in two different moments of the history: before 1945 and now.



Before 1945



After 1945



Before 1945



After 1945

Figure 17 Neisse River in Görlitz-Zgorzelec (www.chwila.com)

At the beginning of the 19th century the industrial revolution brought new employment and new housing opportunities to Görlitz. The basis of economic growth in the region were formed by textile, ceramic, optical, machine and chemical industries (Dürschmidt & Matthiesen, 2002). In 1847, the first train arrived to Görlitz, opening new possibilities to develop the town. The years 1870-1914 were the times of the best prosperity in the history of Görlitz, expressed in the richness of the heritage architecture from this time (Dürschmidt & Matthiesen, 2002; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). Before the Second World War Görlitz was a very prosperous town called the “gateway to the German province of Silesia (Meinhof, 2002, p.119).”

The turning moment in the history of the town and its surrounding area was the year 1945. Nazi Germany lost the war, and the victorious Soviet, British, French and the U.S. Allied Forces made a decision on where to draw the borders for the defeated Germany. The so-called Curzon Line, coinciding partially with the line of the Bug River, was accepted as the boundary demarcating the new border between Poland and the U.S.S.R. (Kordan, 1997; Meinhof, 2002). At the same time, it was decided by the international authorities at the Conference of Yalta in February 1945 to move the Eastern border between Germany and Poland further westwards from its pre-war location. The final decision of the Allied powers at the Potsdam Conference in July-August 1945 was to create the border line coinciding with the course of the Oder River and the Neisse River. It was decided to give the lands situated on the East of these rivers to Poland, and to leave the lands situated on the West to Saxony. Both split sections became the Soviet-dominated socialist states, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the new People’s Republic of Poland (PRP) (Meinhof, 2002; Meinhof, 2003; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). Figures 18 and 19 show these changes.

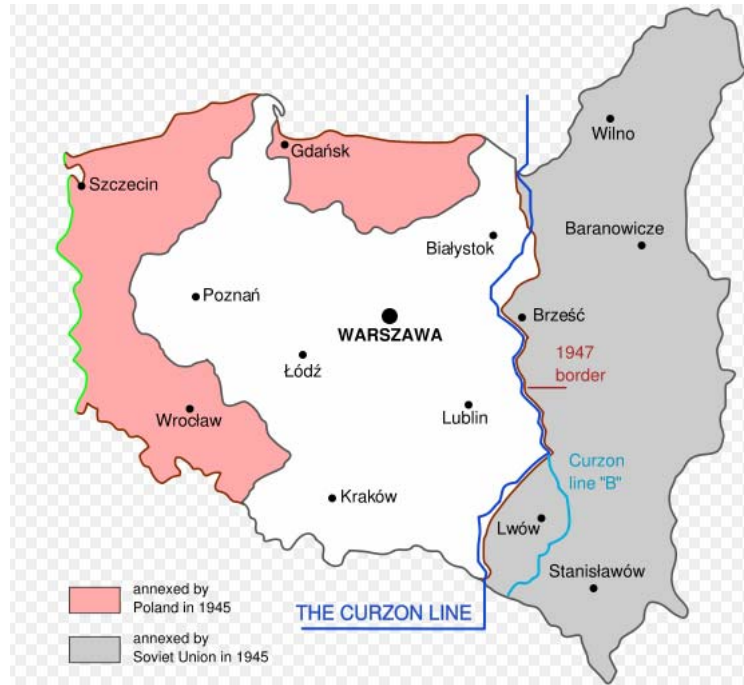


Figure 18 German-Polish and Polish-Russian Borders after the Second World War (wikipedia.org)

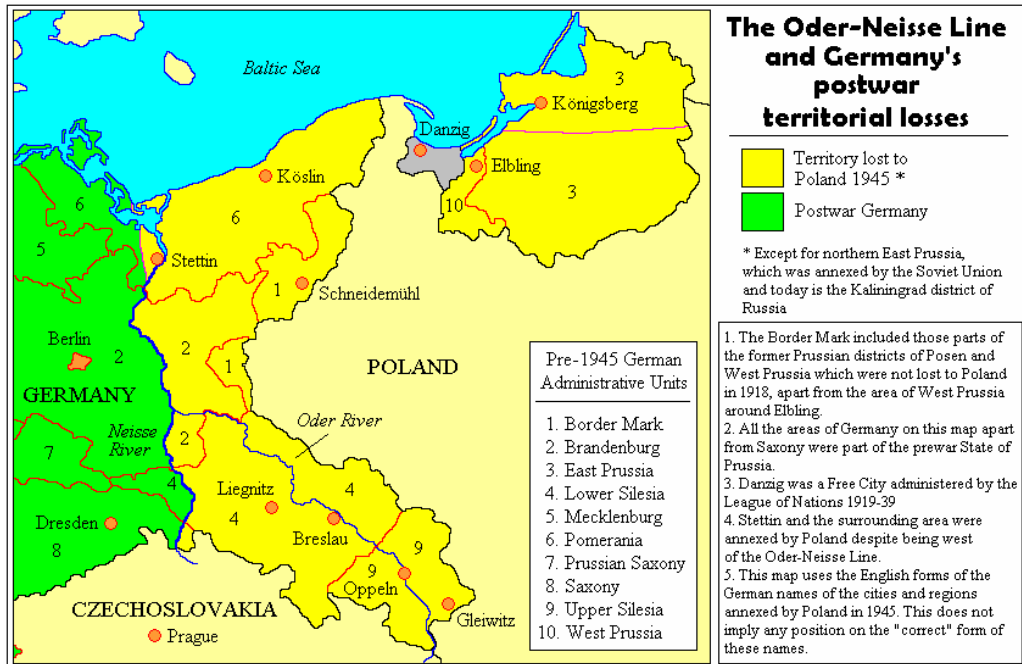


Figure 19 Oder-Neisse line (blue line) - border between Germany and Poland after the Second World War (wikipedia.org)

In 1945, all the bridges on the Neisse River were blown up by the German army (Galasińska & Galasiński, 2005; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). The town of Görlitz was split between Germany and Poland (Paasi, 1996). The river became not only a political, but also a physical border. Since then, the Western and the Eastern banks of the river have developed separately (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera). The German part of the town kept its original name. In 1948, the Polish part of the town was officially named “Zgorzelec” (Meinhof, 2002).

Aside from the blown up bridges, the Second World War did not leave any physical destruction in the town. However, the most traumatic consequence of the decision to create a new German-Polish border was the necessity to displace thousands of people. The Germans living on the Eastern part of the Neisse River were forced to move to the territories located on its western side. At the same time, the Poles living on the Polish territories ceded to the Soviet Union were forced to settle in the locations left by the Germans. Also, many Poles from areas of central Poland devastated by the war were resettled to the Eastern riverbank of Neisse. In all, 18.3 million people in these areas were uprooted and moved from their ancestral homes (Kordan, 1997).

As a consequence of the resettlements, the Neisse River and the Oder River became the lines dividing two different nations. For many years, the contacts between the split societies were narrowed by the political restrictions. The new German-Polish border was strictly regulated with access only by special permits (Buursink, 2001; Matthiesen & Bürkner, 2001; Meinhof, 2003).

The few years after the war did not bring many changes in relations between the residents of border regions. For Görlitz and Zgorzelec, the year 1950 was important. When the first bridge connecting two riverbanks was rebuilt, it was called the “Bridge of Friendship”.

The years 1971-80 were the time of liberalization on the Polish-German border. The border was opened, and there was free flow of traffic between the GDR and the PRP. However, after the rise of Solidarity in 1981 the border

controls were again tightened by the GDR leadership as a precaution against the spread of the Solidarity style of activism (Meinhof, 2002). According to Dürschmidt (2006), until 1989 the border between the GDR and the PRP, two aligned socialist countries, had most of the characteristics of an “iron curtain.” Then, in 1989 the border was re-opened, with no visa requirements, and the passport holders could cross it without much delay.

In the 1990’s, Central and Eastern Europe were transforming themselves to break from their socialist past and to move towards democratic communities and market oriented economies. The former socialist countries were strongly encouraged by the EU to strengthen their cooperation with the rest of Europe (Meinhof, 2002; Pallagst, 2006). At that time, relations on the German-Polish borderline were improving relatively quickly. In 1990, a treaty was signed that confirmed the legal status of the German-Polish border in international law. In 1991, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was ratified (Ingham & Ingham, 2002; Czaplinski, 1992). The Euroregion Neisse was created on the German-Polish border, including the area of Görlitz-Zgorzelec, aiming to reduce specific hindrances of development in border areas, and to contribute to a positive climate of collaboration between the local actors (Perkamann & Sum, 2002; Euroregion Neisse: www.euroregion-nysa.pl). In the same year, a partnership treaty between Görlitz and Zgorzelec was signed. In 1996, Görlitz and Zgorzelec for the first time participated as one town in an international competition called “European 4”, aiming to create a plan for common urban development of the border area. In 1998, the proclamation “Eurocity Görlitz-Zgorzelec” was signed. The local authorities stated that their overall objective is to “create one city comprised of the two countries, two nationalities and two cultures, a laboratory in the heart of Europe which will build its identity on the foundation of a common culture” (Europa House, 2005, p.12). Then, in 2001 the councils of Görlitz and Zgorzelec decided to become a candidate as one town for the so-called “European Capital of Culture 2010” (ECOC) award (see Chapter 4, p.111).

Very important for German-Polish relations was incorporation of Poland into the process of the eastward enlargement of the European Union in 2004. The next important political decision was signing the Schengen Agreement by Poland in December 2007. This agreement is about the abolition of systematic border controls among the EU states (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info; Matthiesen & Bürkner, 2001).

Table 3 summarizes the Görlitz and Zgorzelec history (Meinhof, 2002; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info).

Table 3 History of Görlitz-Zgorzelec – Summary

7 th century	Beginnings of settlement
1071	Name Görlitz mentioned first time
13 th century	The village gradually becomes a town
1268	Görlitz is an autonomous territory
1635	The town becomes a part of Saxony
1815	The town becomes a part of Prussian province of Silesia
19 th century	Industrial revolution; the greatest times of Görlitz prosperity
1945	Neisse River becomes an international border river between Germany and Poland; Division of the town
1948	Polish part of the town officially called “Zgorzelec”
1950	Germany-Poland border treaty signed in Zgorzelec; first bridge between Görlitz and Zgorzelec rebuilt
1971-80	Liberalization on GDR-Polish border
1981	Border controls tightened after rise of “Solidarity”

until 1989	The GDR-Polish border has most characteristics of “iron curtain”
1989-90	The GDR-Polish border opened up; no visa requirements from 1989
1990’s	3 October 1990 – German reunification Poland transforms to break from their socialist past and to move towards democratic societies.
1990	Treaty signed confirming legal status of German-Polish border in international law
1991	Euroregion Neisse created
1991	Partnership agreement between Görlitz and Zgorzelec signed
1995	First meeting of Görlitz-Zgorzelec Coordination Commission
1998	Proclamation of “Eurocity Görlitz-Zgorzelec” signed
2001	Görlitz-Zgorzelec candidates to European Capital of Culture 2010 award
2004	Poland joins EU
2007	Poland signs Schengen Agreement

2.6. Summary

Borderlines and borderlands are very interesting places from a research point of view. Nowadays, the study of borders is rapidly developing as a major area of interest for scholars of European integration. The literature shows that in many places the role of borders changes. As a result of globalization, some international borders do not play their traditional dividing role anymore, and many borderlands in Europe are places of cooperation and integration (Walters, 2004).

Mutual advantages can be brought to bordering regions and to divided towns by improvement of cross-border cooperation in fields such as economy, spatial planning and culture. However, there are also many difficulties standing in the way to improve international networking, such as economic inequalities, spatial planning differences, language barriers and problems in the field of social integration (Council of Europe, 1993; O'Dowd & Wilson, 1996; Matthiesen & Bürkner, 2001).

Towns divided by international borders seem to play significant roles in the process of improving international relations. They can be perceived as natural symbols of integration. The attempt to reunite split towns might be considered as a reflection of relationships between neighboring countries (Schultz, 2004).

The case study town Görlitz-Zgorzelec is located on the German-Polish border, in the region that is frequently characterized as the geographical interface between the East and the West (Perkamann & Sum, 2002). Undoubtedly, Görlitz-Zgorzelec can be considered to be a place of trans-boundary culture development, inclined towards a “cosmopolitan place” and a “cosmopolitan citizenship (Dürschmidt, 2006, p.247).”

3. METHODOLOGY

The study of cross-border cooperation in divided towns seems to be complex. Numerous interrelated factors need to be considered, such as culture, spatial planning, economy and social integration. To obtain a more substantive picture of the reality and to minimize potential biases, both qualitative and quantitative methods of research were used. Also, multiple methods of the data collection were used, such as interviews, questionnaires and observation.

Here, the criteria for choosing the case study town are explained, the methods used for data collection are introduced, the techniques used to analyze and organize the data are outlined, and the limitations of the research are discussed.

3.1. Criteria for Choosing the Case Study Town

There were three main criteria set up to select the case study town. First, only towns divided by an international border that is a river were taken under consideration. Second, it was decided that both sections of the case study town need to be located in the European Union. Third, restrictions in population size were taken under consideration. One town, Görlitz-Zgorzelec located on the boundary between Germany and Poland was chosen to investigate the phenomenon of towns divided by international borders. Below, the choice of the case study town is explained.

3.1.1. Criterion 1: Rivers as International Borderlines

Over time, rivers have been favorite natural features used to assign international borders. For many centuries, they were perceived as able to bring a balance and logic to the space. Easily recognizable and defensible in practice, they were considered to be very appropriate to be used as lines dividing nations.

The lands divided by rivers have many things in common. First, the borderlines are not only political, but also physical barriers to cross-border collaboration. Even though in many places the political characteristics of the international borders are changing, there are still many communication problems between the countries. For example, the border crossing points can be located only at bridges which require from the residents a willingness to cooperate. Collecting and comparing data from these places might be mutually beneficial for them (Markusse, 1999; Anderson & Bort, 2001; Morehouse, 2004; Jendroszczyk, 2006).

Table 4 introduces the list of towns split by an international border that is a river, together with their location and the name of the dividing river.

TOWN 1	TOWN 2	COUNTRY 1	COUNTRY 2	RIVER
Bollendorf	Bollendorf- Pont	Germany	Luxemburg	Sauer
Cieszyn	Český Těšín	Poland	Czech Republic	Olse
Echternacherbrück	Echternach	Germany	Luxemburg	Sauer
Esztergom	Stúrovo	Hungary	Slovakia	Danube
Frankfurt (Oder)	Ślubice	Germany	Poland	Oder
Grosbliederstroff	Kleinblittersdorf/ Saar	France	Germany	Saar
Guben	Gubin	Germany	Poland	Neisse
Irun/ Hondarribia	Hendaye	Spain	France	Bidasoa
Kehl	Strasbourg	Germany	France	Rhine
Komarom	Komarno	Hungary	Slovakia	Danube
Konstanz	Kreuzlingen	Germany	Switzerland	Rhine
Küstrin -Kietz	Kostrzyn	Germany	Poland	Oder
Laredo	Nuevo Laredo	USA	Mexico	Rio Grande
Laufen	Oberndorf	Germany	Austria	Salzach
Laufenburg	Laufenburg	Germany	Switzerland	Rhine
Lucelle	Lucelle	France	Switzerland	Doubs
Narva	Ivangorod	Estonia	Russia	Narva
Neulauterburg	Lauterbourg	Germany	France	Lauter
Niagara Falls, ON	Niagara Falls, NY	Canada	USA	Niagara
Nogales, AZ	Nogales	USA	Mexico	Rio Grande
Rheinfelden	Rheinfelden	Germany	Switzerland	Rhine
Rousse	Giurgiu	Bulgaria	Romania	Danube
Schaan/Vaduz	Buchs	Germany	Switzerland	Rhine
Simbach am Inn	Braunau am Inn	Germany	Austria	Inn
Tecate	Tecate	USA	Mexico	Rio Grande
Tornio	Haparanda	Finland	Sweden	Torne

Table 4 Towns divided by an international border that is a river

3.1.2. Criterion 2: Both Divided Town Sections Located in EU

There are different ways in which international borders divide societies. For example, the divisions can have political, economic or cultural effects (Buursink & Ehlers, 2000). As this study is focused on the local improvement of cooperation and integration between the bordering societies, it was decided to minimize the impact of barriers that have a background in international politics and economy. It was decided to restrict the case study town to the EU, to assure that external barriers are not hampering significantly any cross-border cooperation (Newman & Paasi, 1998).

Figure 20 shows the locations of the European divided towns.



Figure 20 Divided towns in Europe

3.1.3. Criterion 3: Population Size Restrictions

According to Monnesland and Westlund (2000), one of the main local factors that influence the potential for cross-border integration is market density. Market density is dependant on the density of population. It consists of number elements, such as labor, product, information, and knowledge markets. The level of activity in the region depends on the population size. That is why there needs to be a sufficient size of population to make cross-border cooperation possible. For example, there needs to be a sufficient number of people participating in common events. However, at the same time too large a population size can bias the research about cross-border collaboration because of a greater number of factors influencing the relations between neighboring residents. For example, the economy in large border cities can be more dependent on local tourism attractions than on the quality of trans-border collaboration.

Also the balance between the population sizes of divided sections has an impact on cross-border cooperation. In practice, populations of sections of divided towns are never exactly equal (Schultz, 2004). An extreme example of the split town that is unequal in size is Strasbourg-Kehl (France-Germany). Nowadays, Strasbourg, the seat of the Council of Europe, of the European Court of Human Rights and of the European Parliament, is one of the most important towns in Europe. Kehl is a former suburb of Strasbourg. Although the place was divided in 1953, in many fields, such as local economy and international planning, Kehl still plays the role of a Strasbourg suburb (Buursink, 1994; Ehlers, 2001; Schultz, 2004).

For the purposes of this study, middle-sized towns were considered as potential subjects for the case study. Also, an effort was made to choose a case study town with divided sections that are fairly close in size.

3.1.4. Final Choice of the Case Study Town

Five towns were identified that meet the three criteria described above. Table 5 introduces these towns together with their population size and the year the countries where they are located joined the EU.

Table 5 Towns divided by an international river border
and meeting the three research criteria

TOWN 1	TOWN 2	POPULATION SIZE – TOWN 1	POPULATION SIZE – TOWN 2	EU MEMBER TOWN 1	EU MEMBER TOWN2
Görlitz (Germany)	Zgorzelec (Poland)	57,000	36,000	1957	2004
Cieszyn (Poland)	Český Těšín (Czech Republic)	36,000	26,000	2004	2004
Komarno (Hungary)	Komarom (Slovakia)	38,000	22,000	2004	2004
Tornio (Finland)	Haparanda (Sweden)	22,000	11,000	1995	1995
Tui (Spain)	Valença (Portugal)	17,000	14,000	1986	1986

The final choice of the case study town was associated with the fact that one of the divided towns meeting all the three criteria is very familiar to the researcher. The researcher lived in Zgorzelec for more than twenty years (1982-2002) and visited the place regularly. She has had an opportunity to observe the changes in relations between the residents of the divided sections over a long period of time. Additionally, her native language is Polish.

3.2. Methods Used for Data Collection

For the purposes of this study, methods both requiring and not requiring public involvement were used. The methods requiring public involvement were questionnaires and interviews. The methods not requiring public involvement were: observations made by the researcher during the field research; and collecting the data from sources such as academic and non-academic literature, brochures and promotional materials found in the case study towns, and local documents, maps, newspapers and internet sources. Below, these methods are introduced.

3.2.1. Methods Requiring Public Involvement

According to Perkamann and Sum (2002), borderlands are “socially constructed spaces, mediating and negotiating the existence of linear demarcations between territorial units (p.15).” Paasi (1996) wrote that territories are characterized by communities and different spheres of their life. Also Castells (1997) stated that space is not only a pure reflection of society, but “it is society itself (p.56).”

Personal experiences and perceptions of the residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec were considered by the researcher to be very important sources of information for this study. That is why one of the main sources of data collection about the attitudes of residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec towards cross-border networking, were official and non-official interviews and questionnaires with the residents willing to share their knowledge and experiences. Below, both questionnaires and interviews are introduced.

- **Questionnaire**

Shiple and Reeve (2004) state that questionnaires are a valuable, if not universally reliable, method to gauge public views on issues. Especially valuable are face-to-face surveys, giving the researcher an opportunity to hear the answers of the respondents directly when they openly convey their thoughts.

For easier quantification, categorization and comparison of study results (Palys & Atchison, 2003) it was decided for the purposes of this study to address closed-ended questions to the Görlitz-Zgorzelec residents with measurable questions or questions requiring choosing at least one of a few short answers.

The purpose of the research was explained to all respondents in advance. Information letters were given to each person participating in the research. The approximate length of time needed to answer all the questions was three minutes.

The total number of questionnaires filled out by the residents was one hundred twenty, sixty by residents of Görlitz and sixty by residents of Zgorzelec.

- **Interviews**

An interview survey is often considered to be the most effective way to gather detailed and relevant information about the topic being studied. Interviews enable one to cover common topics when retaining a conversational style and openness. Also, it allows the participants to clarify any ambiguities and misunderstandings (Palys & Atchison, 2003).

Official and non-official, face-to-face interviews were conducted to collect the data about Görlitz-Zgorzelec cross-border collaboration.

Official Interviews

For the official interviews, the candidates were chosen according to their knowledge of neighboring communities and their association with decision-making bodies within these communities. On each side of the border, at least one person from each of the following groups was interviewed: municipal officials involved in an improvement of trans-border relations; spatial planners; and representatives of integrating organizations. It was assumed that the people belonging to these groups have an extensive knowledge and experience in the areas that are important for cross-border cooperation. In further chapters of this thesis, the official interviewees are called “authorities”.

Eight official interviews were conducted. Table 6 contains a list of the official interviewees, identified by the ID codes, together with the language used during the interviews.

Table 6 List of official interviewees

ID CODE	FUNCTION	LANGUAGE USED
W1G	Görlitz Municipality 1	German
W2G	Görlitz Municipality 2	English
W1Z	Zgorzelec Municipality 1	Polish
W2Z	Zgorzelec Municipality 2	Polish
I1G	Görlitz Integration Organization Representative	English
I1Z	Zgorzelec Integration Organization Representative	Polish
P1G	Görlitz Town Planner	German
P1Z	Zgorzelec Town Planner	Polish

All the interviews conducted had an open-ended character. A separate list of questions was created for the Municipalities, Integration Organization Representatives and Town Planners.

The interviews were conducted in locations chosen by the interviewees, mainly in their work places. Prior to each interview, a consent letter was provided to ensure the free willingness of respondents to participate in the study.

Non-official Interviews

The non-official interviews were used in this study as an additional source of information about cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. The non-official interviewees were people who were participating in the questionnaire survey and willing to add some additional information regarding the topic being studied, as well as customer service representatives from both sides of the divided town. Table 7 contains a list of the unofficial interviewees, identified by the ID codes, together with the language used during the interviews.

Table 7 List of non-official interviewees

ID CODE	FUNCTION	LANGUAGE USED
FZ	Hair dresser	Polish
AZ	Cosmetician	Polish
TZ	Dancer, student	Polish
KZ	Customer service representative	Polish
WZ	Social worker	Polish
NZ	Shop owner	Polish
CZ	Customer service representative	Polish
DZ	Taxi driver	Polish
LZ	Housewife	Polish
TG	Customer service representative	German
SG	Student	German
LG	Housewife	German
BG	Customer service representative	German
FG	Hairdresser	German
KG	Customer service representative	German
EG	Cosmetician	German

Additionally, the following data were collected about the language abilities of the divided societies:

✓ bilingualism (German-Polish, Polish-German) of spoken customer service was checked in five hair/ cosmetic salons on each side of the Neisse River, located within one kilometer of the border crossings,

✓ bilingualism (German-Polish, Polish-German) of spoken customer service was checked in four tourist information offices located in Görlitz and one located in Zgorzelec

3.2.2. Methods Not Requiring Public Involvement

According to Buursink and Ehlers (2000), people usually do not think reflectively about their identity. That is why it is beneficial for researchers not only to ask people about their feelings and emotions, but also to investigate the actions they are undertaking. Below, two methods not requiring public involvement that were used in this study are introduced: secondary data collection and observation.

- **Documentary Sources**

During the study, data were collected from academic and non-academic literature. Brochures and promotional materials, local documents and maps found in the case study town were used. Additionally, data were collected from internet sources.

Most information from the literature was described in Chapter 2: “Literature Review (p.23)”, which provides the background information about trans-border cooperation and about the phenomenon of divided towns, and which introduces the case study town Görlitz-Zgorzelec.

Most information from brochures, promotional materials, local documents and maps found in the case study town and from internet sources will be

described in Chapter 4. These data are discussed, together with the outcomes from field research, in Chapter 5.

- **Observation**

Observation was used as one of the methods to collect data about cross-border cooperation in the case study town Görlitz-Zgorzelec. According to Walliman (2005), observations are used to record conditions, events and activities through the non-inquisitorial involvement of the researcher.

During the visit in Görlitz-Zgorzelec in the summer of 2007 the researcher participated in cultural events and in international meetings associated with cross-border networking, and observed the everyday life of Görlitz-Zgorzelec inhabitants. Data about the quality of cross-border cooperation and interactions between residents of the divided town were collected. Additionally, the following data were collected about the language abilities of the divided societies:

- ✓ bilingualism of menu cards was checked in ten restaurants/ bars on each side of the Neisse River, located within one kilometer of the border crossing,
- ✓ bilingualism of written customer service was checked in five hair/cosmetic salons on each part of the Neisse River, located within one kilometer of the border crossings,
- ✓ bilingualism of written customer service was checked in four tourist information offices located in Görlitz and one located in Zgorzelec

The section below describes the techniques used in the study to organize and analyze the data collected.

3.3. Techniques Used to Organize and Analyze Data

Numerous interrelated factors need to be considered when studying a complex topic of cross-border cooperation. That is why numerous interrelated factors need to be considered. To get reliable data, a broad set of the measurement criteria was established for the purposes of this study.

It appeared during the study that some topics, such as common spatial planning, international culture and social integration, were mentioned more frequently than others. These particular topics were assigned to categories. The categories were arranged and re-arranged until they fit sufficiently to the framework. Based on this categorization, a set of key indicators serving to answer the research question were created.

3.3.1. Indicators

Innes, quoted by Hoernig and Seasons (2004, p.82), defines indicators as “a set of rules for gathering and organizing data so they can be assigned meaning.” Hart, quoted by Shipley and Reeve (2004, p.533), defines indicators as “something that points to an issue or condition.” The purpose of an indicator is to show how well a system is working, and, in case of a problem, to help in determining what directions to take to address the issue.

In this research, a set of four indicators was established to measure the advancement of cooperation between the divided town sections:

- ✓ indicator in the field of spatial planning: **organization of the common spatial area for the neighboring residents to cooperate,**
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: common cultural events,
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: **language as a barrier in cross-border relations,**
- ✓ indicator in the field of social integration: **willingness of divided town communities to cooperate**

Further in this study, in Chapter 5, research data are analyzed in four sections corresponding to these four indicators.

Below, limitations in research and translation are described.

3.4. Limitations

There were two main limitations in the study that were not possible to eliminate: limitations caused by the requirement of translation, and limitations associated with the methods chosen to collect the data.

3.4.1. Requirement of Translation

The international character of the study required a written and spoken translations from and to German, Polish, and English. Following, details associated with this requirement are provided.

Initially, all the research-documents, such as questionnaires, interview questions, consent of participation and feedback letter, were written in English and then translated into German and Polish.

All the written and spoken English-Polish and Polish-English translations were done directly by the researcher. All the written and spoken German-English and English-German translations were done by AS, a graduate student at the University of Zielona Góra in Poland, Faculty of the German Language. AS signed a confidentiality statement.

All the interviews and questionnaires with Polish participants were done by the researcher in Polish. All the questionnaires and most interviews with German participants were done by the interpreter, AS. In cases when the German interviewees declared their proficiency in English, interviews were done by the researcher in English. Tables 6 (p.72) and 7 (p.74) show the languages used during particular interviews.

Collection of data from documentary sources, such as brochures, posters and local documents, was done by the researcher in Zgorzelec, and by the researcher with assistance of AS in Görlitz.

Below, three main limitations are pointed out that could be caused by the requirement of translation:

- ✓ mistakes and inaccuracies in translation,
- ✓ negative impact of translation during interviews on the atmosphere during the meetings – interviewees could feel uncomfortable when dealing with translation requirements,
- ✓ during observations and collecting documents, the researcher could be more sensitive in searching out information in Polish, her native language, than in German

3.4.2. Methods Chosen to Collect Research Data

Some potential limitations in the study are associated with the methods chosen to collect a research data. For example, the disadvantage of the methods requiring public involvement is that people with a particular involvement in cross-border cooperation, such as residents in any way engaged in implementing integration projects, are more likely to respond to the surveys. This might cause a bias in the research.

Also, a limited number of people that were interviewed might be a source of research biases. Especially in official interviews, one-sided perspectives on particular issues could have resulted from the fact that only one or two individuals from each research-group were interviewed.

Finally, the fact that the researcher is a member of the case study community, observing the changes in cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec for over twenty years, can result in research bias. Assumptions of the researcher regarding cross-border collaboration could affect her approach to data analysis.

3.5. Summary

The subjects of this research are towns divided by an international border. The main criteria for choosing the case study town were: towns are divided by an international river border; both sections of the divided town are located in the EU territory; sufficient and roughly equal number of residents living on opposite sides of the border river. Görlitz-Zgorzelec, located on the German-Polish border, was chosen as the case study place.

The methods requiring public involvement used in this research were questionnaires and interviews. The methods not requiring public involvement used in this research were collecting various documentary sources and observation. Four indicators were used to answer the case study question:

- ✓ indicator in the field of spatial planning: organization of the common spatial area for the neighboring residents to cooperate,
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: common cultural events,
- ✓ indicator in the field of language: actions aiming to decrease language barriers,
- ✓ indicator in the field of social integration: willingness of divided town communities to cooperate

The main limitations in the research were caused by the requirement of translation and by imperfections in the methods used in the study.

4. FINDINGS: INITIATIVES FOR COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN GÖRLITZ-ZGORZELEC

This chapter describes findings from the field research made in May-August 2007. In this chapter, examples of cross-border spatial cooperation in European divided towns are shown, initiatives for cooperation and integration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec in the field of spatial planning are introduced, initiatives for cooperation and integration in the town in the field of culture are introduced, and initiatives for cooperation and integration in the town in the field of social integration are described.

4.1. Planning for Neisse Riverbanks

For many centuries, the area where Görlitz and Zgorzelec are located was developing as one urban entity. In 1945, it was divided into two independent entities. For more than sixty years, the municipalities developed totally independently, in different political and economic environments. Nowadays, the aim of the authorities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec is to improve spatial planning cooperation between the separated municipalities.

This part of the chapter focuses on a place that plays a very significant role in the improvement of trans-border cooperation, which is the riverbank area adjacent to the border crossing. The data presented below come from documents about development of this place, from official websites, and from field research. The field research consisted of interviews, questionnaires and personal observations of the researcher.

The data in this part of the chapter are divided into three main sections. First, a historical background of spatial planning cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec is provided. Then, component elements of an arrangement of the border crossing area are introduced. Finally, opinions of interviewees about the arrangement

of this place and about spatial planning collaboration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec in general are provided.

The advancement of cross-border spatial planning cooperation, particularly an arrangement of the border crossing area, was chosen as an indicator of the quality of cross-border cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec.

4.1.1. Historical Background

According to the information provided by interviewees, the history of spatial planning cooperation in Görlitz and Zgorzelec is not long. For many years after the Second World War, the border was closed and it was impossible to plan a common spatial development of the divided sections. According to P1Z, the first important steps towards spatial planning collaboration were made in the 70's. Although there were still many political and economic barriers standing in the way of cooperation, some common meetings were organized and basic cross-border initiatives were planned. Then, in the 1980's the movement of people between Germany and Poland was stopped, which once again made the spatial networking impossible. Finally, the borders were re-opened in 1990. Since then, Görlitz and Zgorzelec have had many more possibilities to collaborate than in any other time after the division.

Interviewees pointed out the year 2004 as a time of significant changes in the field of spatial planning between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. There were three main reasons that caused these changes: Poland joined the EU, Görlitz-Zgorzelec participated in the so-called “European Capital of Culture (ECOC)” competition, and a new town planner was chosen in Zgorzelec.

➤ *Poland joined the EU*

In May 2004, the international documents for the accession of Poland to the EU were signed. The main benefit from the participation of Poland in the EU for Zgorzelec was a possibility to apply for more funds from the EU. Although even before 2004 Zgorzelec was eligible to participate in some EU

development programs created for the areas located on the external borders of the EU, many more possibilities appeared after Poland became a part of the EU.

Some common spatial projects, mainly the ones associated with a revitalization of the area adjacent to the Neisse riverbanks, were realized in Görlitz-Zgorzelec directly after Poland joined the EU, in the years 2004-2006. At that time, Zgorzelec participated in the “EU Integrated Program of Regional Development”, called the “INTERREG III.” The total cost of the urban planning projects implemented in these years in Zgorzelec was € 5.755.117. The EU provided € 4.265.517 (EU Structural Funds: www.zporr.gov.pl; EU: www.europa.eu.int; Interreg IIIC: www.interreg3c.net).

For the years 2007-2013, the “European Territorial Cooperation Objectives” were prepared to improve the transnational and regional cooperation between the EU regions. The objectives of the “INTERREG III” in the years 2007-2013 are continued by the program called the “INTERREG IVC.” The overall objectives of the “INTERREG IVC” are to assist different regions of the EU to work together, to share their knowledge and to exchange their experiences (Dolnośląskie Regional Operational Program, 2008; Interreg IV C: www.interreg4c.net).

In the years 2007-2013, the town of Zgorzelec also participates in the “Baltic Sea Region Program”, focusing on innovations, improvements in competitiveness and accessibility in regions located by the Baltic Sea.

Additionally, the authorities of Zgorzelec participate in the “Urban Development Network Program”, aiming to improve the effectiveness of sustainable integrated urban development policies in the EU. This program fosters an exchange of experiences and an improvement in spatial collaboration among the European towns in all the fields related to sustainable urban development (Urban Development Network Program, 2007).

➤ *Görlitz-Zgorzelec participated in the “European Capital of Culture 2010” Competition*

In 2004, the town of Görlitz-Zgorzelec participated in the competition called the “European Capital of Culture (ECOC).” The overall objective of this EU initiative is to show that Europe possesses “a culture which, in its historical emergence and contemporary development, is characterized by having both common elements and a richness born of diversity (Griffiths, 2006, p.417).” Each year, the European Commission chooses individual towns located all around the continent to be promoted as the ECOC. For a period of one year, the Capitals act as a showcase of cultural excellence and innovation (EU: www.ec.europa.eu/culture).

All the participants have one year to prepare the projects that they plan to implement as the Capitals, and to prove that they are able to implement these. The aim of residents of towns competing in the program is to introduce their place to the European Commission members as ready to take the responsibility for the representative title (EU: www.ec.europa.eu).

One of the main projects Görlitz-Zgorzelec prepared for the ECOC competition was called the “Bridge Park – Land of the Future.” Its overall objective was to revitalize the oldest part of the divided town, located by the border crossing, and to prepare the place to be an area of integration for the divided residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). More information about this project and about the ECOC competition in general can be found in the second part of Chapter 4 (p.111).

➤ *New Zgorzelec Town Planner*

In 2004, a new town planner was chosen in Zgorzelec. According to interviewees, the new planner, fluent in German, in a very short time developed close relations with the Görlitz town planners. P1G stated that directly after this change many common meetings were organized and data were collected about

actions that need to be undertaken in the field of cross-border spatial planning. Since 2004, it was generally assumed by the German and the Polish planners that Görlitz and Zgorzelec should be treated as one, commonly developing town organism.

4.1.2. Elements of Neisse Riverbanks Revitalization

Since 2004, one of the main goals of the Görlitz-Zgorzelec authorities was to revitalize the oldest part of the town, adjacent to the Neisse River, and to create a place there for residents to mingle. The objectives of this project were: to bring the residents together by evoking their common history; to protect the oldest buildings in the town; and to bring more tourists to the town. Görlitz mayor U. Grossmann commented on the significance of this venture: “Building an all-inclusive center, that connects the German and the Polish halves of the town, is a true urban revolution, dubious in recent decades, but finally within reach today” (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). In recent years, the revitalization of the Neisse banks was concentrated mainly on the Polish part of the town as Görlitz was already almost entirely renovated in 2004.

Six important accomplishments are discussed here:

- **Rebuilding Bridges on the Neisse River**

The idea of rebuilding the bridges on the Neisse River appeared several times after the Second World War. An idealistic vision was to rebuild all seven bridges that historically connected the banks of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Unfortunately, various political and economic barriers made this idea impossible to implement (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera).

Until 2004, only one bridge, built a few years after the war and called the “John Paul II Bridge”, connected Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Although for many years the bridge was meeting its basic communication requirements, many residents wanted the oldest bridge in the town to be rebuilt. Called the “Old Town Bridge”, it connected the riverbanks from medieval times until 1945, when the German

soldiers blew it up. The first project of rebuilding of this historical bridge was designed by the members of the “Euroopera” organization (see Chapter 4, p.136). The main idea of this rather utopian project was to connect the German and the Polish neighbors by integrating them in music. The bridge by itself was supposed to be a concert hall on the river, rooted on both banks (Figure 21). The project was not implemented, mainly because of technical and financial problems. After some time, it was proposed by the “Euroopera” members to build an integrated music hall a few meters from the river, as an addition to the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard, described in the next section, but this project (Figure 22) was also not implemented (Jendroszczyk, 2006; Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera).

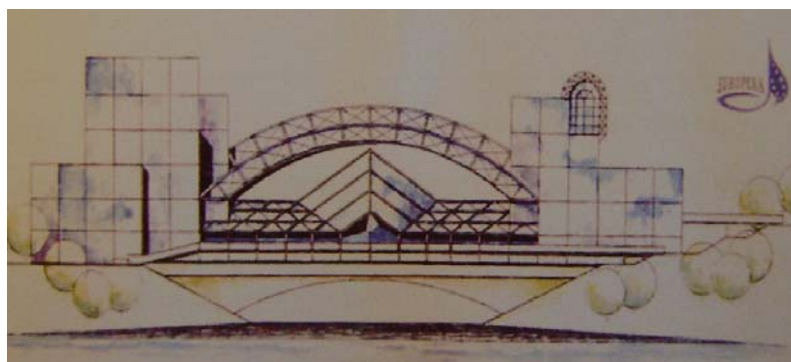


Figure 21 Vision of a modern bridge/ music hall on Neisse River in Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006, p.2)

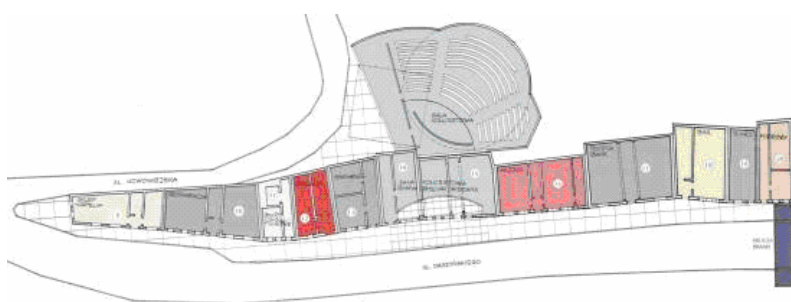


Figure 22 Vision of a modern music hall that was planned to be built behind the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera)

Finally, the Old Town Bridge was rebuilt in a very simple architectural form in 2004 (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004).

Some authorities that were interviewed said that it was the best investment in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. Not only did it give the divided residents a direct access to the oldest parts of Görlitz and Zgorzelec, but also it strengthened their feelings of being somehow united. Figure 23 presents photographs of the Old Town Bridge taken from a common viewpoint in two different moments of the history: before 1945 and now. Figure 24 shows the photograph of the bridge made in the moment of its construction.

Figure 23 Old Town Bridge in Görlitz-Zgorzelec before 1945 (up) and nowadays (down) (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info)



Before



After 1945



Before



After 1945



Before



After 1945

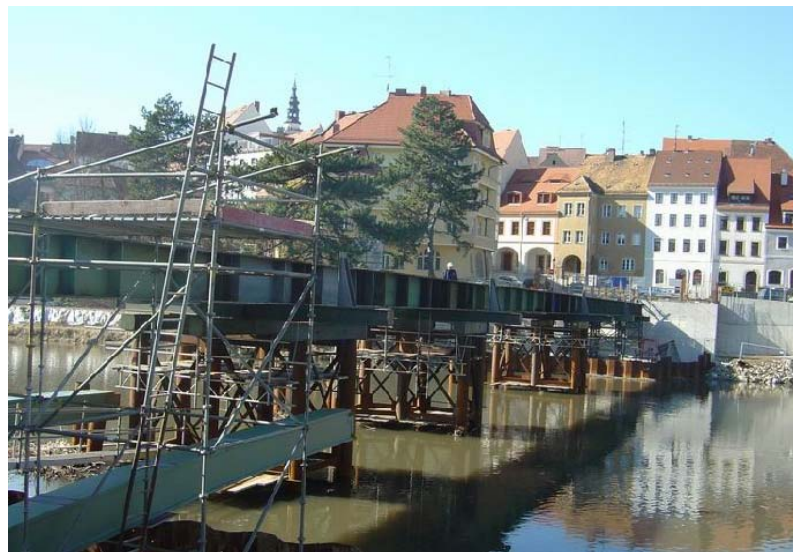


Before



After 1945

Figure 24 Old Town Bridge in Görlitz-Zgorzelec - photograph made at the moment of its construction (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)



- **Renovation of Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard**

“Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard” is a row of tenement houses built mostly in the 17th century on the Eastern part of the Neisse River. The renovation of these buildings started at the end of 2005. One of the first buildings renovated was the historical house of the famous 17th century German Christian mystic and philosopher, Jacob Böhme, who was living in Görlitz in 1599. A few books by him were written in this place, mainly about the unity between man and nature and about a polarity as a law of nature. Nowadays, the so-called “Böhme House” is a place of international meetings, exhibitions and concerts. In an attic part of the building, a museum was created in memory of the writer (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005; Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006). Figure 25 shows the photographs of the Böhme House made before and after the renovation.

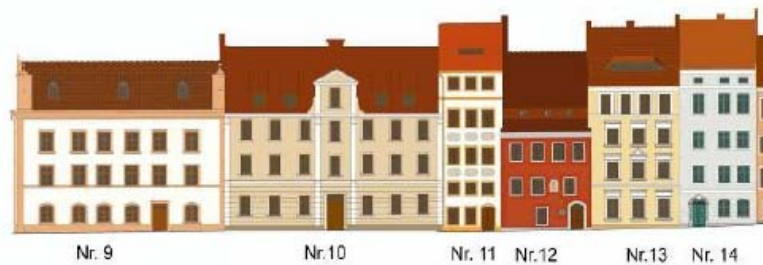


Figure 25 Photographs of the Böhme House made before (on left) and after (on right) renovation (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006, p.5)

Figures 26-28 show the photographs of the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard taken in different moments of its history and present the project of the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard renovation and its implementation.

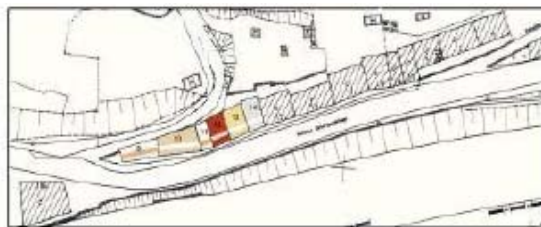


Figure 26 Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard in 1990's



Oryginalne kolory: wg próbek kolorystycznych KEIM Eksklusive

Echtfarben : Farbproben nach KEIM - Exklusiv ausgewählt



Oryginalne kolory: wg próbek kolorystycznych KEIM Eksklusive

Echtfarben : Farbproben nach KEIM - Exklusiv ausgewählt

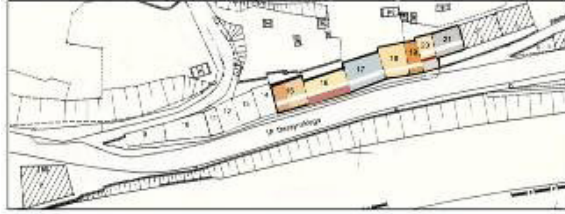


Figure 27 Project of Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard renovation. Elevations (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004)



Figure 28 Renovation of Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard, 2004-2007 (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004)

- **Rebuilding the Zgorzelec Postal Market**

The “Zgorzelec Postal Market” was a complex of buildings located by the Neisse River near the Old Town Bridge. It was located directly on “Via Regia”, one of the oldest trade routes in Europe that historically was connecting Kyiv (Ukraine) and Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Since medieval times, the Via Regia was a line of international dialogue, and Görlitz, situated in the middle of the route, was a meeting point for the people passing on the route. For many

centuries, the Zgorzelec Postal Market was a place where people exchanged their goods and culture (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2007). Figure 29 shows the Via Regia trail.



Figure 29 Via Regia on the map of Europe (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2007)

None of the Postal Market buildings survived to today. As the reason for their disappearance interviewees pointed out the natural passing of time, the negligence of people, and a lack of funds to maintain the buildings. In 2004, the authorities of Görlitz-Zgorzelec started to implement a plan for rebuilding this historical complex. The goal is to make the Postal Market a place for the residents of the divided town to entertain at common events, and to meet together on official and unofficial business, in restaurants and pubs. Nowadays, the project of rebuilding of the Zgorzelec Postal Market is still in its initial stage, mainly because of lack of funds for its implementation.

The first and the least expensive step in rebuilding of the complex was a rebuilding of the historical postal stand. For many centuries, the postal carriages commanded the area and the postal stand was the meeting point on the Via Regia. It was presumed by authorities of the divided town that the rebuilding of the postal stand would have symbolic value for the residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec, as the element connecting the common history and future of the town (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005).

Figures 30-32 show photographs of the Zgorzelec Postal Market taken from a common viewpoint in two different moments of the history and present the project of the Zgorzelec Postal Market renovation and its implementation.

Figure 30 Zgorzelec Postal Market in different moments of history
(Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info/stary; Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)



1910



2005



1910



2005



1910



1990



2005

Figure 31 Project of rebuilding of Zgorzelec Postal Market (Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego, 2004)

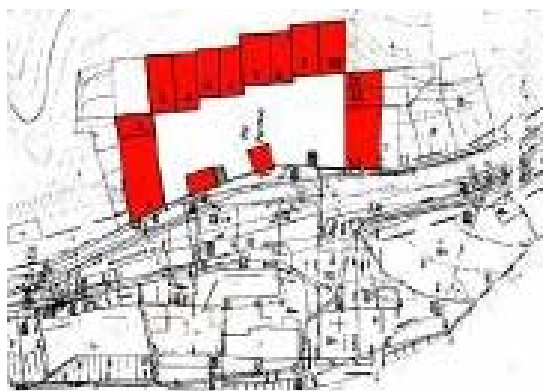
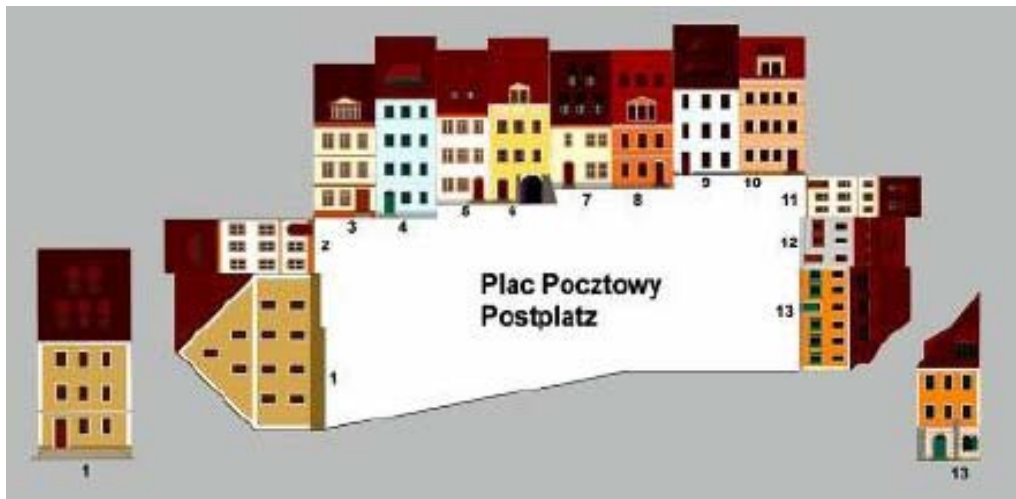


Figure 32 Implementation of project of Zgorzelec Postal Market rebuilding



2006 (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)



2007 (personal sources)

- **Restoration of Roads and Sidewalks**

According to the information provided by P1Z, there were many discussions about restoration of roads and sidewalks in the Zgorzelec Old Town area. Some authorities encouraged others to pay attention to the historical values of the infrastructure and to the quality of restoration. Others wanted to renovate the roads and sidewalks cheaply and to make the revitalized area accessible for the residents in the shortest time possible. Finally, it was decided to keep the original, historical setup and style of the roads and sidewalks. Historical pavement blocks were used and set up in their original shapes. Also, street furniture, such as benches and street lamps, kept their historical character. Figure 33 shows the photographs taken during restoration of the roads and the sidewalks in the Zgorzelec Old Town.



Figure 33 Restoration of roads and sidewalks in Zgorzelec Old Town (personal sources)

- **Green Space Arrangement**

In the past, banks of the Neisse River in Görlitz-Zgorzelec were surrounded by parks. Nowadays, most historical walking trails in these parks are in a very bad condition. Some of these areas are used for different purposes, such as housing. However, there are still a lot of green spaces along the Neisse River, especially on its Eastern bank.

According to the information provided by P1Z and P1G, it was officially decided by the town authorities in 2004 to restore the recreational spaces on the Polish part of the Neisse River, with its walking trails, the river promenades, biking roads, and view points.

Figure 34 presents the photographs of the Neisse riverbanks taken from a common viewpoint in two different moments of the history: before 1945 and now.

Figure 34 Banks of Neisse River before 1945 and nowadays
(Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.chwila.com)



- **Rebuilding Tram Line**

In the years 1897-1945, eastern and western parts of the case study town were connected by trams. After the international border was created on the Neisse River, the tram connection was stopped and the tram tracks were covered by asphalt. According to the information provided by P1Z and P1G, at the beginning of creating the project to revitalize the Neisse riverbanks in Görlitz-Zgorzelec it was planned to rebuild the trams (Municipality of Zgorzelec: www.zgorzelec.info). The authorities were hoping to be able to cover the costs of this investment from the funds that the town supposed to get after winning the ECOC 2010 competition (see Chapter 4, p.111). After failing to win the competition, it was decided that this project no longer be considered for implementation in the near future.

Figure 35 shows different forms of transportation through the Neisse River made from this same place in the years 1900, 1942 and 2004.

Figure 35 Different forms of transportation crossing the Neisse River (John Paul II Bridge)
(ww.chwila.com)



1900



1942



2004

4.1.3. Opinions of Residents on Spatial Planning Cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec

This section describes opinions of Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents on cross-border spatial planning cooperation in their town.

- **Benefits from Spatial Planning Cooperation**

Most authorities that were interviewed have positive opinions and see many benefits from spatial planning cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. The authorities especially welcome the possibility of Görlitz and Zgorzelec to complementing one another for mutually benefit. According to P1Z, both banks of the Neisse River have something to offer to each other. For example, Görlitz is very rich in heritage buildings, but has not enough green space. Zgorzelec is not that rich in heritage buildings, but has a lot of green space, with parks inside the town and forests in surrounding areas.

W2G mentioned a housing market as an example of the field that could benefit from an improvement of German-Polish cooperation. As a result of a mass migration of people from Eastern to Western Germany, there are many empty flats in Görlitz. At the same time, even though many people migrated from Poland after the country joined the EU, Zgorzelec is still slowly but constantly developing, and a need for accommodation increases. Allowing Zgorzelec residents to rent or buy flats in Görlitz could be beneficial for both parts of the divided town. However, there are still too many political, economic and legal barriers hampering such cooperation.

W2Z pointed out the possibility of sharing a cultural infrastructure as another benefit from cross-border networking. For example, Görlitz has a concert hall, but it does not have an amphitheatre. Zgorzelec does not have a concert hall, but it does have an amphitheatre. A few years ago, during preparations for the ECOC competition, a plan was created to share these two facilities between the divided sections. For this purpose, the authorities of Görlitz decided to renovate the Zgorzelec amphitheatre as it was in very bad condition, and to prepare it for

a common use. Unfortunately, after the loss in the competition the renovation works were stopped.

- **Barriers in Spatial Planning Cooperation**

Two main barriers hampering an ability of Görlitz-Zgorzelec to develop together were pointed by interviewees: architectural inequalities between Görlitz and Zgorzelec, and legal differences between Germany and Poland.

As one of the main reasons for the architectural inequalities between Görlitz and Zgorzelec, the interviewees pointed out unequal division of the town in 1945. Most architecturally valuable, historical buildings are located on the western bank of the Neisse River.

Another reason for architectural inequalities pointed out by interviewees was that Görlitz and Zgorzelec were developing in different political, economic and social environments. According to P1Z, although both the GDR and Poland stayed on the eastern side of the Iron Curtain, the standard of living on the western side of the border was noticeably higher than on its eastern side. The authorities were able to invest more in preservation of the historical buildings. Additionally, the national and the local authorities had different perspectives about maintenance of the historical buildings, and the two bordering societies had different attitudes to the urban heritage. In Zgorzelec, for a long time nobody was really thinking about the maintenance of the German heritage. Within the last 60 years, Zgorzelec lost many former German historical buildings, and the ones that still exist are mostly in poor condition. P1Z pointed out the negligence of Zgorzelec residents as one of the reasons for that loss. On the other hand, historical buildings located on the German side of the border are usually in a good shape. Since 1990's, the authorities of Görlitz gave a lot of attention to the quality of preservation. For example, to be able to work in Görlitz as a heritage building preservationist, it is necessary to have a Dresden Chamber of Handworks certificate.

According to P1G, as a consequence of the architectural inequalities the residents of Görlitz do not even feel a need to cross the border, as there is still “not much to see in Zgorzelec.”

Figure 36 shows the view from the Zgorzelec bank of the Neisse River, looking towards Görlitz.



Figure 36 Zgorzelec and Görlitz banks of Neisse River (personal sources)

Legal differences between Germany and Poland were pointed out by some interviewees as a significant barrier in spatial planning cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Planners lack uniformed documents, and there are basic differences in requirements about preparing project drafts. The Germans and the Poles use different scales of drawings and different symbols on blueprints, which makes discussions about certain issues in planning difficult. Projects need to meet different technical criteria because building codes in Germany and Poland are different. According to P1G, it is impossible to prepare one uniformed project for both riverbanks.

Fortunately, after Poland joined the EU in 2004 some Polish official documents are now being adjusted to EU standards. “This process will take an unpredictable amount of time, but there is a hope that at least some small changes in spatial planning requirements will be done quickly” – said P1G.

- **Opinions on Neisse Riverbanks Revitalization**

Most authorities that were interviewed stated that during the last few years there were many improvements made in the historical part of the town. According to the information they provided, every year there is more infrastructures that is rebuilt and restored. The area adjacent to the border crossing located in the old part of the town is already a place of international events, such as common feasts, parties, concerts, and religious celebrations. There are some pubs and restaurants on both riverbanks. Additionally, there are some cosmetic and hair-dressing salons located in the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard, attracting Görlitz residents to cross the border.

However, some interviewees stated that regardless of the revitalization actions undertaken by authorities to attract the residents to the place, most of the time there are not many people in the integration area.

To check the frequency of visiting the integration area by inhabitants of Görlitz and Zgorzelec and to find out why they are visiting this place, two questions were addressed to the residents in the questionnaire survey: “How often do you visit the Old Town?” and “Why do you visit this place?” The outcomes are presented in Table 8.

Table 8 Spatial Planning - Questionnaire

How often do you the Old Town?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
0-5/ year	54	48
5-20/ year	14	32
20-50/ year	6	8
>50/ year	26	12
Why do you visit this place?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Entertainment (music, sport, art)	54	68
Meetings and conferences	14	20
Business/ economy	8	14
Other	10	7
Do not visit	14	4

4.2. Actions Undertaken in the Field of Culture

According to interviewees, there are no significant cultural differences between Görlitz and Zgorzelec societies. The proximity of Germany and Poland and the Christian background of both nations caused many cultural similarities. However, because of many years of living in separation, the societies have not developed a habit of sharing their cultural heritage and entertaining together.

This part of the chapter focuses on cultural cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. The data presented below come from local documents and official websites, and from the field research. The field research consists of interviews, questionnaires, and personal observations of the researcher.

First, a history of cultural cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec is introduced and then, common cultural activities undertaken in the town are described. Finally, opinions of Görlitz-Zgorzelec residents about cultural cooperation are introduced.

Knippenberg (2004) defines culture as the “total of institutionalized values, standards and meanings of a group that inspires and activates the members, provides their common lifestyle and collective identity, and in the long run constructs a tradition, which is not only stabilizing but also often produces rigidity (2004, p.619).” European culture is considered to be a source of cohesion and an opportunity for innovation and exchange (EU: www.ec.europa.eu). Because of the importance of culture in Görlitz-Zgorzelec networking, the advancement of cultural cooperation in the divided town is chosen as one of qualitative indicators of cross-border cooperation.

4.2.1. Historical Background

According to interviewees, for a long time cultural cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec was hampered by political and economic barriers. After the border was opened in 1990, the first cultural programs and common cultural events created for residents from both Neisse riverbanks were organized.

Interviewees remember that in the 1990's, there were many economic problems hindering cultural cross-border cooperation. For example, the prices of tickets for cultural events in Görlitz were too high for the residents of Zgorzelec. To mitigate this problem, so-called "Friendly Tickets" were sold to the Polish residents for cultural events in Görlitz, partially sponsored by the Municipality of Görlitz and Zgorzelec, and by private investors.

The accession of Poland to the EU in 2004 was pointed out by interviewees as a significant moment for cultural cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. New possibilities appeared for local authorities to apply for European funds for international integration. Most interviewees stated that since then, cultural cooperation between the divided sections is improving.

4.2.2. Common Cultural Activities

Interviewees perceive common cultural activities across the border as very important for improving relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. International events, such as picnics, concerts and workshops, are considered as giving the adjacent societies an opportunity to get to know each other. They can help in binding the split societies by creating in them a feeling of belonging to one place. Some residents pointed out sport events as especially powerful tools in improving the cross-border relations as they do not require from international participants an ability to communicate in a common language.

According to the information provided by the interviewees, there are numerous activities in Görlitz-Zgorzelec undertaken aiming to strengthen cross-border cooperation. Three contributions to such cooperation, international cultural programs in which Görlitz-Zgorzelec participated, annual events in the town, and a variety of one-time events, are described below.

- **International Cultural Programs**

Three international cultural programs have been particularly noteworthy.

- **“European Capital of Culture 2010” (ECOC)**

The goal of the EU authorities is to help organizations and public authorities to cooperate so that different cultural sectors can work together and extend their cultural reach across borders (EU: www.ec.europa.eu).

One of the most important cultural initiatives implemented by the EU is a program entitled the “European Capital of Culture” (ECOC). Each year, beginning in 1985, individual towns are chosen by the EU to represent European culture for a period of one year. The competition provides a powerful incentive for development for these places. The winning towns get not only the prestigious title and the possibility to promote themselves, but also funds to develop (International Cultural Advisors, 2004; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005).

All the towns participating in the competition have one year to introduce themselves as ready to take on the obligations of the representative title, to prepare the projects that they plan to implement as the Capitals, and to prove that they are able to implement these (EU: www.ec.europa.eu).

Görlitz-Zgorzelec was one of the participants in the competition to be the capital for ECOC 2010. In May 2001 the town introduced itself to the European Committee as “the town of two nations, two nationalities, two languages and two cultures” (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005, p.24). During the year of preparations for the ECOC, Görlitz-Zgorzelec promoted itself as an old, cultural centre of Europe. Interviewees mentioned that slogans such as “Görlitz - we are the heart of Europe” and “From the middle of nowhere to the heart of Europe” were often seen on posters and promotional brochures on both sides of the border at that time.

During the months of preparation, the residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec had many opportunities to participate in various international cultural events, conferences and presentations. Many projects of different characteristics and sizes were implemented. One of the most ambitious and complex ones was called the “Bridge Park – Land of the Future”, introduced in the first section of Chapter 4. Another important project was called “Via Regia – Dialogue of Horizons (VRDH).” The name of the project came from the name of one of the most important historical trade routes in Europe on which Görlitz-Zgorzelec is located, called the “Via Regia.” For many centuries, the route was a place where people exchanged their goods, services and culture. Nowadays, the Via Regia is not as popular as it was a few centuries ago, but it is still an important traffic artery in Europe. The objective of the VRDH was to bring back the importance of Görlitz and Zgorzelec by exchanging culture and knowledge between towns located on the medieval route. Görlitz-Zgorzelec, introduced as the central point of the Via Regia, was promoted as a symbol of European integration (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005; Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2007).

Görlitz-Zgorzelec seemed to be a very strong candidate for the “European Capital of Culture 2010.” In March 2005, the German Jury recommended it as one of the two German candidates for the ECOC title. Twelve months later the town introduced itself in Brussels. However, in April 2006, the Jury of the European Commission announced that the winners in the competition were: Pécs (Hungary), Istanbul (Turkey) and Essen/ Ruhr (Germany). Görlitz-Zgorzelec lost out in the competition and did not get the funds to implement their projects. Some important investments, such as restoration of the amphitheatre in Zgorzelec needed to be stopped immediately.

Most interviewees from both sides of the border stated that the participation in the ECOC competition brought numerous positive outcomes. It opened new horizons and new perspectives for a common future of Görlitz-Zgorzelec. The town has shown its power and its potential as one body. Some residents stated that the events that accompanied the preparations for

the competition already improved the quality of cross-border cooperation. For example, TZ said: “This is how the competition will remain in memories of Görlitz-Zgorzelec residents: as the time of an incredible number of international events.” Moreover, many new ideas of common development appeared during the preparations for the competition. One year of the preparations mobilized the local authorities to implement some of their plans faster than was previously expected (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005). Finally, the participation of Görlitz-Zgorzelec in the ECOC competition increased the popularity of the town in Europe. Nowadays, more tourists are visiting the place than ever before.

Regardless of all these positive outcomes, some residents had negative opinions about the participation of Görlitz and Zgorzelec in the ECOC. Some of them stated that it was obvious that the town did not have any chance to win the competition. W2Z said: “The EU deputies are too smart to believe in strong cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec, and to treat these two places as one town. Also, they are aware that both Görlitz and Zgorzelec have serious population problems. They know that there are numerous buildings that are empty because people do not want to live in the town, which makes the place a very weak candidate in the competition.” An insufficient number of participants in common meetings and an insignificant number of German-Polish exchanges across the border were pointed out as great problems in Görlitz-Zgorzelec cultural integration.

Below, two other international programs in which Görlitz-Zgorzelec participated lately are introduced: the “Meeting Point Music Messiaen”, and the “City Twins.”

➤ **“Meetingpoint Music Messiaen”**

Another cultural program mentioned by interviewees as significant in improving cultural cross-border cooperation was the “Meetingpoint Music Messiaen.” Its title comes after the name of Olivier Messiaen, composer who during the Second World War composed in Görlitz his “Quarter for the End of Time”, considered to be one of the most significant works of the 20th century chamber music. The main objective of the program was to “bring the future focus into agreement with reflection on the past and present” by making Görlitz-Zgorzelec a music centre for young Europeans, and by promoting its historical richness. The project included an organization of international concerts, competitions, and composition workshops. There are also plans to build the Olivier Meissaien museum in Zgorzelec (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005; Meetingpoint Music Messiaen: www.messiaen.themusicpoint.net).

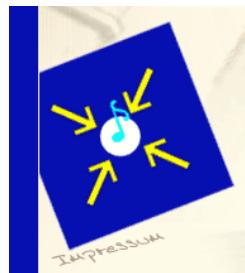


Figure 37 Logo of Meeting Point Music Messiaen
(Meetingpoint Music Messiaen: www.messiaen.themusicpoint.net)

➤ “City Twins”

Very significant for the Görlitz-Zgorzelec cultural cooperation was its participation in an international project called the “City Twins”, initiated in 2004. Other participants were pairs of six towns located in different places in Europe and split by international borders. The overall objective of this project was to improve local development in these split places by exchanging their experiences in cross-border cooperation, mainly in the field of economy and culture (Nupponen, Nikula & Peräkasari, 2007; Interreg IIC: www.interreg3c.net). Figure 39 shows the locations of towns participating in the project on the map of Europe.



Figure 38 Logo of City Twins (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec; 2006)



Figure 39 Towns participating in Twin City project (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec; 2006)

- **Annual events**

There are various cultural activities happening in Görlitz-Zgorzelec that already have an annual character. Every year there are more of these, and every year these events bring more residents and attract more tourists to the town. Eight annual cultural events are introduced here.

- **“Jacob Days” - “Old Town Fest”**

One of the most popular annual cultural events in Görlitz-Zgorzelec is the “Jacob Days” in the Polish part of the town (name comes after Jacob Böhme, see p. 91), and the “Old Town Fest” on the German side of the town. For fourteen years, the events have taken place in the last week of August. A general objective of the events is to integrate divided residents through common entertainment. During the few days of the event, the residents have an opportunity to meet each other through international concerts, workshops, and picnics. To connect people to the common history of the place, the event is presented in a medieval style: there are craftsmen on the streets presenting their wares to the public, there are some people dressed up in medieval costumes, and local bands play flutes and bagpipes (Old Town Fest: www.altstadtfest-goerlitz.de; Jacob Days: www.jakuby.zgorzelec.com).

Although the Jacob Days/ Old Town Fest is perceived by most interviewees as successful, and every year it attracts more residents, some interviewees pointed out its negative sides. The residents do not like the fact that the event is being organized separately on each side of the Neisse River. According to W2Z, it was the Municipality of Zgorzelec which started the integrative event called the Jacob Days and invited their Görlitz neighbors to participate in it. The inhabitants of Görlitz accepted the idea of creating some kind of common annual cultural festival, but they decided to establish their own independent event that would take place on the same days. As a consequence, until today there are the Jacob Days organized annually in Zgorzelec, and the Old

Town Fest organized annually in Görlitz. Some Polish interviewees said that they do not feel content with the fact that Zgorzelec authorities promote the German philosopher Jacob Böhme as a symbol of cross-border collaboration, and at the same time their German neighbors rarely mention the personage of Böhme.



Figure 40 Poster of Jacob Days - Old Town Fest 2008
(Old Town Fest: www.altstadtfest-goerlitz.de)

➤ **“Night of Museums”**

Since 2004, Görlitz-Zgorzelec celebrates the “Night of Museums.” One September night a year, all museums in the town are open free of charge to all residents. Six museums participate in the event in Görlitz, and two in Zgorzelec. Usually, many additional cultural activities accompany this event, such as organ concerts in local churches (Night of Museums: www.museumsnacht-goerlitz.de). According to the interviewees, the program is becoming more popular every year.



Figure 41 Logo of Night of Museums
(Night of Museums: www.museumsnacht-goerlitz.de)

➤ **“Gala Concert of Zgorzelec Mandolin Orchestra”**

The oldest annual music event in Zgorzelec, in the last few years with an international character, is an annual gala concert of the “Zgorzelec Mandolin Orchestra.” Playing in Görlitz-Zgorzelec for eighteen years, the Orchestra is very popular in the Neisse region. Also, quoting the Mayor of Zgorzelec, it is “the best export from Zgorzelec”, playing concerts around the world.

Although most musicians are Polish, the Orchestra often hosts musicians from Germany. During the gala concerts, the Orchestra accompanies German singers or Polish artists singing in German (Municipality of Zgorzelec: <http://www.zgorzelec.eu/kultura/stowarzyszenia-kulturalne/zgorzelecka-orkiestra-mandolinistow-miejskiego-domu-kultury.html>).

➤ **“Via Thea”**

Since 1995, Görlitz-Zgorzelec participates in international street theatre entitled the “Via Thea.” During this time, many groups of artists and guests from around the world visit the town. Most performances are presented in the Old Market in Görlitz (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2005; Via Thea: www.viathea.de).



Figure 42 Via Thea 2008 – Poster
(Via Thea: www.viathea.de)

➤ “European Neighbors’ Day”

Since Poland joined the EU in 2004, every May the split sections of Görlitz-Zgorzelec celebrate the so-called “European Neighbors’ Day.” This event, organized in many places in the EU, aims to foster cohesion of the European communities by improving cross-border cooperation. During the “European Neighbors’ Day” celebration, the divided societies of Görlitz-Zgorzelec have an opportunity to participate in various international cultural and social activities. For example, in 2007 traditional cooking of both neighboring regions was presented during which a common breakfast was organized on the Old Town Bridge (EU Europe for Citizens Program: www.european-neighbours-day.com).



Figure 43 European Neighbor's Day 2008 – Poster
(EU Europe for Citizens Program: www.european-neighbours-day.com)

➤ **“Europamarathon”**

Since 2004, once per year the residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec and their guests from neighboring regions participate in the so-called “Europamarathon.” The participants cover the distance of ten kilometers on both sides of the border river by walking, running, biking, and in wheelchairs. Usually, the marathon starts in Zgorzelec and finishes in the Görlitz Old Market (Europamarathon: www.europamarathon.de).



Figure 44 Logo of Europe-Marathon
(Europamarathon: www.europamarathon.de)

- **One-Time Events**

Besides the international and the annual cultural events, there are also many one-time events happening in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. To show their frequency and variety, Table 9 was created gathering the one-time events that took place in May 2007, during a visit of the researcher in the town. The data were collected from documentary sources found in Görlitz-Zgorzelec, such as local newspapers, brochures, posters and internet sources.

Table 9 Cultural events in Görlitz-Zgorzelec in May 2007

DATE	EVENT	LOCATION
3-13.05	Exhibition: “50 th Anniversary of the EU”	Görlitz Old Town
5.05	Organ Music Concert: “Marakanta”	Peterskirche, Görlitz
5.05	Regatta of Three Countries: Germany, Poland and Czech Republic	Witka Lake, Zgorzelec suburbs
5-13.05	XIII European Week: series of international cultural and social meetings	Different locations in Görlitz-Zgorzelec
8.05	Cooperation Agreement signed between the “My dla Zgorzelca” and the “Europahaus” (see Chapter 4,p.137)	Europa-Bibliothek, Görlitz
9.05	Integration games for children	Public Kindergarten, Görlitz
9-13.05	IV Neisse Film Festival	Different locations in Görlitz, Zittau, Grossshenensdorf (Germany), Zgorzelec (Poland), and Liberec (Czech Republic)
10.05	Exhibition: “European Capital of Culture”	Görlitz Old Town
10.05	Open Door in Krasnal House Kindergarten	Görlitz
10.05	Exhibition: “History of Weaving”	Rathaus, Görlitz

11.05	Exhibition: “Strategies Without Borders. Student Works from TU Dresden”	Görlitz Old Town
12.05	“Marleyki” Reggae Concert. Bands: Paihivo (Zgorzelec), High Power Station (Görlitz)	MDK Zgorzelec
13.05	“Saxonian Spring Walk”: international meetings of Polish and German students	ZOO Görlitz
19.05	“131. Concert on Sun-organs.” Composers: Bach, Liszt, Mussorgsky	Peterskirche, Görlitz
27.05	Day of Open Heritage Przyslupowy Houses. Visiting sample renovations and learning about architecture of the region	Various locations in Görlitz-Zgorzelec and area
27.05	“Organ Night “	Various churches in Görlitz
31.05-3.06	“Jazz Days”	Various locations in Görlitz

4.2.3. Opinions on Cooperation of Görlitz and Zgorzelec Residents in Field of Culture

Most interviewees said that they are satisfied with the development of cultural cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. According to the information they provided, over the last ten years, the number and variety of common cultural activities in Görlitz-Zgorzelec has increased. The promotion of international events has improved. There are more brochures, posters and billboards advertising the cultural events on both sides of the Neisse River. Many interviewees stated that every year more people are participating in international events.

Although most interviewees stated that they are content with the quality of cross-border cultural cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec, some of them had more skeptical opinions about it. Some residents argued that the cultural cooperation between the divided sections is not real, and it was not real from its very beginning. W2Z recalled two cultural events that took place in the history of Görlitz-Zgorzelec. The first event, the “925th Birthday of Görlitz-Zgorzelec”,

took place in 1996. “All the authorities then seemed to forget the fact that at that time, Zgorzelec was 51 years old. Nobody has provided any historical background about the history of the town. The idea of integrating the split residents was not really working too well” – said W2Z. Besides that lack of information, the “Birthday” was not really a common event, as there was almost no exchange of the residents across the border. The second event mentioned by W2Z was an International New Year’s Eve party in 2000, organized by authorities of both split sections in a building located at the German-Polish border crossing, called the Stadthalle Görlitz. According to W2Z, there were about five hundred guests at the party from Görlitz and only six guests from Zgorzelec. It was hard to find any kind of international character in this event. W2Z stated that “cultural cooperation was not real then, and it is not real now.” Its main purpose is to promote Görlitz-Zgorzelec as a symbol of European integration to get more funds from the EU. According to him and few other interviewees, even the common participation of Görlitz-Zgorzelec in the ECOC competition was not real. “From the beginning of the competition, our common participation was a fake. At the beginning, the Mayors of both towns signed a declaration about their willingness to cooperate, but these signatures had almost no results in practice” – stated W2Z. The interviewee said that after the divided towns finally learned that they did not win the competition, they stopped being so “friendly” to each other. Numerous common actions were stopped not only because of financial difficulties, but also because everybody was “tired of doing so many things that were not natural.”

Another problem in cultural cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec mentioned by some interviewees is the lack of participants at common events. According to some residents, both sections of the divided town are experiencing problems with mass migration. Many people decided to leave the town in search by better standard of living. Since Poland joined the EU, not only Görlitz but also Zgorzelec is under-populated. CZ, a young woman who moved recently from Zgorzelec – said that she feels very surprised when visiting the town: “I do not have any friends here anymore. Everybody has left the place (...). I do not know

people on the streets!” DZ, a local taxi driver, said: “Zgorzelec, just like Görlitz, is beginning to be a village. The young generation is leaving the town. Only old people stay because they do not know foreign languages. It is sad, just sad.” The phenomenon of mass-migration has a direct impact on a number of people participating in cultural events, especially since usually young people leave, and they are the ones to whom most cultural events are addressed.

Finally, according to W2Z, the residents living on opposite riverbanks of Neisse are not equally prepared for cultural cooperation. The Germans are more eager to invite the Poles to cultural events than the Poles to invite their neighbors from Görlitz. The Germans are the ones that usually send their invitations to Zgorzelec residents and arrange for the Polish translators. The Poles generally are not too enthusiastic to participate in public integrative events. Generally, they prefer spending free time in their homes, with their friends and families.

4.3. Actions Undertaken to Decrease Language Barrier between Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec

The East-West border of the EU is marked by one of the harshest language barriers in Europe. Languages of the societies living on the German-Polish border come from different language families – Germanic and Slavic (Barjak & Heimpold, 2000; Dürrschmidt, 2006). The interviewees pointed out this language difference as one of the main problems in cross-border cooperation. “Cooperation depends on residents, their opinions and... language abilities” – said W2G.

This part of the chapter focuses on the language abilities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents and actions undertaken to decrease the language barriers. The data presented below come from local documents and official websites, and from field research. The field research consists of interviews, questionnaires and personal observations of the researcher.

Here, the historical background about language cooperation in Görlitz-Zgorzelec is introduced, common activities undertaken in the case study town to decrease the language barriers are shown, and opinions of residents and data obtained from observations are described.

Because of the important role of the Görlitz-Zgorzelec residents' language abilities in cross-border networking, language proficiency and the advancement of language cooperation in the divided town are chosen as indicators of the quality of cross-border cooperation.

4.3.1. Historical Background

For many years after the Second World War, contacts between societies living on opposite sides of the German-Polish border were very limited. The inability of Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents to communicate in the language of their neighbors did not hamper their everyday life.

According to interviewees, the first time a strong need to be able to communicate in the language of the neighbors appeared in residents of Zgorzelec after political changes in 1989. Very quickly after these changes, so-called "shopping tourism" appeared. Every weekend, hundreds of Germans crossed the border to shop at Zgorzelec bazaars. The ability of the Poles working on the bazaars to communicate in German had a direct impact on their income. That is why they tried to learn at least the basics of German to be able to communicate with their clients.

In the 1990's, the first actions at both the national and local levels were undertaken to decrease the language barrier on German-Polish border. In 1991, in many Polish schools, Russian language lessons were replaced by German or English ones. Also, the first private language schools were opened, giving the residents of different ages an opportunity to learn German. At the beginning, the quality of the lessons in both governmental and private institutions was very low. There were many basic education problems, such as a lack of qualified

teachers and lack of textbooks. It took a few years for these institutions to be able to provide a sufficient level of quality for the lessons.

Until today, German public schools do not provide Polish language lessons but, according to WIG, there are some private institutions in Görlitz giving an opportunity for its residents to learn Polish.

Since Poland joined the EU, the English language has been progressively breaking down the communication barrier between the German and the Polish residents. There were three main factors that caused the spread of English in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. The quality of English lessons in education institutions has increased. Second, after Poland joined the EU the percentage of Zgorzelec residents working seasonally in the English speaking countries has increased. Also, Zgorzelec residents began traveling abroad more often than they did before 2004, which improved their proficiency in English that is considered as a language of communication of many European citizens.

4.3.2. Actions Undertaken in Görlitz-Zgorzelec to Decrease Language Barrier

Many programs have been implemented in recent years by Görlitz-Zgorzelec institutions to decrease the language barrier among residents. Some of them were prepared by local educational institutions, such as kindergartens and elementary schools. For example, so-called “sibling daycares” were created. Children from day cares located on opposite sides of the border meet each other, play together and learn the basics of their languages. Very important, not only for strengthening the language abilities of the divided societies but also for their social integration, is the opening in Zgorzelec of a private, bilingual elementary school called the “Rainbow.” Since September 2007, the institution provides classes for children in both Polish and German (DPFA Akademiegruppe: www.dpfa-europrymus.pl).

Some programs aiming to decrease the language barriers are prepared by local integration organizations. For example, international bike trips were

organized by local integration institutions, giving an opportunity for residents to learn the basics of their languages while spending time together.

4.3.3. Opinions of Residents and Data Collected about Language Barrier in Görlitz-Zgorzelec

This section describes opinions on the language abilities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents and also provides data about the language barrier, collected from observations interviews with customer service representatives from both sides of the border.

- **Opinions on Language Barriers**

Interviewees have different opinions about the impact of language barrier on cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Many residents stated that nowadays, the number of the Poles who are able to communicate in German is increasing relatively fast. Together with the changing character of the German-Polish border, many people from Görlitz and Zgorzelec feel motivated to learn German. Even though Poles usually do not like the sound of the language of their neighbors, they see a direct correlation between their language abilities and the strength of their businesses and employment prospects. Also, they see some social, economic and cultural benefits from being able to communicate in German.

According to IIZ, together with the improvement of their language abilities, Poles feel more eager to cross the border. They feel more content in Görlitz than they felt before, as they are able to explain to customer service representatives what the purpose of their visit is, and in case of any problem, they can somehow communicate with local people, or easily find a person who speaks their language.

Although, according to the information provided by interviewees, there are many people in Zgorzelec able to communicate in German, there are not many people in Görlitz able to communicate in Polish. According to research mentioned

by W1Z, (source unknown), 80% of the Poles try to speak German and only 20% of the Germans try to speak Polish. Some interviewees see an explanation for this in the fact that incentives to learn the neighboring languages for the Germans and for the Poles are asymmetrical: “The Poles see many economic advantages to communicate with the Germans, and it gives them at least a little bit of motivation to learn the language. The Germans do not have much interest in learning Polish, so they do not have motivation to do it” – said W2G.

Some residents of Zgorzelec who were interviewed stated that they disapproved of the fact that their German neighbors generally do not feel obligated to learn Polish. Some interviewees stated that residents of Görlitz expect the Poles to speak German, or at least to be able to communicate with them in this language. For example, I1G, working in an international office on the German side where about half of the employees have a Polish background, said: “Our office is multicultural. Employees speak different native languages. Every German working here has Polish lessons, but the Germans do not feel encouraged to speak Polish. As a consequence, both nations speak German.”

Some interviewees stated that the English language seems to be a kind of compromise for both town sections. It gives both societies equal benefits from learning the language, and it pushes both societies to equal efforts to communicate. Nowadays, the ability of the Germans and the Poles to speak English, especially among young people, is increasing very quickly.

- **Data Collected about Language Barriers in Görlitz-Zgorzelec**

- The researcher visited ten restaurants/ bars on each side of the Neisse River, located within one kilometer of the border crossing, and checked for bilingualism on menu cards. Sixty percent of restaurants/ bars located in Zgorzelec and 20% of those located in Görlitz offer menu cards in both languages.

- The researcher visited five hair/cosmetic salons on each side of the river, located within one kilometer from the border crossings. According to the outcomes from this research, three of the five hair/cosmetic salons located in Zgorzelec, and none of the five of those located in Görlitz offered paper descriptions of their services in both languages. In all the five places in Zgorzelec, customer service representatives stated that they are able to understand basics of German and to answer basic questions associated with services that they offer. In all the five places in Görlitz, customer service representatives stated that they are not able to communicate anyhow in Polish.

- There are four tourist information offices in Görlitz and one in Zgorzelec. The researcher visited all these places and checked bilingualism for both written and spoken customer service. According to the outcomes from this research, none of the customer service representatives working in tourist information offices in Görlitz was able to communicate in Polish. At the same time, a customer service representative working in the Zgorzelec tourist information office spoke German. In the Görlitz tourist information offices, there were no publications in Polish aside from a few bi- or tri-lingual (including Czech) flyers inviting the residents to participate in integrative events. At the same time, in the tourist information office located in Zgorzelec, there were few German guidebooks available for foreign clients.

➤ In May 2007, the researcher participated in one of international events organized in the House of Culture in Zgorzelec, which was an art-workshop provided by a local German painter. The artist providing the workshop could only speak German. German-Polish translation was available only at the beginning of the event during the first day of the workshop, and then for a few additional hours during the following days. For most of the time, the Polish participants were not able to actively participate in the workshop.

➤ The researcher visited many official Görlitz and Polish websites, and the websites of integration organizations. On most of the Polish websites, there was basic information provided in German. Some of these were fully bilingual. On the German websites that were examined, German-Polish translations were very rare, and were usually of a very poor quality. At the same time, some German websites offered German-English translations, which was very rare on the Polish websites.

➤ When visiting Görlitz-Zgorzelec, the researcher gathered information about bilingualism of written translations (billboards, posters and information tables) located in the town. Below, the outcomes from this research are outlined:

✓ In general, there are noticeably more written translations in Görlitz than in Zgorzelec.

✓ Written translations on the streets of Görlitz mainly appear in public places and are a result of actions undertaken by the town authorities. Most bilingual written information was found near tourist attractions, such as the Görlitz Old Market Square and the Görlitz Zoo. Also, a lot of bilingually written information was found on the Görlitz Old Market buildings, informing visitors about the history of the place. In private places in Görlitz, translations were hard to find. On the other hand, the purpose of most bilingually written information on streets of Zgorzelec is to advertise small businesses located by the border, such as cigarette shops and exchange offices.

✓ Posters found by the researcher on streets of Görlitz-Zgorzelec promoting international events were usually bi- or tri- lingual (German-Polish-English). However, the quality of the Polish translation was sometimes very low. Sometimes the meaning of the Polish text was different than the German one. There were occasional spelling mistakes, or the Polish translation was incomprehensible.

✓ Information about the EU sponsorship for particular projects implemented in the town, often appearing on billboards located on both sides of the border, was always bi- or tri- lingual.

4.4. Actions Undertaken in the Field of Social Integration

For many years, residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec were living in two different countries, they were surrounded by different cultures, and they had different standard of living. There were different laws and systems of education on opposite sides of the border. These differences caused various kinds of barriers that have a direct impact on their relations. W2Z noted the “two divided communities perceive the reality surrounding them differently”, which causes a comparatively great social distance between them. According to I1Z, “there will always be some kinds of barriers linked to different mentalities and these barriers will be very hard to remove.”

This part of the chapter focuses on social integration between the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. The data presented below come from local documents and official websites, and from the field research. The field research consists of interviews, questionnaires and personal observations of the researcher.

First, a historical background of integration between inhabitants of Görlitz and Zgorzelec is given. Then, actions undertaken to strengthen the relations between the divided residents are introduced. Opinions of interviewees on social

integration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec are then introduced, and finally data collected about the social relations among the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec are shown.

Many authorities stated that the willingness of Görlitz-Zgorzelec residents for cross-border integration and cooperation is the most important element to improve networking between the divided communities. “If there is a willingness in people [to integrate], many things seems to be easier and more possible to do” – said IIG. That is why the willingness was chosen as an indicator of the quality of cross-border cooperation.

4.4.1. Historical Background

According to interviewees, cooperation and integration between residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec started directly after the division of the town in 1945. At that time, there were many basic problems on both sides of the border. In Zgorzelec most infrastructure, such as accommodations, factories, churches, hospitals, the sewage treatment system, electricity and communication, needed to be organized from the beginning. In Görlitz, there were two main problems: first, Görlitz did not have the gas works; second, it was very hard for its authorities to control a great number of inhabitants that settled there after the Second World War. At that time, the area where Görlitz is located was one of the most populated places in Eastern Germany. According to WIG, in 1949 twenty five percent of all German citizens were settled near the new eastern border. Many of them were hoping to come back to their properties now in Poland in the near future.

Authorities of Germany and Poland needed a few years to finally establish the new German-Polish border on the Neisse River. It gave the local societies some time to prepare to live totally independently. According to interviewees, regardless of the hard political situation and social problems, the basic needs of everyday life encouraged residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec to collaborate. At that time, people exchanged various articles across the border, such as food,

clothes and blankets. Hospitals located on opposite riverbanks exchanged medications and medical services. Very often, the doctors from Görlitz and Zgorzelec worked together. Also, local churches were organizing common actions to help the local societies in surviving those hard times.

W1G stated that during the first years after the Second World War, the integration of the Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents was more real than it is now. “The time was hard and cooperation was not easy from the social and the political point of view, but people felt more need to really collaborate” – said W1G.

For a few years after the war, the border was stabilized and special permits were required to get to the opposite side of the town. Communication between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents was almost totally stopped.

In the 1970’s, the political situation between Germany and Poland improved slightly. Residents with special permits were again able to cross the border. The interviewees stated that since those times, economic benefits have been the main reason for divided residents to communicate and integrate. Zgorzelec had a lot better start than many other Polish towns because of its proximity to the German border. Some people from Zgorzelec were even able work in Görlitz. They were earning more money than they would earn in Poland, and they had access to foreign products. W2Z said that in the 1970’s, there was “more sausage, western shoes, and colorful baby clothes in Zgorzelec than in most other places in Poland.” Zgorzelec was one of the first Polish places where Mercedes cars were standing on parking lots. “In other towns there were mostly [Polish-produced] Fiats” – said W2Z.

In the 1990’s, the Poles and the Germans finally were able to freely cross the border with no visa requirements. Very quickly so-called “shopping tourism” appeared, encouraging residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec to cross the border. Interviewees remember that very quickly the residents from both sides of the border realized that some particular products and services were cheaper on the opposite side of the border. Every weekend, hundreds of Germans were crossing the border to shop at shopping stalls in Zgorzelec called “bazaars”.

The most popular products for them to buy were cigarettes, alcohol, and gasoline. At the same time, Zgorzelec residents were crossing the German-Polish border mainly to purchase cosmetics and clothes. According to interviewees, even today, shopping tourism is the main reason for residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec to cross the border.

At the end of the 1990's, increasingly more residents of both divided sections were crossing the border for other than economic purposes. There were many people, especially from Zgorzelec, who were visiting the neighboring town out of pure curiosity or just to have a walk on the other riverbank. At that time, the Görlitz Old Town was almost fully restored. EG said, "In these years, there was more curiosity in the Poles about Görlitz than in the Germans about Zgorzelec, but the fact is that Görlitz then was much more attractive than Zgorzelec."

4.4.2. Integration Organizations and Actions Undertaken by Them

Integration organizations are considered by interviewees to be the powerful tools in involving local people in international activities. In Görlitz-Zgorzelec, four main integration organizations were created: "Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec" (*"Association for the Promotion of the City of Culture Görlitz-Zgorzelec"*) and the "Europahaus" (*"Europe-house"*) on the German side of the town, and the "Euroopera" and the "My dla Zgorzelca" (*"We stand for Zgorzelec"*) on the Polish side of the town. In this section, these four organizations are introduced and examples of actions implemented by them are provided.

- **Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Görlitz)**

"Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec" (FKGZ) is an association that initially was created to prepare Görlitz-Zgorzelec for the ECOC competition. There were numerous international initiatives that the FKGZ prepared at that

time, such as the “Via Regia - Dialogue of Horizons”, aimed to integrate residents of towns located on the historical trade route the Via Regia.

After the loss in the ECOC competition, members of the FKGZ decided to continue to promote Görlitz-Zgorzelec on the international scene as a symbol of the European integration and the integration of its residents.

At the time of the field research, two main events were prepared by the FKGZ. The first one, entitled “Europe – Land of Children”, took place at the beginning of June 2007. Numerous attractions were prepared for children, aiming to lower the language barrier dividing them. The second event, entitled “Following in Footsteps of Jacob Böhme” took place a few days later and was a run from Old Zawidów, the place where Jacob Böhme was born, to the house where he lived in Zgorzelec, and then on to the Lower Market in Görlitz. The participants could join the race by walking, running, biking, rollerblading, and in wheelchairs (Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec: www.europastadt.org).



Figure 45 Logo of Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec
(Förderverein Kulturstadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec: www.europastadt.org)

- **Europa-haus (Görlitz)**

The “Europa-haus” is a large association that stages different kinds of activities aimed at improving relations between the divided societies of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. It consists of a number of sub-organizations. One of the main ones is called “Wir-My”, which is the German and the Polish translation of the word “*We*”). During the field research, the posters and brochures distributed by “Wir-My”, with the motto “Discover our Town”, were the most commonly seen in Görlitz-Zgorzelec (Europa-haus: www.europa-haus-goerlitz.de).



Figure 46 Logo of Europa-haus (Europa-haus: www.europa-haus-goerlitz.de)

The members of “Wir-My” mainly concentrate on the improving international relations among young people in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. Each month, letters are sent by the organization to local schools, inviting youths to participate in events organized on both sides of the town. Besides cultural actions, “Wir-My” organizes international trips to historical places located in the divided town and surrounding areas. Also, it organizes biking and jogging trips for young people, aiming to provide them with an opportunity to get to know each other.

- **Euroopera (Zgorzelec)**

According to the information provided by IIZ, the first integration organization created in Zgorzelec was the “Euroopera.” The ideological objective of the organization is to remind the residents about the common history of Görlitz-Zgorzelec and to improve their relations. As written in Euroopera (2004), the aim of the organization is “to build the bridges connecting Görlitz and Zgorzelec, the physical ones and the ones in minds of people (p.14).” Members of the Euroopera collect data about the history of the divided town, such as historical maps of the region and an inventory of the architectural and cultural heritage in the town. A few years ago, an information guide about Zgorzelec-Görlitz history and tourist attractions was prepared by the “Euroopera” (Europamiasto Görlitz-Zgorzelec, 2006; Euroopera, 2004; Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera). Also, the organization participated in restoration of some heritage buildings, such as the “Böhme House”.



Figure 47 Logo of Euroopera (Euroopera: www.free.art.pl/euroopera)

- **My dla Zgorzelca (Zgorzelec)**

“My dla Zgorzelca” was created in 2007, after Görlitz-Zgorzelec lost the ECOC competition. Similarly to the FKGZ, its overall objective is to continue projects started during the preparations for the ECOC. “After the loss, we did not want to waste the enthusiasm of our residents” – said the chair of the “My dla Zgorzelca.”

According to the interviewees, a very important moment for cross-border relations between the divided societies of Görlitz and Zgorzelec was May 2007. At that time, the so-called “European Association of Trans-border Cooperation” was created, giving the integration organizations from Germany and Poland a possibility to create one common legal body. The researcher had an opportunity to participate in a ceremony for the signing official documents between “My dla Zgorzelca” (Zgorzelec) and the “Europahaus” (Görlitz) about combining these two organizations. Creating one legal international institution simplified many administration actions that usually needed to be undertaken when organizing international events, and gave the organizations new possibilities to apply for more funds from the EU.

4.4.3. Opinions of Residents and Data Collected about Social Integration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec

Most authorities that were interviewed declared their willingness to improve relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents. According to the information they provided, the willingness of residents to integrate with their neighbors living on the opposite bank of Neisse River is generally

improving. Gradually, people become more open to each other. W2G stated that every year more people feel that they can profit from the cross-border networking. “The situation on the border is changing quite quickly and the border is not dividing people so much anymore” – said W2G. Also, the level of networking between members of the Görlitz and Zgorzelec municipalities is perceived as advanced.

Interviewees pointed out three main reasons why the relations between the Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents should be improved. First, they feel that the historical nature of the place requires that they collaborate. Second, they believe that the divided sections are more powerful together, and third, they see a variety of economic benefits from cooperation.

- **Historical Nature of Görlitz-Zgorzelec**

Some authorities pointed out the historical nature of the place as encouraging cross-border integration. Although more than sixty years have passed since the riverbanks were separated, for more than nine hundred years the two riverbanks developed together. “Today, Zgorzelec and Görlitz are two towns, but still one organism” – explained I1Z. Because of the common history, all the official and unofficial contacts seem to be “just natural.”

The common history is considered by some authorities as giving a lot of power to the place. It was mentioned by the interviewees that before the historical Görlitz was divided it had a great significance in Europe. It was the largest municipality between Dresden and Wrocław, situated on the Via Regia - one of the main European trade roads. P1G said: “We have a great historical potential, but we are not fully aware of that, and we still do not know how to use it.”

Moreover, the short distance to get to the other country seems to motivate residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec to collaborate. P1G argues that “the pure nature of the geographical location of the place not only gives a possibility, but also requires that the divided sections collaborate.” W2Z mentioned: “Zgorzelec has three official cooperation partners in Europe, one of which is located in France

and the second one in Greece. The third one is Görlitz, separated from Zgorzelec just by the few meters of the Neisse River. So, who should we cooperate with?”

Additionally, some interviewees stated that there is a kind of a natural curiosity in residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec about what is happening on the neighboring land, and crossing the bordering bridge seems to be the easiest way to learn about this “otherness.”

Finally, according to interviewees, there now is no need to live in separation. According to the research done in August 2007, before Poland signed the Schengen Agreement, the residents felt that their freedom was somehow disturbed by the border. They could not move freely in desired directions. “On Sundays, I like taking my family for a walk. Since 1990, I can go for a walk in any possible direction. I would prefer not to have an obligation to show a passport when I go west, but still it is better than it was before” – said NZ.

- **Görlitz-Zgorzelec More Powerful Together**

Some authorities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec that were interviewed said that they feel the strength of the town is in its unity. Some interviewees hope that through an improvement of cross-border relations Görlitz and Zgorzelec can resolve many problems associated with their peripheral location. For a long time, both divided sections were distanced from the centers of their countries, and there was not much emphasis put on their development. After the Second World War, both Poland and Eastern Germany had a lot of financial problems. National governors preferred to invest their limited funds in regions located in the centre of their countries, to assure more profits in a short time. Additionally, in peripheral places the geographical space of market place is very limited (see Figure 6, p.32) (Barjak & Heimpold, 2000). Usually there is not much industry in these towns, and people living in these regions have more problems with employment than people living in the cores of their countries. Nowadays, if developing separately, the divided communities do not have many chances to compete with larger towns that developed in the region, and certainly they do not have any chances

to compete with the towns located in core regions of their countries. Both Görlitz and Zgorzelec are relatively small-size municipalities. Today, the population of Görlitz is about sixty thousand and a population of Zgorzelec is approximately forty thousand. Together, they can form a community of a hundred thousand, which, according to WIZ, gives the number that can be somehow noticeable in Europe. Together, they can be seen as a symbol of cooperation between Germany and Poland, and from a greater perspective also as a symbol of cooperation between all the European countries. As one town, they can apply for more funds from the EU, and they are more powerful when participating in international projects and competitions. “From the middle of nowhere to the heart of Europe” is the text on a logo of the FKGZ.

Although most interviewees said that they are satisfied with an improvement of relations between the Görlitz and the Zgorzelec societies, there were some residents that see some problems hampering cross-border integration. Below, five main problems identified by interviewees are described.

- **Historical Problems**

According to interviewees, there are a lot of barriers between Polish and German residents that are a direct result of events that took place in the past. Residents of Görlitz remember that the land on the other side of the Neisse River was a part of their property. Many of them were born and grew up in Zgorzelec, and many of them have sentimental feelings associated with this place. For a long time after the Second World War, many Germans were hoping to be able to come back to the eastern side of the Neisse River.

In Görlitz bookstores, many publications can be found about the German heritage in Poland. Local souvenir shops give the German visitors the possibility to purchase hand-made porcelain with sketches of Wrocław, one of the former German towns located in Lower Silesia, signed “Breslau”, which is the old German name of the place. There is a lot of material in Görlitz promoting trips to some former German towns, such as Wrocław, Legnica and Boleslawiec. TG, working in a travel agency in Görlitz, stated that there is a lot of interest in the

Germans about these places, and that every year they became more popular in Görlitz. A few residents of Zgorzelec stated that they are worried of the German interest in the formerly German lands located in Poland and they feel concerned for safety of Zgorzelec when visiting those Görlitz tourist offices and souvenir shops. They do not feel stable in their land and they still have a feeling that the place belongs to them only temporarily.

- **Nationalist Problems**

Opinions of interviewees about the nationalist attitudes in Görlitz-Zgorzelec are divided. Some of them stated that nowadays almost nobody thinks any more about the Second World War and that the only exceptions are among the older generation of people. A few others said that there are still some nationalist problems regarding the German-Polish border, and that regardless of the time passing some Poles have very negative opinions and feelings about the Germans and look at the people living in Görlitz through the prism of the Second World War. “Statistically speaking, one of those woman, now walking on the other side of the border, killed my mother” – said LZ.

Moreover, according to some interviewees, even after the many years that passed since the Second World War racist attitudes still appear in the cross-border life. A number of interviewees stated that Görlitz-Zgorzelec is still a place where racist attacks by skin-head groups on the Poles living on both sides of the border appear in the everyday day life of residents. KZ, an owner of a shop located near the Neisse River, stated that especially in the evenings when there are some integrative events in the town, the young German skin-head groups gather on the Neisse River banks, scream very loudly and throw stones towards the Polish bank. A few interviewees stated that they prefer not to stay in Görlitz after dusk because they are scared of these kinds of groups. Unfortunately, during the last few years there is not much visible improvement in resolving this problem.

- **Crime Difficulties**

According to interviewees, some problems in integration between the Görlitz and Zgorzelec inhabitants have their roots in crime. Since the early 1990's, the German-Polish border area has been plagued by smuggling and theft problems. The Görlitz-Zgorzelec border crossing was considered to be one of the most dangerous places in the divided town. It was known as the meeting point for people selling illegal articles on the streets, including drugs, and illegally exchanging currency. Additionally, it was frequented by local drunkards.

In recent years, there were many actions undertaken by national and local authorities to improve the image of the German-Polish border area. Although the place now generally looks significantly more attractive and safe than a few years ago, there is still a lot of fear in the residents that stops them from visiting the place. AZ working in a cosmetician salon located on Daszyńskiego Street, said: "My husband picks me up everyday from work, despite the fact that my house is not more than half a kilometer from here."

Some interviewees stated that regardless of the actions undertaken in their town, the distance between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents, created during the years of high criminality, still somehow exists. Ten years ago one of the music shops located in the centre of Görlitz only kept empty CD boxes on the shelves, with signs only in Polish: "To prevent stealing, we supply our CD's near the cash register, after purchasing these", but it seems that this lack of trust of the Poles still exists. The Poles feel hurt by how they are perceived by the Germans. "I have not stolen anything ever in my life. Why then, after crossing the border do I have to feel like a thief?" – asked KZ.

- **Difference in Standard of Living**

Interviewees mention the difference in the standard of living between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents as one of the barriers to their social integration. The economic inequalities have a direct impact on how the bordering nations feel when crossing the border and how they perceive their neighbors. According

to interviewees, both bordering nations know that the Poles are generally poorer. They are aware that the Polish social assistance is much worse than the German, Germans produce more articles and they have more money to spend than Poles. Also, differences in budgets of Zgorzelec and Görlitz are considerable. W1G stated: “[the entire] budget of Zgorzelec for 2007 is equal to the budget of the Görlitz Theatre. How can we compare these towns and talk about building anything together?”

- **Pretended Integration**

Some interviewees stated that the Görlitz-Zgorzelec relations are not real. According to W2Z, for a very long time there have been “very beautiful words spoken at the official meetings of Görlitz-Zgorzelec authorities, but in practice almost nothing has improved.” The interviewee stated that the results of all the actions that the authorities of Görlitz-Zgorzelec have undertaken are not impressive. “There are some common kindergartens, bilingual schools etc, but it is all nothing compared to what could be done” – said W2Z. According to him, the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec “integrate mainly on paper.” He argued that the main reason to improve the cross-border networking lies in a willingness of local authorities to get more funds from the EU. Before 2004, Poland was entitled to apply for the EU funds by participating in programs such as INTERREG III, prepared for the EU neighbors. Finally, after Poland joined the EU both Germany and Poland are fully eligible to participate in internal programs of the EU. Undoubtedly, Görlitz and Zgorzelec, introducing themselves as one international town and a symbol of European integration can get more funds from the EU. Before Poland joined the EU, Görlitz authorities needed Zgorzelec authorities to sign the documents necessary to get the EU funds, as they could participate in a greater number of programs. At the moment, Zgorzelec is still learning from its neighbor about how to apply for EU grants and how to prepare proposals to get funds from the EU.

- **Data Collected from Questionnaire Survey about Social Integration in Görlitz-Zgorzelec**

This section introduces data collected from the questionnaire survey about the feelings of Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents about their social integration. The outcomes from this research are introduced in Table 10.

Do you feel your town is in any way united with the town on the other side of the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	38	74
N	62	26
At present, is the Neisse River dividing or binding divided town inhabitants?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Binding	46	48
Dividing	54	52
Do you feel any kind of psychological or physical discomfort when crossing the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	34	20
N	66	80
Do you think cooperation between the divided town sections should be improved?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	92	100
N	8	0
How often do you cross the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
0-5 times/ year	36	46
5-20 times/ year	30	30
20-50 times/ year	2	12
>50 times / year	32	12

Do you have any friends/ family living on the other side of the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	62	48
N	38	52
What is the reason for you to cross the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Shopping	72	56
Leisure	44	52
International meeting	12	28
Business	10	12
Other	0	2

Table 10 Social integration – questionnaire

4.5. Summary

Spatial planning, culture and social integration seem to play important roles in improving relations between the sections of the divided towns. In the field of spatial planning, there were many actions undertaken in divided towns around the world to utilize the area adjacent to border crossings as the place to integrate and cooperate. The idea of the Görlitz-Zgorzelec authorities is to spatially combine the divided sections by revitalizing the area adjacent to the Neisse River. There were many projects implemented in the town already on the way to bringing back the place to its historical importance and role as an international meeting point. Also in the fields of culture and social integration there were many actions undertaken to improve cross-border cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec.

Although most interviewees have positive opinions about the results of actions undertaken, some residents stated that there are still a lot of problems standing in the way of improved international cooperation. Some of them said that there is a lot of time needed for the improvement of the trans-border relations between the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Time is necessary for the residents of Zgorzelec and Görlitz to get to know each other, to change their perceptions of each other and to see the benefits from cross-border integration and cooperation. According to SG, “everything is possible to be done if there is willingness... and time.” P1G stated: “A lot of time must pass for the citizens of Görlitz and Zgorzelec to forget all the negative issues. First, we need to have an opportunity to get to know each other and then we can become friends.”

5. ANALYSIS OF INDICATORS OF SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION

The aim of this chapter is to return to and answer the research question:

In towns divided by an international border, what are the conditions that must be met to achieve a mutually beneficial level of cooperation and integration?

To help in addressing this question a number of indicators are used to organize and analyze the findings:

- ✓ indicator in the field of spatial planning: arrangement of an international integration place in the area adjacent to the border crossing
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: common cultural events
- ✓ indicator in the field of culture: language as a barrier in cross-border relations
- ✓ indicator in the field of social integration: willingness of divided town communities to cooperate

5.1. Indicator: Spatial Planning - Planning for the Neisse Riverbanks

This thesis has investigated the quality of cross-border spatial planning cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. The data analyzed below come from the research made about actions undertaken in the town to arrange the area adjacent to the border crossing in the Görlitz-Zgorzelec Old Town, and from the outcomes from these actions. The following questions are answered:

- ✓ Do the Görlitz and Zgorzelec Spatial Planners Cooperate?
- ✓ How Advanced is the Process of Revitalization of the Area Adjacent to the Border Crossing?
- ✓ Is the Integration Area Frequently Visited by the Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?
- ✓ What Are the Main Problems in Spatial Planning Cooperation?

5.1.1. Do the Görlitz and Zgorzelec Spatial Planners Cooperate?

For many years after the Second World War, spatial planning authorities in Görlitz and Zgorzelec did not have the opportunity to cooperate. The first international meetings organized for spatial planning purposes took place not earlier than in the 1970's, and even then they did not bring noticeable outcomes.

The situation changed noticeably in 2004, when Poland joined the EU. At that time, many new possibilities for international collaboration appeared for the spatial planners. Görlitz and Zgorzelec got financial support from the EU for a common spatial development, mainly the revitalization of the area adjacent to the border crossing located in the Görlitz-Zgorzelec Old Town.

At the same time, a new urban planner was chosen in Zgorzelec. The new authority, fluent in German and eager to improve the cross-border spatial planning

relations, had a great impact on the improvement of relations between the Görlitz and Zgorzelec spatial planners.

Today, there is strong cooperation between the spatial planners from both sides of the border. They have regular meetings and they have many discussions about the common development of their towns. They see many benefits from cross-border cooperation, such as complementing each other and a possibility to promote the place in the international arena as a symbol of European cooperation.

5.1.2. How Advanced is the Process of Revitalization of the Area Adjacent to the Border Crossing?

The aim of the Görlitz-Zgorzelec spatial planning authorities is to revitalize the area adjacent to the border crossing located in the Görlitz-Zgorzelec Old Town. The plan is to create in there a place of integration for the divided residents, where they can spend time together.

The initial step on the way to revitalize the area was to rebuild the bridge that for many centuries before the Second World War connected the oldest parts of the town. The so-called Old Town Bridge was officially re-opened in 2004.

Other main parts of the project of the Neisse banks revitalization are: renovation of the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard, rebuilding of the Zgorzelec Postal Market, restoring roads and sidewalks, and arrangement of a green space on both sides of the river. The project is mainly concentrated on the Polish side of the town as the German bank of the Neisse River is almost fully revitalized after more than ten years work.

A lot of work has already done along the Neisse riverbanks. A large part of the Zgorzelec Greek Boulevard has been renovated. The site has been prepared to rebuild the Zgorzelec Postal Market, and the main roads and sidewalks by the river were rebuilt. Also, some recreation areas by the river, such as walking trails in the park located on the Polish side of the border, were restored.

The local authorities have decided to keep the original, historical setup and style of the place. A lot of attention was paid to the historical values of the buildings sidewalks and roads. Also, architectural details, such as street lamps and benches, were kept in their historical setup.

Additionally, the authorities paid attention to the symbolical values of the place. One of the first restored tenement houses was the home of the famous German philosopher, Jacob Böhme who wrote about unity between humanity and nature, and a historical museum dedicated to the memory of the poet was opened in the restored building. Also, one of the first elements of street architecture was the postal stand in the middle of the Zgorzelec Postal Market that in the history was a place where people from different parts of Europe would meet. The museum and the postal stand are supposed to help in integrating residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec in their common history.

Summarizing, many improvements were made in the spatial organization of the area adjacent to the border crossing in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. Every year, more infrastructure is rebuilt and restored.

5.1.3. Is the Integration Area Frequently Visited by the Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?

According to authorities that were interviewed for this study, the integration area located in the old town is already a place of international events and everyday meetings for town residents. There are common feasts, parties, concerts and religious celebrations organized in this place. People frequently visit the pubs and restaurant located by the Neisse River.

However, a few non-official interviewees had opposing opinions about the success of the Old Town area as the place for integration. It was pointed out by them that not enough people visit the area, and that an exchange of people across the border is not sufficient.

The outcomes from the questionnaire survey used in this study seem to reaffirm the opinions of these non-official interviewees. According to the data obtained from the questionnaires, 54% of Görlitz residents and 48% of Zgorzelec residents do not visit the place more than five times per year. Only 12% of Görlitz residents and 26% of Zgorzelec residents stated that they visit the place more than 50 times per year (Table 11).

How often do you visit the Old Town?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
0-5/ year	54	48
5-20/ year	14	32
20-50/ year	6	8
>50/ year	26	12

Table 11 Spatial Planning A – Questionnaire

When asked about the reasons for crossing the border, most residents (68% - Görlitz, 54% - Zgorzelec) indicated entertainment purposes (music, sport, art) (Table 12). It indicates that residents visit the area to participate in integrative events organized by authorities. Also, it shows the importance of culture in the process of cross-border integration.

Twenty percent of Görlitz residents and 14 % percent of Zgorzelec residents pointed out any kinds of meetings and conferences as the reason to visit the integration area.

Seven percent of Görlitz residents and 10% of Zgorzelec residents pointed out business or economic purposes as the reason for visiting the area. As there are almost no businesses/ shops located in the Old Town area, it might indicate that the direct reason for visiting the integration area in this case is crossing the border to get to other places in the town on the opposite side of the Neisse River. There

were also a few residents who specified directly that they visit the integration area to cross the Old Town Bridge.

Why do you visit these places?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Entertainment (music, sport, art)	54	68
Meetings and conferences	14	20
Business/ economy	8	14
Other	10	7
Do not visit	14	4

Table 12 Spatial Planning B – Questionnaire

5.1.4. What Are the Main Problems in Spatial Planning Cooperation?

Besides a low number of people visiting the integration place, the interviewees pointed out two other problems in cross-border spatial planning cooperation: architectural disparities between Görlitz and Zgorzelec, and legal barriers.

Architectural disparities between Görlitz and Zgorzelec are a result of unequal division of the town and of a long development of the two sections in different political, economic and social environments. Görlitz is architecturally richer and more developed than Zgorzelec. The architectural inequalities cause many basic problems in cross-border cooperation. For example, it is hard to talk about common investment in international projects since “[the entire] budget of Zgorzelec for 2007 is equal to the budget of the Görlitz Theatre (...)” (W1G).

Differences in law between Germany and Poland are the next problem in spatial planning cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Planners lack uniform documents, and building codes are different on opposite sides of the border. There are basic differences in requirements for preparing plans

of the projects. Since Poland joined the EU in 2004, there are some actions undertaken by national authorities to decrease the legal differences, but as of today there is still a lot of time needed to totally eliminate them.

5.2. Indicator: Cultural Cooperation

The quality of cross-border cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec in the field of culture is discussed using data respecting actions undertaken by local authorities in the field of culture, and about cultural cooperation in general. Four central questions are addressed:

5.2.1. Do the Residents of Görlitz-Zgorzelec Feel a Need for Cultural Cooperation?

The authorities that were interviewed stated that cultural cooperation plays a great role for improving relations between the neighboring societies and that it has a significant impact on different fields of cross-border cooperation. According to them, international events, such as common picnics, music concerts and workshops, give the adjacent societies an opportunity to meet and to get to know each other. The authorities stated that culture can help in binding the split societies together by creating in them a feeling of belonging to one place. Especially sport events are considered to be a powerful tool in improving cross-border relations, as they do not require an ability to understand the language of their neighbors.

At the same time, it seems that the main problem in cultural cooperation is lack of participants in international events. Both divided sections have problems with out-migration. Moreover, it seems that people who stayed in the town do not really have a need to participate in common cultural meetings. Some interviewees pointed that especially Poles are not enthusiastic about participating in cultural events. Generally, they are more eager to spend their free time in their homes, with their friends and families.

Another cultural problem is that, during the international cultural events, residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec rarely cross the border. Generally, each nation stays on its own side of the river.

Some residents stated that even authorities of the town only pretend a need for cultural cooperation. They use culture as the tool to promote the divided town as a symbol of European integration, to bring more tourists to the town, and to get more funds from the EU.

5.2.2. Is the Number and Variety of Common Activities Sufficient?

Over the last ten years, there has been an increase in the number of common cultural activities in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. The divided town participates in many European programs, such as the ECOC competition, the “City Twins”, and the “Meeting Point Music Messiaen.” Participation in these programs not only helps with promotion of Görlitz and Zgorzelec as one town, but also attracts more tourists to the place.

There were many cultural events organized for local communities, such as theatre, dance and music ensembles, art festivals and exhibitions, sport events, international trips, language and history meetings. Many of these already have an annual character. The events attract the residents to meet together and allow them to get to know each other. Additionally, cross-border collaboration between institutions, such as music schools, brings them many financial profits.

5.2.3. Is the Quality of Promotion of Cultural International Events Sufficient?

The quality of promotion of cultural international events, on both the international and local levels, improved significantly after Poland joined the EU in 2004, and after Görlitz-Zgorzelec participated in the ECOC competition. Preparing for the ECOC competition provided significant experience in events organization. Since 2004, there are more brochures, posters and billboards advertising the cultural cooperation on both sides of the Neisse River.

Another positive outcome is also the fact that materials promoting cultural events are usually bi- or tri- lingual (German-Polish-English).

5.2.4. Is a Common History of Görlitz and Zgorzelec Promoted?

The authorities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec promote Görlitz-Zgorzelec as one town, a symbol of European cooperation. They try to recapture the historical importance of the place. “We are the heart of Europe” and “From the middle of nowhere to the heart of Europe” are the mottos on posters and brochures, addressing the historical importance of Görlitz-Zgorzelec located on the Via Regia trade route. Also, there are many exhibitions in the town reminding international residents of the common history of the place, and there are seven museums gathering exhibits associated with the divided town history.

5.3. Indicator: Language Barrier

Research was conducted about the actions undertaken by local authorities to decrease the language barrier and about the role of language as a barrier in cross-border cooperation in general. Two central questions were addressed.

5.3.1. Is the Language Barrier Significantly Hampering Cross-Border Cooperation?

Language differences on the German-Polish border are marked as one of the harshest in the EU. The languages in which the neighboring societies communicate come from different language families – Germanic and Slavic. Most interviewees pointed out the language barrier as one of the main problems in cross-border cooperation.

There is a great disproportion in the ability of residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec to communicate in the language of international neighbors. For example, in all the five hair/ cosmetic salons that the researcher visited

in Zgorzelec the customer service representatives stated that they are able to understand the basics of German and to answer basic questions associated with the services that they offer. At the same time, in all five hair/ cosmetic salons that the researcher visited in Görlitz the customer service representatives declared their inability to communicate in Polish. None of the four tourist information offices located in Görlitz offered bilingual customer services. However, in the only tourist information office located in Zgorzelec the customer service representative was able to fluently communicate in German.

The same situation appears in the case of written translations. According to the outcomes of the research, 60% of restaurants/ bars located by the border on the Zgorzelec side and only 20% of these located on the Görlitz side offer bilingual menu cards. Three of the five hair/ cosmetic salons located in Zgorzelec, and none of the five of these located in Görlitz provided written descriptions of their services in both Polish and German.

The same situation appeared in the tourist information office visited by the researcher. In Görlitz, besides a few bi- or tri-lingual (including Czech or English) flyers inviting the residents to participate in the integrative events, there were no publications in Polish. At the same time, in the tourist information office located in Zgorzelec there were few German guidebooks available for German clients.

These numbers indicate that the Poles are better prepared to serve the German clients than the Germans to serve the Polish clients. Moreover, according to opinions of some interviewees, the Germans expect from the Poles crossing the border be able to communicate in German. They do not feel obligated to learn Polish.

The outcomes from observing bilingualism of official websites were similar. On the German websites, German-Polish translations were very rare (but, some German websites offered German-English translation). At the same time, on most Polish websites there was at least basic information provided in German, and some websites were fully bilingual. The lack of bilingual written

translations might be considered as constituting negligence by the inhabitants of Görlitz.

The Poles see many social, economic and cultural benefits from being able to communicate in German, which encourages them to learn German. At the same time, the Germans do not have much interest in learning Polish. They do not have the motivation to do it. As a consequence, substantially more Poles than Germans are bilingual.

There is also a difference in places where written translations appear on the streets. In Görlitz, bilingually written texts appear mainly in public places and are the result of actions undertaken by authorities. Most bilingual information was found near tourist attractions, mainly in the Görlitz Old Market area. In private places on this side of the border written translations were hard to be found.

On the other hand, in Zgorzelec most bilingually written information are the results of actions made by residents. The translations are mainly advertisements of small businesses located by the border, such as cigarette shops and exchange offices. This also indicates that Zgorzelec residents are more prepared for German guests as they see more economic benefits from inviting them to Zgorzelec. At the same time, the Görlitz authorities are more prepared to promote their place for tourists.

According to opinion of some residents, using English as the second language for the Germans and the Poles could be a kind of resolution for both sections of the divided town. It pushes both societies to equal efforts to communicate. Also, being able to communicate in English is considered as beneficial for both of these nations, not only when looking at the German-Polish relations, but also around the world.

5.3.2. What Actions Have Been Undertaken to Decrease the Language Barrier Between Görlitz and Zgorzelec Residents?

There were various actions undertaken at the national and local levels to decrease the language barrier between residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Since the 1990's, the quality of the German lessons in the Polish schools has significantly improved as a result of political and economic changes. Then, in 2008 a bilingual school "Rainbow" and the so-called "sibling daycares" were opened, giving the youngest generation an opportunity to learn the language of the neighbors. Additionally, integration organizations organize various kinds of meetings for residents to give them an opportunity to have contact with the language of neighbors. For example, there are bike trips being organized for youths from Görlitz and Zgorzelec.

During the last years, translations during cultural events became more popular and of higher quality. However, there are still some international events where translation is missing. For example, during the art workshop in which the researcher had an opportunity to participate in May 2007 translation was provided only during a few hours of the workshop. The artist providing the workshop spoke only in German. As a consequence, the Polish residents were not able to fully participate in the workshop.

5.4. Indicator: Social Integration

Actions have been taken by local authorities to improve relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec. The research here addresses four questions.

5.4.1. Are the Residents Willing to Integrate?

It seems that there is a disparity between the information that most authorities of Görlitz-Zgorzelec and residents of the town provide about willingness of neighboring societies to integrate.

According to the information provided by most authorities that were interviewed on both sides of the border, most residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec feel a strong need to improve relations with their international neighbors. The authorities pointed out the historical nature of the place as convincing the residents to cross-border integration. Although more than 60 years has passed since the riverbanks were separated, for more than nine hundred years the two sides of the town developed together. Additionally, the short distance to get to the other country motivates them to cross-border collaboration.

Moreover, according to authorities that were interviewed, residents feel that they can profit from improving cross-border relations. They believe that many of the problems associated with the peripheral location of the divided sections can be resolved by strengthening cross-border networking.

Regardless of the positive opinions of the Görlitz and Zgorzelec authorities that were interviewed, the answers of residents gathered in questionnaire survey conducted for this study seem to be less optimistic. Below, the data from the questionnaire survey are discussed.

“Do you feel your town is in any way united with the town on the other side of the border?”

Do you feel your town is in any way united with the town on the other side of the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	38	74
N	62	26

Table 13 Social Integration A – Questionnaire

Surprisingly, the answers for this question significantly vary with the nationality of participants. Most Zgorzelec residents (62%) stated that they do not

consider Zgorzelec as in any way united with Görlitz. At the same time, most Görlitz residents (74%) stated that they do consider their town as somehow united with Zgorzelec. There might be a number of reasons for these differences in answers:

➤ The perception of the Görlitz and Zgorzelec unity might be associated with the perception of EU unity itself. Görlitz residents have more experiences with European integration. DDR was one of the EU founding countries. On the other hand, Poland joined the EU in 2004, Polish citizens are still not eligible to work in many EU countries, and the national currency in Poland is still Złoty. The Poles might not feel the EU unity as much as the Germans, which might be one of the reasons why most Zgorzelec residents do not feel that their place is in any way united with Görlitz.

➤ The differences in the German and Polish answers might have a historical background. In 1945, as a result of political decisions the Germans lost their Eastern territories, including the land where Zgorzelec is located. For a long time, the Poles living in Zgorzelec did not feel as they were in their home. They were afraid that after some time the political situation would change and they will be resettled again. Today, some of them might still not feel stable in Zgorzelec, and that might be the reason why they do not consider themselves to be unified with Görlitz.

➤ The differences in the German and the Polish answers for the above question might have a psychological background. The Poles are considered to be a nation that generally is not too enthusiastic compared with the Germans. Poles complain more than their western neighbors. It might be the reason why Zgorzelec residents see Görlitz-Zgorzelec cooperation generally more negatively and why they are less enthusiastic to consider their place as in any way united with the German part.

➤ Different answers could be a result of the fact that the researcher is Polish, and the questionnaire survey was made face-to-face. Zgorzelec residents could have been more willing to answer the question honestly if they felt that

the researcher is “one of them”. The residents of Görlitz could feel more obligated to be polite and more politically correct.

“At present, is the Neisse River dividing or binding divided town inhabitants?”

At present, is the Neisse River dividing or binding divided town inhabitants?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Binding	46	48
Dividing	54	52

Table 14 Social Integration B – Questionnaire

The outcomes from the question about their perception of the residents of the borderline are almost the same on both sides of the Neisse River. Fifty two percent of Görlitz residents and 54% of Zgorzelec residents stated that the Neisse River is dividing Görlitz from Zgorzelec. The residents’ perception of the border river as the dividing line might be associated with their feeling of distance between the neighboring societies.

The reason why more than half the residents on both sides of the border perceive the Neisse River as the dividing line might be historical. Since the moment of division in 1945, for a long time the Neisse River strictly divided bordering societies. Until the 1990’s, residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec had no political or legal possibility to cooperate and integrate. Although since then their cross-border relations have improved, people still remember the times when cross-border networking was almost impossible. Hopefully, this perception will gradually change with time.

The outcomes from the question might also be associated with the basic imagination of people about rivers. From nature, rivers – regardless of their political role – might be perceived as dividing whereas bridges are binding

features. It is possible then that residents' perception of the river as the dividing line is not necessarily associated with their feeling of distance between Görlitz and Zgorzelec.

“Do you feel any kind of psychological or physical discomfort when crossing the border?”

Do you feel any kind of psychological or physical discomfort when crossing the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	34	20
N	66	80

Table 15 Social Integration C – Questionnaire

Eighty percent of Görlitz residents and 66% of Zgorzelec residents stated that they do not feel any kind of psychological or physical discomfort when crossing the German-Polish border.

The fact that the majority of residents participating in the questionnaire survey stated that they do not feel any kind of psychological or physical discomfort when crossing the border seems to be important for the overall outcomes from the research, as there were few Polish interviewees that had very negative opinions about the atmosphere on the border crossing. For example, few complained that the customs officials are aggressive and not polite. Although some such incidents could happen, the majority of residents stated that they do not feel any kind of psychological or physical discomfort when crossing the border even though the research was done before the Schengen agreement was signed by Poland.

However, 14% more residents from Zgorzelec than the ones from Görlitz stated that they feel psychological or physical discomfort when crossing

the German-Polish border. This difference might be associated with the crime problems on the border. As mentioned by interviewees, residents of Zgorzelec are sometimes still perceived by residents of Görlitz as being dangerous. High criminal statistics in the town from the 1990's are still in the memory of the Germans, and the divided town is still characterized by low trust. At the same time, the Poles are aware of negative opinions that the Germans have about them and that is why they can feel more uncomfortable when crossing the border.

“How often do you cross the border?”

How often do you cross the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
0-5 times/ year	36	46
5-20 times/ year	30	30
20-50 times/ year	2	12
>50 times / year	32	12

Table 16 Social Integration D - Questionnaire

Based on the outcomes from the above question, a substantial proportion of residents of the divided town visit the other bank of the Neisse River fewer than 5 times per year (Görlitz – 46%; Zgorzelec – 36%). Thirty percent of Zgorzelec residents and the same number of Görlitz residents cross the border between five and twenty times per year. Two percent of Zgorzelec residents and the same number of Görlitz residents declared that they cross the border between twenty and fifty times per year. Only 32% of Zgorzelec residents and 12% of Görlitz residents cross the border more than fifty times per year.

These numbers show that in general, the frequency of crossing the border by Görlitz and the Zgorzelec residents is relatively low. Considering the fact that cooperation requires contact, it might indicate that cross-border relations are not

that strong. For most of Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents, visiting the neighboring country is definitely not a part of a daily life.

“What is the reason for you to cross the border?”

What is the reason for you to cross the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Shopping	72	56
Leisure	44	52
International meeting	12	28
Business	10	12
Other	0	2

Table 17 Social Integration E - Questionnaire

Most residents from both sides of the border pointed out shopping as the main reason to cross the border (Görlitz – 56%; Zgorzelec – 72%). It shows the large impact of local economy on cross-border networking. Also, it seems that Poles cross the border for shopping purposes more often than the Germans.

Another reason for crossing the border (Görlitz – 44%; Zgorzelec – 52%) is leisure. Almost the same number of the Poles and the Germans pointed out leisure as the reason for visiting the neighboring land. After studying the outcomes from the interviews it was expected that Poles participate in entertainment activities less often than the Germans.

Some residents pointed out international (Görlitz – 28%; Zgorzelec – 12%) and business (Görlitz – 12%; Zgorzelec – 10%) meetings as the reasons to cross the border, but these numbers seem to be less significant. Two times more

Germans than the Poles indicated participation in international meetings as the reason for crossing the border.

“Do you have any friends/ family living on the other side of the border?”

Do you have any friends/ family living on the other side of the border?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	62	48
N	38	52

Table 18 Social Integration F – Questionnaire

Forty eight percent of Görlitz residents and 62% of Zgorzelec residents stated that they have friends/ family living on the opposite side of the border. These numbers seem to be large, especially since most residents declared that they rarely cross the border, and that mostly they cross it for shopping purposes.

The outcomes from this question might be somehow biased by the fact that the questionnaire survey had a face-to-face character. In Poland, it is well-regarded to have friends or family living on the other side of the western border. This phenomenon has a historical background. During the communist times, it did not happen often in Poland that somebody had friends or family living in any part of Germany. Very often, having somebody on the other side of the border was considered as constituting higher status in society and living in better economic conditions. It is possible that nowadays residents from Poland still think somehow in these categories and prefer to consider even the people they barely know as their “friends”. At the same time, German residents can state that the person living in Zgorzelec that they barely know is their friend because they want to be polite and want to show their willingness to integrate.

“Do you think cooperation between the divided town sections should be improved?”

Do you think cooperation between the divided town sections should be improved?	Zgorzelec	Görlitz
Y	92	100
N	8	0

Table 19 Social Integration G – Questionnaire

Even though many residents that participated in the survey stated that they do not consider Görlitz and Zgorzelec as in any way united, and the Neisse River is perceived by many of them as a dividing line, a great majority of the people participating in the research (Görlitz – 100%, Zgorzelec – 92%) stated that cooperation between the sections of the divided town should be improved. The outcome of this question brings a lot of hope for future improvement of relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents.

In summary, it seems that there is a difference in the willingness of authorities and residents to improve relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents. Even though it seems that the authorities try to implement plans to integrate the neighboring societies, residents of the town do not feel a strong need to improve the cross-border relations. Moreover, agreeing with Dürschmidt’s research in the twin Polish-German town of Guben-Gubin (2006), even the authorities often do not feel the need to improve the cross-border relations, but they feel obligated to conform to the official international discourse of integration. Some interviewees felt that the relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec authorities and their strong willingness to improve cross-border relations are a pretense. Very often, the reason for promoting international

integration is to get more funds from the EU for the development of their town. According to W2Z, the artificiality of relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec authorities is one of the reasons why the effects of cross-border cooperation are really not impressive.

5.4.2. What is the Role of Integration Institutions in Improving Relations between Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?

Integration organizations might be a powerful tool involving local people in international activities. In Görlitz-Zgorzelec, there are few main organizations aiming to improve relations between the neighboring societies. Some of them appeared in the moment when the town was preparing for ECOC competition, in 2004. After the defeat in the competition, members of the organizations decided to continue the promotion of Görlitz-Zgorzelec a symbol of European integration, and to keep improving relations between the neighboring German and Polish societies.

Many actions of the integration institutions are based on cultural cooperation between the residents. Cultural events give the neighboring societies a possibility to spend some time together, exchange their experiences and knowledge. There are also many actions aiming to connect the residents in different fields, such as common education and common environmental protection.

5.4.3. What are the Main Problems in Relations between Residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec?

There are a few main problems hampering relations between residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Some of these problems have a historical background. The residents of Görlitz remember that the land on the other side of the Neisse River was a part of their place. Many of them have a lot of memories associated with the land where Zgorzelec is located, and some of them were hoping for

a long time to be able to come back to their homes. At the same time, regardless of all the years that passed after the Second World War, some residents of Zgorzelec do not feel stable in their place. They still have a feeling that the place belongs to them only temporarily. Moreover, it seems that there are still some nationalist problems in Görlitz-Zgorzelec. Although today almost nobody thinks about the Second World War, some Poles still have very negative feelings about Germans. Also, a few interviewees pointed out that some racist attacks of skin-head groups on the Poles living on both sides of the river still occur.

There are also some problems in integration between the Görlitz and Zgorzelec inhabitants that have their roots in crime. In the 1990's, the German-Polish border area was plagued by smuggling and theft problems. It seems that Germans are still somehow afraid of their Eastern neighbors, and some of them still preserve arrogant and negative attitudes towards residents of Poland. The distance between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents, created during the years of high criminality, still somehow exists.

Finally, there are some problems in relations between Görlitz and Zgorzelec residents that are based on economic inequalities. The Poles, as the poorer nation, still feel somehow negative when crossing the border to the richer country. Also, the economic inequality has an impact on how the divided societies spend their free time. For example, it is harder to encourage the Poles to spend their money on participation in international integration activities.

5.5. Summary

The aim of this research was to answer the question:

In towns divided by an international border, what are the conditions that must be met to achieve a mutually beneficial level of cooperation and integration?

Based on the knowledge gained from the research, it was found that there are many conditions that need to be met on both the international and local levels to achieve a mutually beneficial level of cooperation and integration between sections of divided towns. At the international level, these are mainly requirements in the field of politics, law and economy. At the local level, which was of the main interest of this research, these are requirements in the fields such as spatial planning, culture and social integration.

In the divided town Görlitz-Zgorzelec, there are still many barriers at the international and the local level. Fortunately, on the international level many barriers disappeared or decreased after Poland joined the EU. For example, Poland was encouraged to adjust its laws to the law of the EU. Many actions were undertaken at the international level to help for improving cooperation between Germany and Poland. The EU invested a lot in common cross-border development on the German-Polish border.

At the local level, there were many actions undertaken in Görlitz and Zgorzelec by local authorities and residents to strengthen cooperation and integration between the residents of Germany and Poland. In the field of urban planning, the main action in Görlitz-Zgorzelec was to revitalize the area adjacent to the border crossing located in the oldest part of the town, and to create there an area of international integration. The authorities believed that an arrangement of the place located close to the border crossing, where neighboring residents can meet, might have a strong impact on the improvement

of their relations. Today, many elements of this project have already been realized, and many others are still waiting for implementation.

In the field of culture, it was assumed that various actions that would gather different social groups might have a strong impact on the improvement of their ability to cooperate. There were many cultural activities organized for local citizens aiming to integrate them in their common cultural heritage, to promote cultural exchange, and to improve their language abilities.

The cultural actions were undertaken on different levels. Some of these, such as the ECOC competition, had an international character. Some others, such as Jacob Days - Old Town Fest, are annual events that attract many people every year. There are also many one-time events that have more spontaneous character. Finally, there are the actions that have ongoing character, such as weekly meetings in “sibling daycares.”

It was assumed by the authorities of Görlitz and Zgorzelec that promotion of the common history of the place has a strong impact on residents’ perception of the place as one urban body. The common history of the town was promoted at various kinds of cultural meetings, such as old-photograph exhibitions and historical trips.

In the field of social integration, integration organizations were created, aiming to give residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec an opportunity to meet and to cooperate in the fields such as common culture, education, and environmental protection.

For more than forty years, collaboration between Görlitz and Zgorzelec was hampered by many political, economic and social barriers. For a very long time, the German-Polish border was closed, and special permits were required to cross it. Although after political changes in the early 1990’s the residents have been able to freely cross the border, there are still a lot of barriers to cooperation between the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec. Many residents still do not feel a need to cooperate. For many of them, the only reason for crossing the border is shopping tourism. Many of them still perceive the Neisse River as the dividing

line, and some of them still look at the other side of the border through the prism of the Second World War. Also, there are not enough people wanting to participate in the integration activities.

However, as the result of actions undertaken, cooperation between Görlitz and Zgorzelec continues to improve. Every year, the number of people visiting the integration area increases. Residents from both sides of the border participate in various kinds of integration activities. The proficiency of neighboring societies in communicating in foreign languages – German, Polish or English – improves.

There is a lot of time needed to gain a sufficient level of cooperation and integration between the residents of Görlitz and Zgorzelec, but the improvements can be seen today.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Knippenberg (2004), for most divided towns re-unification will be very hard or even impossible. Removing the physical borders is not equal to the disappearance of mental, economic, social, juridical and cultural barriers. However, an improvement of international cooperation seems to be reachable for most European towns divided by borders. Quoting Davies (1996, p.1136), “[Europe] has the chance to be less divided than for generations past. If fortune smiles, the physical and psychological barriers will be less brutal than at any time in living memory.”

Developing knowledge and comparison of experiences between divided towns can be very useful to them. Additionally, collecting and analyzing information about divided towns can add to understanding cross-border relations in general (Ehlers, Buursink & Boekema, 2001). Divided towns have been called “experimental gardens” of international cooperation (Buursink & Ehlers, 2000, p.182) and “laboratories” where researchers can observe the dynamic of transformation processes (Dürschmidt & Matthiesen, 2002, p.18), can be a rich source of information in many fields of science.

According to Anderson and O’Dowd (1999), the study of divided towns is relatively novel and not much research has focused on these places in particular. There were only two moments in history when there was an increased attention to these places. The first, in the middle of the 1980’s, was inspired by the enormous push towards European integration; the second, in the late 1980’s, was associated with the fall of the Iron Curtain (van Houtum, 2000; van Houtum & Ernste, 2001). Many important topics associated with divided towns are still waiting for explication (van Houtum & Ernste, 2001). Almost no data were found during this study about international social integration and about cross-border spatial planning in divided towns. No literature was found describing the actions undertaken in divided towns to plan the area adjacent

to border crossings. However, at the same time it was observed that there is already some exchange of information between authorities of divided towns in the field of spatial planning. For example, a project for arrangement of the border area in Cieszyn-Český Tešín (Poland-Czech Republic) was based on experiences of the divided town Strasbourg-Kehl (France-Germany) (Municipality of Cieszyn & Municipality of Český Tešín; 2006). Collecting information about different ideas for arrangements of these places in different towns would definitely be useful for authorities of divided places.

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8. APPENDIXES

Appendix 1	Interview Questions - Municipality Members
Appendix 2	Interview Questions - Urban Planners
Appendix 3	Interview Questions - Members of Integration Organizations
Appendix 4	Questionnaire
Appendix 5	Confidentiality Statement
Appendix 6	Feedback Letter
Appendix 7	Consent of Participation

Appendix 1 Interview Questions - Municipality Members

In your opinion,

- Is there any need for divided town sections to co-operate?
- Is the co-operation of divided towns (comparing with co-operation 5 and 10 years ago) improving?
- Do the Municipalities of divided town sections have any common meetings? If yes, how regular are they?
- What are the main barriers/ problems in co-operation? What should be improved?
- Do the inhabitants of divided towns desire to co-operate?
- Are the Governments of neighboring countries willing to co-operate?

Appendix 2 Interview Questions – Urban Planners

In your opinion,

- Is there any need for divided town sections to co-operate?
- Were there any actions undertaken in the past to improve co-operation between divided town sections in field of urban planning?
- If yes, what were their results?
- At present, are there any actions undertaken to improve co-operation between divided town sections in field of urban planning?
- What are the main barriers/ problems in co-operation in field of urban planning? What should be improved?

Appendix 3 Interview Questions – Members of Integration Organizations

In your opinion,

- What is a need for divided town sections to co-operate?
- Do the inhabitants of divided towns desire to co-operate?
- Is the co-operation between divided towns, comparing today situation with the situation 5 and 10 years ago, improving?
- What are the main barriers/ problems in co-operation? What should be improved?
- What is your role on co-operation process?
- Do you have regular meetings?

Appendix 4 Questionnaire

Where do you live?

- Zgorzelec
- Gorlitz
- Other.....

How often do you pass the border?

- 0-5/year
- 5-20/year
- 20-50/year
- >50/year

What is the reason for you to pass the border?

- International meeting
- Shopping
- Leisure
- Business
- Other (specify)

How often do you visit places designed to integrate divided town inhabitants (*I will specify representative place for each case study town*)?

- 0-5/year
- 5-20/year
- 20-50/year
- >50/year

Why do you come there?

- Entertainment (music, sport, art)
- Conferences
- Resting
- Other

Is a quality of roads and bridges connecting divided town sections sufficient to co-operate?

- Y
- N

Is the quality of public transportation connecting divided town sections sufficient to co-operate?

- Y
- N

Do you have any friends living on the other side of the border?

- Y
- N

If yes, how often do you contact with your friends living on the other side of the border?

- 1/week or more
- 1-4 times/month
- 1-5 times/ half a year
- 1-5 times/year

Do you recycle?

- Y
- N

Do you feel any kind of psychical or physical discomfort while passing the border?

- Y
- N

Do you feel your town is somehow united with the town on the other side of the border?

- Y
- N

Do you think co-operation between divided town sections should be improved?

- Y
- N

At present, is the bordering river dividing or binding divided town inhabitants?

- Biding
- Dividing

Appendix 5 Confidentiality Statement

I understand that as an interpreter for a study being conducted by Katarzyna Pietroszek, School of Planning, University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Robert Shipley, I am privy to confidential information. I agree to keep all data collected during this study confidential and will not reveal it to anyone outside the research team.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Witness Signature: _____

Appendix 6 Feedback Letter

University of Waterloo

Date:

Dear (*Name of Participant*),

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study. As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to answer the question: *In towns divided by an international border, what are the conditions that must be met to achieve mutually beneficial level of co-operation?*

The data collected during interviews will contribute to a better understanding of divided towns development and co-operation.

Please, remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at either the phone number or email address listed at the bottom of the page. If you would like a summary of the results, please let me know now by providing me with your email address. When the study is completed, I will send it to you. The study is expected to be completed by May 2008.

As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at
519-888-4567, Ext., 36005.

Katarzyna Pietroszek

University of Waterloo
School of Planning

Ph num: 519 573 8231, Email: kpietros@fes.uwaterloo.ca

Appendix 7 Consent of Participation

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Katarzyna Pietroszek of the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted. I am aware that I may withdraw from the study without penalty at any time by advising the researchers of this decision.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in the interview.

Name _____

Signature of Participant _____

Dated _____

Witnessed _____