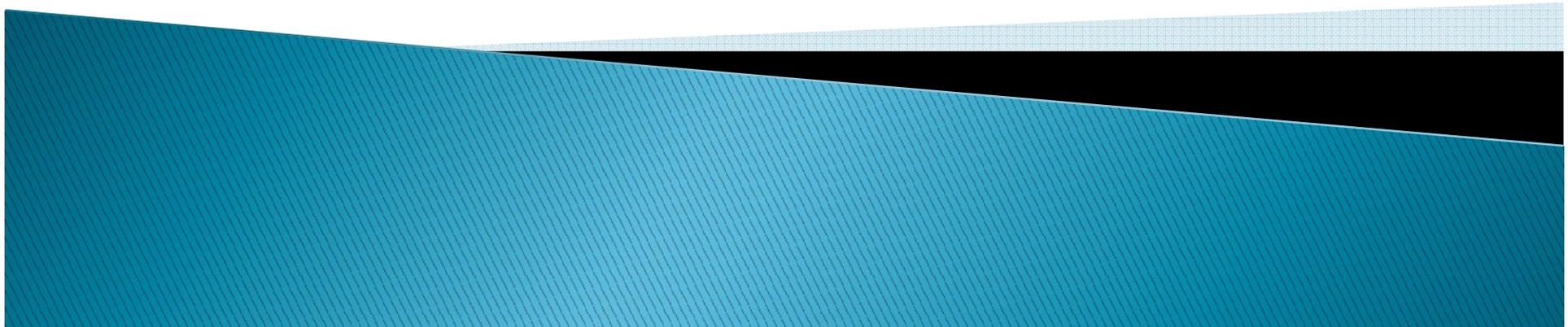


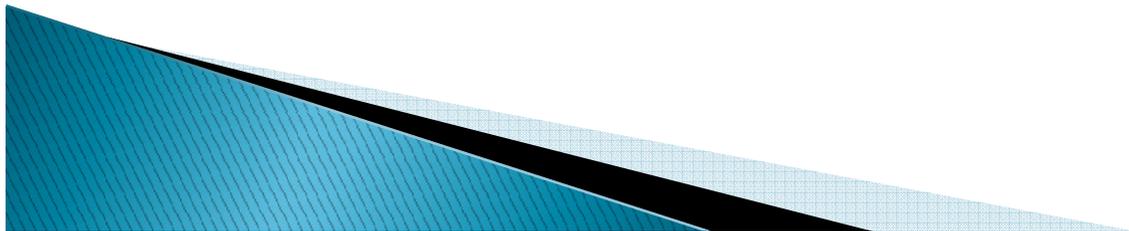
The EU, Regionalisation & Poland's East–West Divide

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Structure of Presentation

- ▶ Discussion of processes of regionalisation and Europeanisation.
- ▶ Tracing of debate surrounding regional reforms in Poland.
- ▶ Identification of differing regional attitudes towards and experiences of Europe in Poland.
- ▶ Demonstration of ways in which EU have contributed to these.



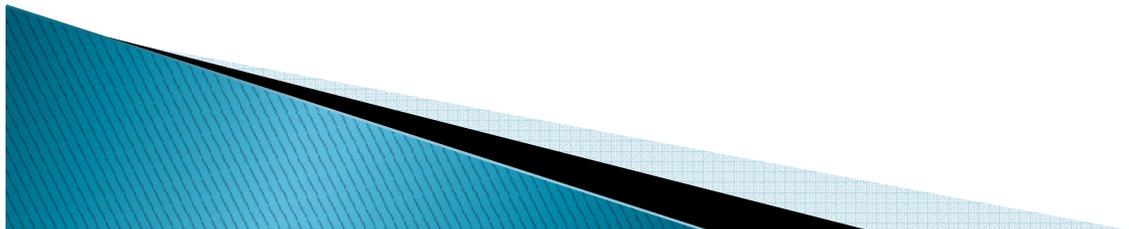
Relevance

- ▶ PhD exploring visions of Europe in dominant discourse in Poland and Germany, and how these reflect historically constructed concepts of national identity.
- ▶ Conceptions of Europe differ from member state to member state.
- ▶ Likewise visions of Europe differ from region to region.
- ▶ Processes of regionalisation intrinsically linked to processes of Europeanisation in Poland.
- ▶ ‘Europe of Regions’ versus ‘Europe of Nations’
- ▶ Principle of ‘Subsidiarity’



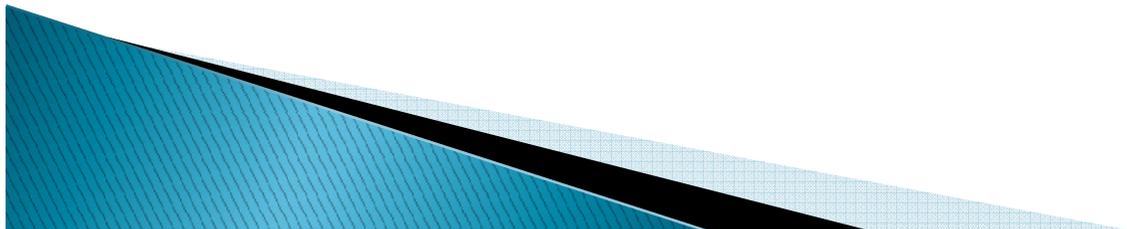
Europe, EU & Regions

- ▶ EU has strengthened regions through variety of processes:
 - ‘Euroregions’ & cross-border co-operation
 - Funding Mechanisms – ERDF, Structural & Cohesion Funds
 - Committee of the Regions – direct voice in EU institutional framework
 - EU conditionality



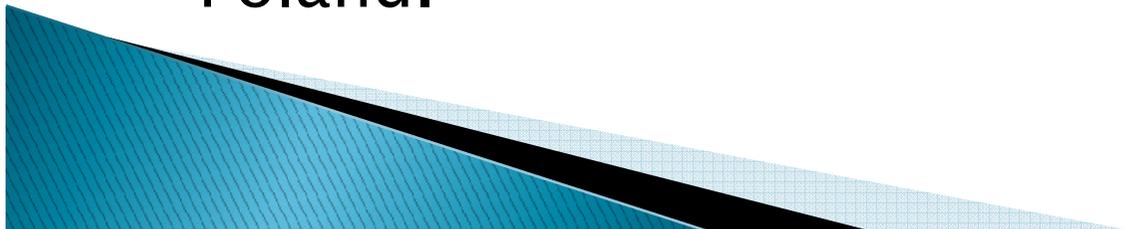
EU regionalisation and regional differences.

- ▶ EU regionalisation accompanied by rhetoric of wealth redistribution, increased cohesion, and cross-border cooperation.
- ▶ This has not always reflected the reality.
- ▶ Systematic flaws within EU
- ▶ Conflict with domestic processes and interests
- ▶ Conflict with other EU mechanisms and concepts – notably ‘Fortress Europe’



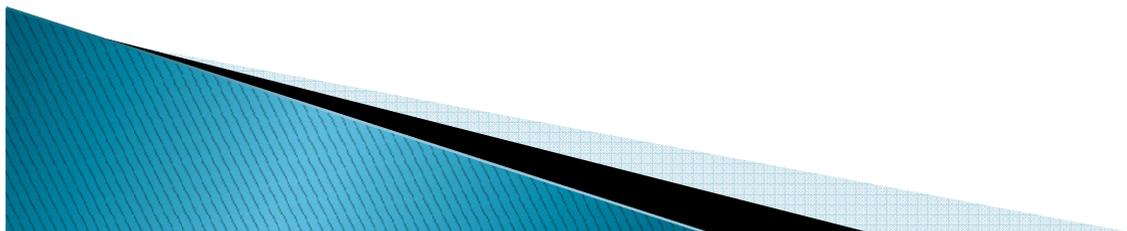
EU and the creation of borders

- ▶ Poland & EU's Eastern Border cuts through historically constituted regions.
- ▶ Is all that lies beyond the EU therefore no longer Europe?
- ▶ Is all that lies beyond the EU no longer Poland?
- ▶ 'Excluded' and divided regions remain central to Polish culture, historical understanding and identity formulations.
- ▶ Compromises EU 'soft power' and conditionality mechanism.
- ▶ EU also contributing to certain divides within Poland.



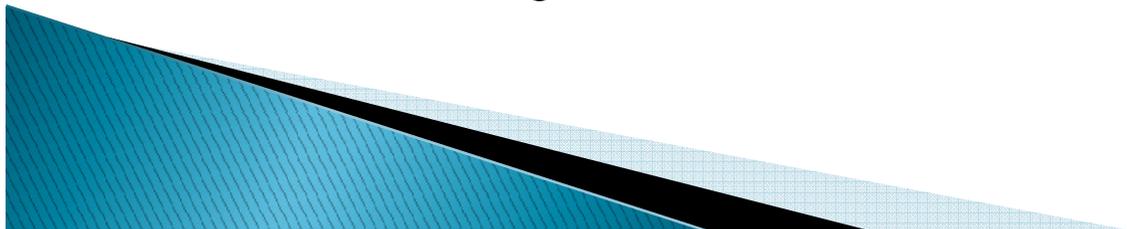
Centrism versus Regionalism in Poland

- ▶ Poland has always demonstrated a certain degree of regional diversity.
- ▶ However, historically, Poland also a fairly centralised state & nation.
- ▶ Centralisation reached its apogee under Communism – combination of state socialist & *endecja* ideals
- ▶ Opposition movement and *Solidarność* anti-centrist in form and ideals.



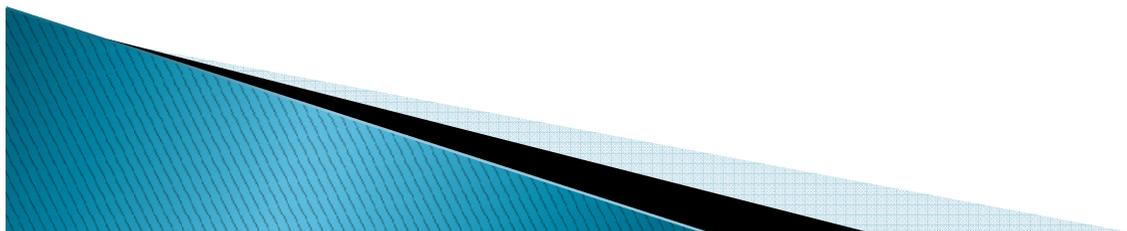
Regional Reform in Post-Communist Poland

- ▶ 1990 Law on Local Self Government
- ▶ Late 1990s debate over further regional reform intrinsically linked to debate over EU accession and Europeanisation.
- ▶ Reform of regional government a part of EU conditionality.
- ▶ Also ideologically associated with Europe.
- ▶ Support/opposition for regional reform mirrored support/opposition for EU accession.
- ▶ ‘Europe of the Regions’ versus ‘Europe of the Nations.’
- ▶ January 1st 1999 establishment of 16 directly elected *województwa* with wide-ranging powers.



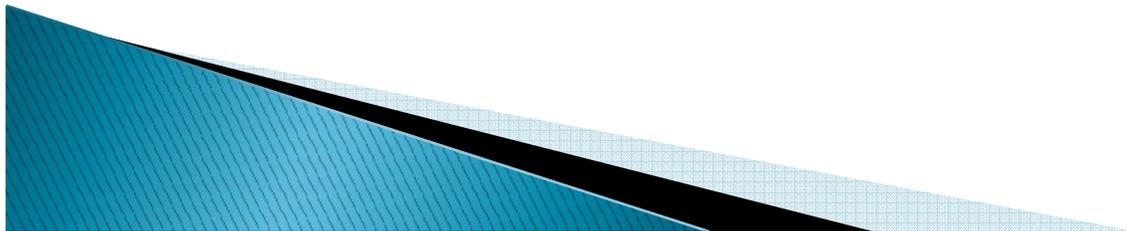
EU constitution of regions

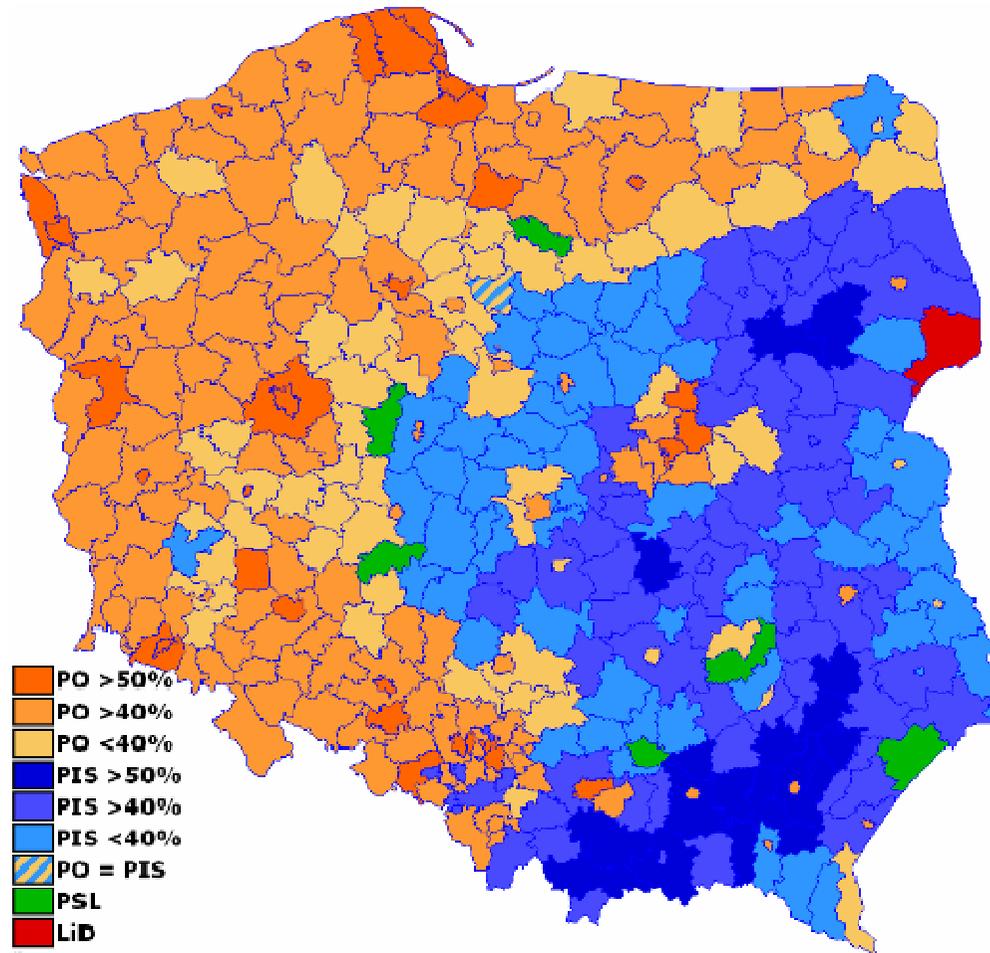
- ▶ EU serves to constitute regional administrations through identifying them.
- ▶ Regional differences existed in Poland before EU.
- ▶ EU not the only motivator of reform of regional government structures.
- ▶ However, constitution of *województwa* as they currently exist *is* linked to processes of Europeanisation.



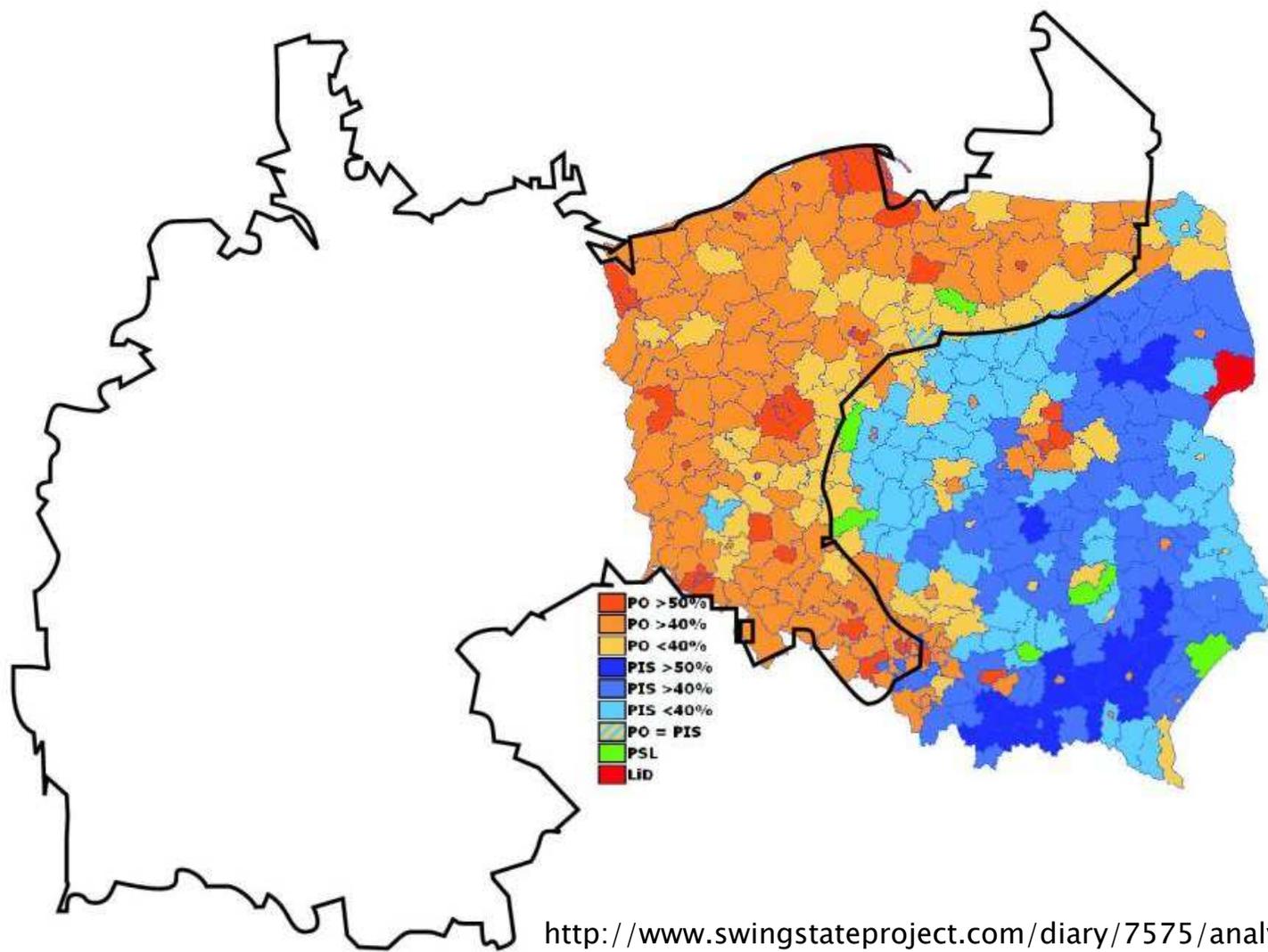
Poland's East–West Divide

- ▶ Divisions within Poland not only, or primarily, geographic.
- ▶ Is, however, certain evidence of a rough West–East divide within Polish society.
- ▶ Divisions particularly evident through electoral data.





<http://www.swingstateproject.com/diary/7575/analyzing-polish-elections>



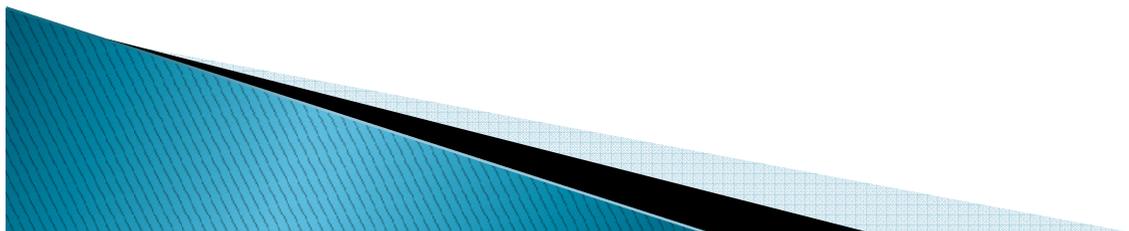
<http://www.swingstateproject.com/diary/7575/analyzing-polish-elections>

Macro-Region	%Yes	%Yes of Eligible	Turnout (%)__
West/Southwest	84.2	50.0	59.4
Cities	86.3	54.6	63.3
Powiaty	82.7	46.9	56.8
Centre	76.0	44.9	59.1
Cities	83.4	55.3	66.3
Powiaty	71.1	39.2	55.1
East/Southeast	71.1	39.9	56.0
Cities	80.5	51.8	64.3
Powiaty	67.5	35.9	53.3
Poland	77.4	45.3	58.9
Cities	83.9	54.4	64.8
Powiaty	73.3	40.4	55.0

Sources: Electoral data are from Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza, Referendum 2003, available from <http://referendum.pkw.gov.pl/sww/kraj/indexA.html>

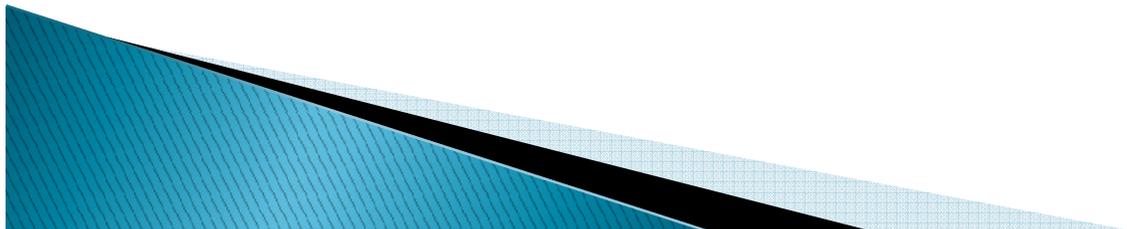
Varying experiences of the EU

- ▶ Factor of geographical location important.
- ▶ Partnerships and cross-border cooperation more evident in Western areas of Poland.
- ▶ Flip side of the coin is reduction on ease of travel and exchange in Eastern Poland.
- ▶ Creation of 'border lines' rather than 'border regions.'
- ▶ East has also received proportionately less Structural and Cohesion Funds than West.



Conclusions

- ▶ Process of regionalisation and regional reform in Poland intimately linked to and conditioned by EU developments.
- ▶ Differing regions of Poland have had differing experiences of EU membership.
- ▶ EU ideals of cross-border cooperation and cooperation come into conflict with creation of a 'Fortress Europe'.
- ▶ New approach needed towards Eastern borders.



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