

Border Function and Tourism Relations in the Divided Cities on the Polish-German Border

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Abstract: The paper concerns the issue of impact the state border function on cross-border tourist relations in the divided cities on the Polish-German border (i.e. Zgorzelec (PI)-Goerlitz (G), Gubin (PI)-Guben (G); Słubice (PI)-Frankfurt (Oder)(G)). Divided cities have always been a kind of laboratory of cross-border relations, due to their history and functional proximity. The main purpose of the study is to identify stages in the cross-border tourism relation process, taking exogenous (political factors) and endogenous (cross-border cooperation) factors into account and investigate whether these stages refer to theoretical concepts applied in the study (Martinez (1994) and the concept of the bordering- debordering- rebordering process). The analysis concerns the period 1945-2021. The research methods used in the study are analysis of the literature on the subject and direct observations carried out at border crossings in the divided cities during the period 1-4 June 2021. Conclusions: The most important external factor shaping cross-border tourist relations is the political factor and the permeability of the border as its consequence. On this basis, it is possible to distinguish periods for the formation of cross-border tourist relations that relate to Martinez's (1994) types of borderland interaction. However, the conditions for intensification of tourism relations between the parties emerge in the interdependent borderlands and integrated borderlands types of regions, when there is an opportunity to create cross-border tourism relations and cross-border tourism destinations. In the process-oriented terms, all elements of the bordering- debordering- rebordering concept and their reference and consequences to cross-border tourism relations can be described. Using the example of divided cities, it is shown that this is a continuous process, variable over time and highly sensitive to the political factor. Practical implications for local and regional authorities and DMO (Destination Management Organisations) have been formulated regarding the creation of cross-border tourist attractions using the state border as a distinguishing element (e.g. the rich and sometimes difficult German-Polish history, the culture of a Lusatian minority, border smuggling phenomena). The research conducted is regarded as a preliminary stage for further in-depth quantitative research, operationalisation of the model and its empirical confirmation.

Keywords: Divided cities, Bordering, Debordering, Rebordering, Polish-German border, Tourism relations

1. Introduction

The study on the border function and cross-border relations is a domain of many scientific disciplines. Contemporary *border studies* are an area of interdisciplinary interest (Newman 2003a, Newman 2006; Newman, Paasi 1998; Jones 2009; Wróblewski 2013). However, there is a lack of a theory of borders that allows for their holistic study, taking into account different spatial scales and various specific approaches of the different scientific disciplines (Newman 2003a, 2003b). The phenomena taking place in border areas, due to their multidimensional nature, are very complex to analyse. The challenge is to formulate a comprehensive model covering all the key elements that shape cross-border relations. Among the concepts of socio-economic cross-border relations in border areas, the model of cross-border interaction proposed by Oscar J. Martinez (1994) and the *bordering-debordering-rebordering* concept is often applied by researchers (Kladivo et al. 2012; Wróblewski, 2013; Więckowski 2019; Więckowski, Timothy, 2021).

The paper examines the issue of impact of border function on the cross-border tourism relations using urban areas as an example. The main purpose of the paper is an attempt to:

- identify the stages of development of tourism relations depending on the function of the state border and its permeability, as a result of exogenous factors (political factors) and endogenous factors (cross-border cooperation),
- answer the question, if the stages relate to the theoretical concepts adopted in the study.

The theoretical model proposed by O.J. Martinez (1994) and the *bordering- debordering- rebordering* concept (Jones, 2009; Newman, 2006) have been adopted as the study approach. The Martinez model (1994) has not yet been used for the explanation of cross-border tourism relations, while the concept of *the bordering-debordering-rebordering* has been exemplified in the area of tourism development in Polish-German cross-border coastal areas (Więckowski 2019; Więckowski, Timothy 2021).

Three examples of divided towns on the Polish-German border have been selected for the study, as these are the places where, due to their geographical location and development conditions, can the cross-border relations be observed. The twin/divided cities that are analysed were proclaimed 25 years ago as Eurocities (*pl.* Europa-

miasta, g. Europasadt). Eurocities are a particular example of the cities and communities integration as well as cooperation. They are cities that in the past were a spatial whole and were divided by a national border as a result of political changes in Europe. There are 32 divided cities on the European borders (Leśniak, 2008), while three of them are on the Polish-German border i.e. Zgorzelec-Goerlitz, Gubin-Guben, Słubice-Frankfurt (on the River Oder).

The fundamental research method used in the paper involves the analysis of the relevant literature, documents, joint cross-border projects and direct observations. The period of analysis was taken as 1945- 2021.

The paper consists of 5 parts. The introduction section briefly outlines problem, purpose, scope, methods and theoretical concept of the study. The second one indicates the methodological process that have been carried out. The third section presents the analysis of the literature with particular regard to the conceptual models applied in the study. The fourth section covers the analysis and discussion on application of the model to the description of cross-border tourism relations in the Polish-German border cities. The final section includes conclusions, implications and limitations of the analysis.

2. Methodology

The fundamental research method used in the paper involves applied analysis of theoretical model by O. J. Martinez (1994) and the *bordering- debordering- rebordering* concept. The analysis was based on of the relevant literature and documents as well as direct observations. The period of analysis was taken as 1945- 2021. The research process consisted of several stages: literature review, selection of areas for analysis, collection of material, conducting the analysis, discussion, formulation of implications and limitations.

The peer-reviewed literature have been selected based on Web of Science, Scopus and Google Scholar databases. Official documents on the websites of the joint portals of the divided cities (Zgorzelec..., Gubin..., Słubice...) and the databases of projects implemented as part of cross-border cooperation (Polska-Saksonia..., Polska-Brandenburgia...) have been also analysed.

Direct observations were carried out during field studies in the divided cities (1-4 June 2021), at border crossings on the Polish and German sides of the divided cities. The aim was to describe the rebordering process during the Covid-19 pandemic.

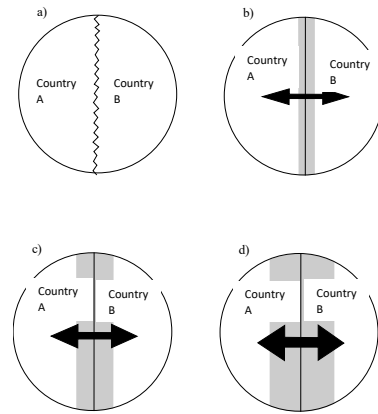
3. Theoretical Concept Based on the Literature Review

Based on the literature, an evolution of research on the broad issue of political borders can be seen, from a one-dimensional understanding of the border (border as a line, as a barrier) to a multidimensional approach (a broad view of borders, the study of flows and cooperation, up to network approaches) (Dołzbłasz, 2017).

The occurrence of borders and their nature (role, function) are variable in time and space, and their impact on socio-economic development is varied (Martinez 1994; Newman and Paasi, 1998; Ciok, 2004; Więckowski 2019). Different theoretical models are used by the researchers to describe this issue, the most commonly used being Martinez's (1994) theoretical model of cross-border relations (Ciok, 2004; Kladivo et al. 2012; Dołzbłasz, 2017; Hardi and Uszkai, 2017).

3.1 Martinez (1994) Model of Border Interaction

Depending on the degree of cross-border cooperation, relations between the respective countries (USA-Mexico) and interactions between the communities Oscar J. Martinez (1994) has formulated a theoretical model of border interaction. According to Martinez (1994) fundamentally the level of transborder contact is dependent on the border permeability, relationship carried on by adjoining nationstates, the concentration of population at the border, and the condition of the binational economy. Border permeability depends on the function of the border.



a – alienated borderlands, b – coexistent borderlands c – interdependent borderlands d – integrated borderlands.

Source: (O. J. Martinez, 1994, p.3)

Figure 1: Types of Borderland Interaction by Martinez

O. J. Martinez (1994) distinguished four types of border regions (Figure 1):

- alienated borderlands- In those areas there is a lack of daily contact between the people living on both sides of the border. This is due to the existence of unfavourable conditions for this, such as war, political divisions, cultural, ethnic, religious differences (Figure 1a);
- coexistent borderlands- the possible establishment of a region exists once border conflicts between neighbouring states have been reduced. Nevertheless, there are emotional barriers related to the ended war. The border remains slightly „open”, allowing limited development of bilateral interaction (Martinez, 1994 p. 3) (Figure 1b);
- interdependent borderlands - the relationship between the regions on both sides of the border is kind of symbiosis. Cooperation faces obstacles due to the incompatibility with the national interest of one of the country (Figure 1c);
- integrated borderlands- it represent the highest degree of integration between the areas on both sides of the border. This is possible by overcoming most economic and mental barriers. The author have pointed out that this can only happen in border areas of politically stable, militarily secured and economically strong countries. The most important factor that shapes relations are the geopolitical factors occurring at global, regional and border states level (Figure 1d).

3.2 The Bordering- Debordering- Rebordering Concept

Importantly, state borders are produced and reproduced through acts of bordering, debordering, and rebordering (Jones, 2009; Newman, 2006). There are two distinct dynamic processes, i.e. the appearance/disappearance of boundaries and the opening/closing of boundaries by changing their function. Boundaries change over time, and at their core are cycles of opening and closing: they continually undergo processes of opening (debordering) and re-closing (rebordering) (Więckowski, 2019). Bordering is the establishment and formation of borders via spatial demarcation, construction, and maintenance (Rumford, 2008). Debordering and rebordering are complex, they result in the division of space, resources that can influence social, economic and political relations. Debordering is a process that is related to the permeability, supports cooperation, and integration, and allows greater freedom of movement and trade (Więckowski and Timothy, 2021). According to Stoffelen (2022), debordering and rebordering processes take place simultaneously in the same location.

3.3 Tourism and Borders

Tourism is affected by the existence of these political borders in several ways. Timothy (2001) has distinguished several types including borders as attractions or destinations, barriers, transit spaces and determiners of tourism landscapes. Borders mean also heritage. Many attractions associated with boundaries are created to commercialise political division (Timothy and Gelbman, 2015; Timothy and Więckowski, 2022). There are several ways, which political boundaries may be viewed as cultural heritage i.e. as a dark tourism destinations; as a place of joint transborder events; as a resource of local, stories, heritage narratives; border infrastructure became

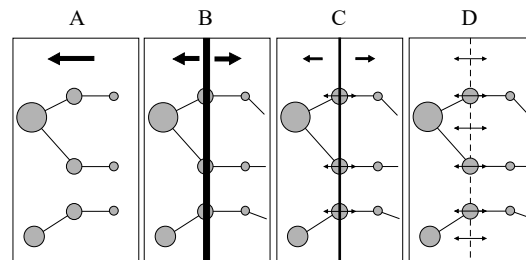
tangible heritage landscape. Transborder cultural resources require unique management actions and deep collaboration (Timothy and Więckowski, 2022).

The permeability of the border also influences both a development of tourism infrastructure and services and a transformation of tourism landscapes on both sides of the border (Prokkola, 2008). As a result of an opening of national borders, we can exploit different forms of tourism that are based on emerging economic and social differences between actors on both sides of the border. The most popular form of taking advantage of price differences is trade and shopping tourism. In addition, lower health-care costs across the border have resulted in the development of medical tourism (Timothy, 2001).

A border, which at one time is a barrier to tourism, can at another time become a cross-border tourist destination. The border can, under favourable conditions, become an element of cross-border cooperation, which can be expressed in specific cross-border cooperation projects (Timothy and Sarinen, 2013; Dołzbłasz and Raczyk, 2022).

4. Adaptation of the Martinez model (1994) and the *bordering- debordering- rebordering* concept to the divided cities on the German-Polish border- analysis and discussion

Over the last 77 post-war years the functions of the Polish-German border and relations between actors on both sides of the border have changed significantly. Functional and spatial relations in the divided cities on the Polish-German border can be divided into several periods (Figure 2):



A - until 1945, B - 1945, C- 1945 - 1990s, D - after EU and Schengen zone accession

Source: (Ciok, 2004; Raczyk, Dołzbłasz and Leśniak-Johann, 2012)

Figure 2: Functional and Spatial Relations in the Polish-German Borderland

4.1 Until 1945

Until the end of the World War II, the twin cities were a whole (Figure 2A). They were the German cities with a little development potential, located in the eastern, less developed part of Germany. The infrastructure was underdeveloped and the surrounding areas had an agricultural function. They were less populated areas than the western part of Germany (Raczyk, Dołzbłasz and Leśniak-Johann, 2012). There was a little interest from foreign tourists at that time, despite the very high natural potential there. Only 2% of the foreign tourists in 1935/36 who came to the Reich visited the districts east of the Oder and Lusatian Neisse (Buchofer, 1994). Situation changed before and during the World War II, what was reflected in the population growth and development of industry, consequently contributed to the partial activation of these areas (Ciok, 2004). Until 1945 cities were integrated regions according to Martinez's (1994) concept.

4.2 Year 1945

The post-war period has brought significant political and economic changes for Poland and the Reich (demilitarisation of Germany, division into occupation zones, creation of two German states). The Polish-German border was established at the Potsdam Conference (17 July - 2 August 1945), however the demarcation act was signed on 27 January 1951 in Frankfurt (Oder) (so called Frankfurt Act) (Figure 2B). The consequences of establishing a border were multifaceted (Ciok, 2004):

- division of towns. On the Polish side, mostly their suburbs (Zgorzelec, Słubice) and rarely their centres (Gubin) have remained.
- disruption of the municipal infrastructure.
- disruption of the transport network. As a result, the eastern parts of close-by cities do not have north-south railway connections, e.g. Zgorzelec-Gubin, Gubin-Slubice.

- repatriation actions of the population. In a very short period of time, the population in the area was exchanged. In 1950, the local population accounted for only 2%. Inhabitants from Central Poland and the former eastern territories flowed into the western regions. In 1948 Poles accounted for more than 98% of population.
- massive war damage. The degree of destruction in some of the cities, reached up to 90-95% in the case of Gubin.

Bordering was the dominant process during this period, and the interaction between the Polish and German parts of the cities can be described as characteristic of alienated borderland.

4.3 1945- 1990s

This period can be divided into phases where the *bordering- debordering- rebordering* processes were visible. As the function of the border as a barrier diminished and its permeability improved, debordering intensified (Figure 2 C).

The years 1951 - 60 brought a gradual improvement in German-Polish relations, made possible by the signing of the Zgorzelec Agreement. From the mid 1950s onwards, the first attempts at cooperation were made, so that the role of the border as a barrier diminished.

Decisions to lift a number of military and administrative restrictions in the Polish border area (1960s), the signing of the Treaty on Cooperation, Friendship and Mutual Assistance (1967) resulted in the partial opening of the border in 1961-71 and in its complete opening and visa-free border traffic in 1972-80 (Ciok, 2004). This decision had a significant impact on improving attractiveness of the border areas and boosted economic, cultural life as well as tourist traffic. In the end of 1970s and in the early 1980s, the GDR broke off intensive cooperations and the border became a barrier until 1990 (German reunification). Once again, therefore, a process of rebordering was evident.

A new stage in the development of social, and economic relations between Poland and Germany were the early 1990s. This was the period of the beginning of democratic, and free-market transformations in Poland, the fall of the Berlin Wall, German reunification (3 October 1990). Relevant bilateral agreements were signed.

In the 1990s the first Euroregions on the German-Polish border were established: Nysa (Zgorzelec-Goerlitz), Spree-Nysa-Bober (Gubin-Guben) and Pro Europa Viadrina (Słubice- Frankfurt (Oder)). In the 1990s, the first joint cross-border projects, funded by the European Union, began to be implemented. Despite the large disparity in access to external funding between the Polish and German parts of twin towns, they were an important instrument of cross-border cooperation (Raczyk and Dołzbłasz, 2022). A large part of the projects have focused on catching up on infrastructure (road infrastructure, tourist trails), improving transport accessibility, joint German-Polish events in twin cities (Raczyk, Dołzbłasz and Leśniak-Johann, 2012). During this time, shopping tourism, medical tourism and cultural tourism began to develop. There were an increase in trade units marketplaces focused on German customers in the divided cities, and supermarkets began to emerge at the turn of the century. Cross-border relations were gaining in intensity and were of a diverse nature.

In the case of Gubin/Guben about 80% of the citizens of Polish Gubin took part in cross-border practices of different kinds. The purpose for travelling to German Guben was diverse, but the dominating one was shopping. Citizens of Gubin go to Guben for walks, to meet acquaintances, and for cultural reasons. Citizens of Polish Gubin perceive the neighbouring Germans mainly as tourists and customers (Dolińska, Makaro and Niedzwiedzka-Iwańczak, 2013).

Interestingly, despite the lack of development of the tourism function in the divided cities, tourism was perceived by local authorities as a prospective activity with opportunities for development in the years to come (Raczyk, Dołzbłasz and Leśniak-Johann, 2012). The tourism potential was already recognised, not only for shopping, medical and primary service-related tourism, but also for leisure and cultural tourism. Competitive advantages in tourism were assessed differently by the partners. Local governments emphasised the price advantage of Polish tourism enterprises and the German competitive advantage in tourism management, especially in the creation and commercialisation of tourism products and support of Destination Management Organisations (DMO). Polish local government officials were more likely to value the border as an important element of tourism development, while their German counterparts emphasised the border more as a marginalising element (Ciok et al., 2008; Raczyk, Dołzbłasz and Leśniak-Johann, 2012).

In the period up to the late 1990s, divided cities and their relations, including tourism, can be described as relations in interdependent regions, where debordering and rebordering processes were taking place.

4.4 After Accession to the European Union and the Schengen Zone

Following Poland's accession to the European Union (1.05.2004) and to the Schengen zone (21.12.2007), a number of changes have taken place at the German-Polish border. This involved a removal of fundamental political barrier, and lifting of border controls (Figure 2D).

Between 2007 and 2015, several new routes emerged making easier to cross the border. As the border runs on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse rivers, the problem of poor accessibility of areas on the other side of the border was thus intensified (Komornicki, 1999).

Catching up on years of backlog has begun. The border bridge over the Lusatian Neisse River in Zgorzelec was renovated. New pedestrian and cycle links were also created between Guben and Gubin on the Theatre Island. In addition, cross-border hiking and cycling routes were also created to improve accessibility to tourist attractions in the close proximity of the twin cities, i.e. Bielawa Dolna-Neißeau (close to the KULTurinsel attraction Bielawa Dolna-Neisseau), Łęknica-Bad Muskau (former railway bridge), Łęknica-Bad Muskau (English Bridge in Muskauer Park), Markosice-Gross Gastrose (bridge over the Lusatian Neisse, shortens crossing to the other side of the border). New cross-border link roads have emerged i.e. Sieniawka-Zittau, Łęknica-Krauschwitz, Żytowań-Coschen (Dołzbłasz, Zelek, 2019).

Two of the three divided cities are located in the close proximity to international roads (along the A4 Ludwigsdorf-Jędrzychowice; A12 Frankfurt (Oder)/Swiecko), only Guben-Gubin does not have access to international roads nearby. Both Zgorzelec-Goerlitz and Gubin-Guben are accessible via the local road and pedestrian-bike system. Slubice-Frankfurt (Oder) are accessible via the national road system, on both sides of the border.

Several new border crossing points (over the river) have been opened at the initiative of the villagers. It has thus become possible to pursue a new theme in tourism development. Local village associations, for example, have been organising various events at the crossing points.

At the Gubin-Guben and Slubice-Frankfurt (Oder) border crossings, all border infrastructure that had previously been used for border traffic was removed. This was a symbolic gesture to show the progressive integration of the cities. In place of the former Zgorzelec-Goerlitz road crossing, only lanes were left on the roadway for customs clearance. In these cities, the tendency towards joint development and integration is stronger than the preservation of physical dividing elements. There is therefore limited potential for building tourism products based on this element of shared history and the possibility of using border infrastructure for cross-border tourism products (Dołzbłasz, Zaneck, 2019).

The border is more and more understood as a resource for tourism development, especially in terms of investment and marketing, however there are very few examples of cross-border enterprises that further the development of „borderless” tourist destinations, and border-related tourist attractions are underdeveloped. One of the goal for regional developers and entrepreneurs is to transform this „borderless” divided cities into a tourist attraction. Today, the process of creating a common cross-border tourist destination along the lines of the integrated borderland according to Martinez (1994) is in its implementation phase, and is still a long way to go. There is practically no joint cross-border DMO dealing with this issue. It relies on the regional DMOs work, which tend to support other, more attractive tourism destinations within the regions.

Today, tourism in the divided cities is based on local visitors from the Polish and German their parts. The highest proportion of visitors to Guben was recorded among those representing the younger age categories - up to 41 years in Gubin and up to 57 years in Zgorzelec. The oldest respondents were the least likely to visit Germany (Dolińska, Makaro and Niedzwiedzka-Iwańczak, 2013).

Alongside the development of border infrastructures, there are examples of commercialisation of transborder history and culture. Joint initiatives have been mainly financed by the cross-border cooperation programmes: European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) and Interreg. Between 2021 and 2027, the support for cultural and tourism projects is planning to be one of the priorities of the Interreg Saxony-Poland, Interreg Brandenburg-Poland and Interreg Mecklenburg-Vorpommern/Brandenburg programmes. Up to now, the border partner cities have distinguished themselves through a large number of projects and have been important, although not dominant, centres of cross-border cooperation. One of the most significant barrier to cooperation turns out to be the difference in potential and development on both sides of the border (Dołzbłasz, 2012). Most of the cross-border projects in the previous programming periods (ETC 2007-2013 and Interreg 2014-2020) were implemented by local government units (Polska-Saksonia..., Polska-Brandenburgia...; Raczyk and Dołzbłasz, 2022). In the perception of both Polish as well as German local governments the effects of cooperation between

them are very diverse, however most of them have pointed to joint cultural and joint touristic events as the greatest effect (Dołzbłasz, 2012).

There are many examples of cross-border projects which have a measurable impact on the use of cross-border tourism potential e.g.: joint offer of urban transport in Polish and German partner cities (e.g. Zgorzelec-Goerlitz, Guben-Gubin); improvement of cultural heritage sites attractiveness (e.g. the reconstruction of the parish church in Guben); construction of cross-border tourist trails (e.g. Via Regia Zgorzelec-Goerlitz, Greenway Gubin-Guben); construction of tourist attractions (e.g. Extreme Sports Centre in Zgorzelec; technological solutions (e.g. Słubice-Frankfurt (Oder) tourist information app); support for cross-border identity (e.g. Słubice-Frankfurt (Oder), project "Experience the Twin City"); support for language learning of the neighbour (e.g. Bilingualism from preschool to senior citizens in Zgorzelec and Goerlitz); concepts for the spatial development of cross-border cities (e.g. MORO project) (MORO project...).

Increasing migration crisis in Europe (2015) and the Covid-19 pandemic in the recent years resulted in rebordering processes in the Polish-German borderland. This process was particularly troublesome in divided cities, where temporary barriers were erected. The border was closed again, restrictions were put in place, tests had to be taken, when crossing the border. The border was practically closed again for 2 years. This made it more difficult for residents to function on a daily basis to move from/to work, and shopping. Joint cross-border events were suspended. It turned out that the local ties that had been developed, had to give way to restrictions introduced by the Laendern authorities in Germany and the Polish government. Covid -19 resulted in a freezing of tourist traffic between Poland and Germany.

In the last analysed period, cross-border relations can be described as interdependent borderland according to the Martinez (1994) approach. Despite the improving cross-border relations, a very dynamic process of debordering and rebordering was evident during this period as a consequence of global events.

5. Conclusions

The function of the Polish-German border and tourism relations between actors in the divided cities of Zgorzelec-Goerlitz, Gubin-Guben, Słubice- Frankfurt (Oder) has evolved. Referring to the research questions, it is possible to indicate periods in the post-war history of the cities where tourism relations depended on the function of the border, therefore the Martinez (1994) approach can be applied. The tourism relations corresponded to those in the interdependent borderland in different times. The analysis do not show relationships for integrated borderland. In the process-oriented terms, all phases of the *bordering- debordering- rebordering* concept and their reference and consequences to cross-border tourism relations can be described. In the years 2019-22, a number of examples have shown an intensification of rebordering processes.

Among the factors that have influenced the changes in the function of the border are first and foremost political factors.

Despite the removal of many restrictions and regulations, the border still creates many cultural and political barriers to the realisation of cooperative tourism development. The differentiated impact of the border for more than a seventy years means that existing infrastructures and official networks have been developed mainly within a state. The development of state-centric tourism in border regions often ignores or competes with the supply and facilities on the other side of the border.

The practical implications mainly concern the use of knowledge about the intertwining of changes in the function of the border with the construction of successive phases of a cross-border region, and thus the opportunity to build cross-border tourist destinations offering cross-border tourism products. As recommendations for the local, regional authorities and DMO-s in the context of supporting the development of cross-border tourism can be mentioned:

- „establishment of common tourist information centre using the infrastructure of border crossings, as is done at many border crossing points within the European Union” (Timothy, 2001, p. 147) and the use of former border infrastructure as a tourist attraction;
- creation of new tourist attractions e.g. tourist trails along the border. The development of cross-border infrastructure can be understood as an effort to make crossing the border an enjoyable experience for tourists and the local community and to transform the control landscape into an open landscape of tourism (Prokkola, 2008);
- continued support for the Lusatian Serb minority, its culture and identity, and showing it in tourism marketing activities. This is a distinctive element. The state border, border culture and minority

language can be presented as specific features of the region that distinguish it from other tourist destinations. Local smuggling and cross-border marriages are also popular themes in tourism development, commemorating and celebrating local cross-border heritage and creating resources for tourism development.

There are undoubtedly limitations of the analysis carried out. One of them is the reliance only on qualitative analysis based on literature studies and observations, which is related to the ambiguous nature of the phenomenon. The research should be supplemented with quantitative aspects, e.g. analysis of the effects of tourism projects from ETC and Interreg and network analyses of partners and the effects of tourism partnerships.

The research should be treated as a starting point for further, more advanced studies and empirical testing of the model.

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