# Rethinking cross-border integration. A step to further discussion

Łukasz D. Wróblewski<sup>1</sup>

https://doi.org/10.25167/brs2129 Submitted: 6 Jul 2020; Accepted: 29 Sep 2020; Published: 2 Oct 2020

#### Abstract:

This study analyzes the phenomenon of cross-border integration. The literature do not consider all major conditions of such the phenomenon. The goal of this article, is to present the various conditions of cross-border integration, which are too often ignored by many authors. Firstly, the paper presents an overview of different typologies of border regions depending on the intensity of interaction between them and accounting for the causes of their development. Afterward, the author presents the major conditions of the integration of border regions, in the light of the critical literature review. In the conclusions, the author presents propositions and suggestions for further academic debates on the phenomenon of cross-border integration.

## Keywords:

#### border regions, cross-border integration, conditions of cross-border ties, borderlands studies, European integration

Citation (APA):

Wróblewski, Ł. (2020). Rethinking cross-border integration. A step to further discussion. *Border and Regional Studies*, *8*(*3*): 111-135.

## 1. Introduction

Even though the issue of state borders and border regions (borderlands studies) is a relatively new research subject, it constitutes an area of interest to multiple authors representing various scientific disciplines. Particular attention is paid to it in the field of political science and cultural studies. Legal and economic aspects are analyzed less frequently. Researchers became particularly interested in this topic in the mid-1960s. That spurt of interest was undoubtedly related to integration processes taking place in Western Europe (Strassoldo 1974a, 1974b; Newman 2006). Despite a significant number of analyses, a conclusive theory of cross-border integration is not available (Raczyk et al. 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2018), which makes most publications rely solely on the analysis of case studies

<sup>1</sup> Łukasz D. Wróblewski, PhD (ORCID 0000-0003-3677-043X) – Poznań University of Economics and Business, Institute of International Business and Economics, Department of European Studies; e-mail: lukasz.wroblewski@ue.poznan.pl

(Brenner 2013). This constitutes the most serious problem in the deliberations on the subject at hand.

The review of literature indicates two main streams of research devoted to borderlands studies (Newman 2006; Newman and Paasi 2013). Despite differing research perspectives adopted in those streams, they seem to complement each other, and it appears that any in-depth analysis of state borders requires a comprehensive approach (Newman and Paasi 2013; Van Houtum 1998).

The first stream pertains to discussing the problem of borders primarily in the context of political geography (Newman and Paasi 2013). It concentrates on the impact of state borders on political and economic relations between neighboring countries. Seen from this angle, a border is considered to be the separation of national structures. According to Strassoldo (1974b) borderlands studies should focus exclusively on the analysis of conflicts resulting from delimitation of borders and the main area of interest should be the national state.

Such an assumption seems, however, ungrounded. Research perspective aimed at analyzing the impact of borders on adjacent communities and regions finds justification in the intensity of integration processes within the European Union (Newman 2006; Newman and Paasi 2013). It seems, therefore, impossible to hold disputes about state borders only in terms of political geography, i.e. from the perspective of national states and relations between them without any consideration given to processes occurring on the regional level, e.g. in terms of regional geography or economy (Newman 2000; Newman and Paasi 2013).

The second stream of research focuses, *inter alia*, on political or regional geography, broadly defined regional studies, economy and sociology. Discussions in that regard concentrate on the social, political and economic influence of borders on communities and regions located in the direct vicinity of state borders. In other words, the emphasis is placed on relations and interrelations between such communities and regions with their counterparts on the other side of the border. This is particularly visible regarding researchers interested in the cross-border cooperation in the European Union (Newman and Paasi 2013).

What may be classified to the second research stream are typologies of border regions as well as models aiming at explaining the interrelations between them. Particularly significant are the typologies of border regions offered by Stiglbauer and Lackinger (1980), Sanguin (1983), Leimgrüber (1991), and Strassoldo (1974b), and models proposed by Strassoldo (1989), Martinez (1994a, 1994b), House (1981, quoted in: Minghi 1991, 1994), Minghi (1991), and Decoville, Durand, Sohn and Walther (2010). The fundamental criterion for classification adopted by their authors is the degree of interaction between border regions. That degree usually ranges from the stage of no interactions at all to intensive interactions.

The discussed models and typologies are largely general, and they are not measurable in nature, which is also emphasized by their authors (Leimgrüber 1991). Accordingly, it is difficult to establish on their basis the degree of interaction typical of each mentioned stage. Despite that, they are frequently quoted and analyzed by numerous authors (Leimgrüber 1991; Van der Velde 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2020) and sometimes even adapted for the purpose of assessing the intensity of interaction between border regions (Raczyk et al. 2012; Miszczuk 2007; Szul 1999; Misiak 2002; Krok 2006; Brunet-Jailly 2010). However, usually those publications contain numerous simplifications and methodological errors (Wróblewski 2017, 2020).

Nevertheless, presented models contain a collection of factors for border region interactions. Special emphasis is placed on the significance of state borders, relations between neighboring countries and, less frequently, various forms of activities undertaken by local or regional communities. Legal and economic aspects are analyzed to a smaller extent. Presented models are also insufficient to explain the integration process of border regions within such constructs as the European Union. They overlook numerous significant factors in that regard, such as in particular, the internal market of the EU as well as the EMU or in some instances the process of European integration is overlooked completely (Van der Velde 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2018, 2020).

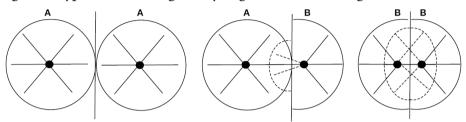
The objective of this paper is, therefore, to present factors for integration of border regions which are all too often either overlooked by many authors or analyzed in a simplified form only. Particular attention is paid to the state border and its functions, relations between neighboring countries as well as legal, microand macroeconomic conditions of cross-border integration.

Firstly, the text presents an overview of different typologies of border regions depending on the intensity of interaction between them and accounting for the causes of their development, which are cited by numerous authors. Afterward, the author presents the major conditions of the integration of border regions, in the light of the critical literature review. In the conclusions, the author presents propositions and suggestions for further academic debates on the phenomenon of cross-border integration. The main research method consists in the critical analysis of the literature on the subject, in particular pertaining to the broadly defined borderlands studies, and the documents and studies released by the Council of Europe and the European Council.

## 2. Cross-border integration in the light of the literature

Analyzing the impact of the border on the Upper Austrian and Bavarian border region, Stiglbauer and Lackinger (1980) pointed towards three types of border regions: border regions of slight interaction, border regions of moderate interaction, and border regions of strong interaction (Figure 1). The typology does not account for border regions that demonstrate no interaction. Such regions may exist in situations where the border is impermeable. Hence, Stiglbauer and Lackinger's typology is not an exhaustive one.

Figure 1. Types of border regions by Stiglbauer and Lackinger



where: A|A - border regions of slight interaction; A|B - border regions of moderate interaction; B|B - border regions of strong interaction. Source: Stiglbauer and Lackinger (1980).

Sanguin (1983) also differentiated between three types of border regions: border gaps, border nebulae, and proper border regions. Border gaps are regions that have been undeveloped for physiographic reasons. Border nebulae refer to small settlements on both sides of the border that demonstrate no functional interaction. Finally, proper border regions denote areas of significant and multifaceted interaction.

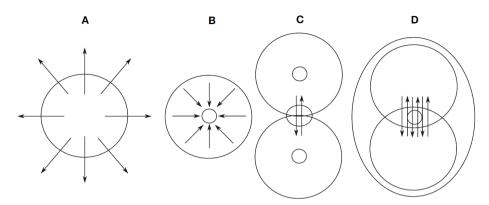
Leimgrüber (1991) also specified three types of border regions, i.e. cross-border regions, border regions and peripheral regions. His typology is founded on two criteria. The first criterion is the degree of state border permeability. The second refers to the degree of cross-border interaction. Peripheral regions are regions located along closed state borders that manifest no interrelations whatsoever. Border regions are those that, though located along open state borders, demonstrate no (or slight) interaction. Cross-border regions are regions located alongside open state borders that show intensive cultural interlinks.

The typology presented by Leimgrüber confirms the assumption that, depending on the degree of permeability of state borders, the interaction of border regions can have different intensity. However, Leimgrüber adopts cultural relations (mutual attitudes in border region communities) as the sole criterion of intensity, without acknowledging different kinds of links, e.g. cross-border cooperation of local or regional self-government units (SGUs), and social and economic links. Secondly, Leimgrüber failed to recognize important external factors, e.g. the impact of relations between neighboring states on border regions interaction. Thirdly, based on the presented typology, it would be difficult to specify the intensity of interaction in cross-border and border regions. Fourth, Leimgrüber (1991) himself stresses that the empirical verification of his typology is limited, and the verification of hypotheses based on its premises may be impossible.

Based on the degree of state border permeability and the relations between neighboring nations, Strassoldo (1974b) specifies four types of border regions, i.e. frontier regions, peripheral regions (German: Randgebiet), bridge regions (German: Brücke) and hinge regions (German: Scharnier). Frontier regions are characteristic of young states that manifest expansionist tendencies, as they strive to expand their territories. As a consequence, border regions in those states are oriented towards the inside. It ought to be emphasized that such an orientation does not result from cross-border cooperation and interaction between border regions, but rather from state efforts to change the course of the state border. Peripheral regions, as opposed to open regions, are oriented towards the centre of. Their orientation follows from isolationist policies of a given state at the international level. Closed border regions are situated along impermeable state borders. The border regions of North Korea may serve as a case in point. Bridge regions are located alongside partially opened borders. They act as overpasses between neighboring states, facilitating the exchange of goods and the movement of people. Hinge regions are characterized by far more intense relations than bridge regions. Their interaction leads to a fusion of sorts between borderland communities. Moreover, the links between such border regions are stronger than their individual relations with their respective centers.

## Models of border situations

Strassoldo (1989) distinguished between three models of border relations: nation-building, coexistence and integration (Figure 2). Similarly to the typology of border regions proposed by Strassoldo (1974b), these models refer to the relations between neighboring states and state policies on borders and border regions. These conditions influence the links between border regions.



#### Figure 2. Types of border regions by Strassoldo

where: A - frontier regions; B - peripheral regions; C - bridge regions; D - hinge regions Source: Strassoldo (1974b).

In the nation-building model, neighboring states are characterized by limited integration. In order to function effectively, the state is forced to control its surroundings. As a result, state authorities adopt border-strengthening policies that restricts all movement, in particular the movement of people and goods. Such a stance leads to international isolation, thus significantly impacting border regions: the stronger the isolation policy, the more enduring its effect. Strassoldo describes the relations between African states as an example of the nation-building model.

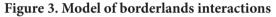
In the coexistence model, states function based on a peaceful coexistence. State borders and territorial integrity are fully recognized by the international community. State borders may be both open and closed. Opting for a closed borders policy restricts all activity in border regions, potentially resulting in the creation of buffer zones, which Strassoldo refers to as a no man's land, where the sole relations between neighboring states are determined at a central level. The intensification of border regions interaction under the coexistence model depends on the adoption of appropriate border and border regions policies at the state level, manifested by the facilitation of border-crossing or imports/exports permits with respect to specific goods. As a result, the function of the state border as a barrier<sup>2</sup> is mitigated. According to Strassoldo, the coexistence model is the most common one among neighboring states. The US-Mexican relations may serve as a case in point.

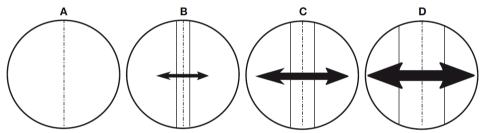
<sup>2</sup> The notion of border as a barrier for different kinds of processes, people, goods, and capital, is particularly popular in borderlands studies, and the literature on the subject is tremendously rich. Such a concept constitutes a foundation for the consideration of various relations between border regions and their communities (See part 3).

In the integration model, neighboring states maintain more intense relations than in the coexistence model. Neighboring states partially relinquish their sovereignty in favor of in-depth integration, while state boundaries evolve from closed borders to open borders. The integration process may result in the development of supranational structures such as the EU.

## Model of borderlands interactions

Studying the cross-border interaction along the US-Mexican border, Martinez (1994a, 1994b) came up with a model of borderlands interactions. Martinez's model differentiates between four types of borderland areas, i.e. alienated borderlands, coexistent borderlands, interdependent borderlands, integrated borderlands (Figure 3).





where: A - alienated borderlands; B - coexistent borderlands; C - interdependent borderlands; D - integrated borderlands. Source: Martinez (1994a).

Alienated borderlands demonstrate no cross-border relations. Such a condition is a consequence of the relations between neighboring states that result from conflicts or wars, political discrepancies, nationalisms, ideological and religious hostilities, and cultural and ethnic differences. These factors translate into high border formalization and impermeability, prohibiting cross-border cooperation and discouraging the population and development of border regions.

Coexistent borderlands are characterized by the demise of open conflict. Still, a number of barriers continue to exist that render cross-border cooperation impossible, e.g. emotional barriers, unregulated course of state borders. The development of cross-border collaboration is only possible if the course of the border has been accepted by neighboring states based on bilateral (or multilateral) treaties. Interdependent borderlands are regions whose relations and interaction have reached the state of symbiosis, manifested by the establishment of transnational cooperation and an intensified movement of people, goods, services, and capital. As pointed out by Martinez, under such circumstances the economies of border regions become increasingly co-dependent. Their ties intensify, as the collaborating regions reach a similar level of development. Disproportions in development may lead to the marginalization of the less developed region. The state border continues to be strongly monitored, e.g. in order to counter cross-border crime.

The final type of border regions specified by Martinez is that of integrated borderlands, characterized by intensive and free movement of labor force, goods, services, and capital. In this model, neighboring states reject nationalism in favor of an international ideology of peaceful coexistence, increased living standards, and voluntary partial relinquishment of individual sovereignty as a result of membership in international and supranational organizations, such as the EU.

## Model of transaction flow across boundaries

Similarly to Martinez's model, the model of transaction flow across boundaries introduced by House (1981, quoted in: Minghi 1991, 1994), was developed based on an analysis of the interaction between Mexican and American border regions. House attempted to determine the causes for various types of movements and interlinks between border regions (Az-Bz relations), regional centers (Ai-Bi relations) and regional centers of bordering states (A-B relations) (Figure 4).

In the event of a confrontation or conflict between bordering states, A-B relations are prevalent. Relations of regional centers (Ai-Bi) and border regions (Az-Bz) are practically non-existent or have an illegal character. According to the border landscape concept proposed by Minghi (1991, 1994), the increase in the intensity of Az-Bz and Ai-Bi interaction can only occur when the relations between bordering states shift from conflict to harmony. The demise of conflict and the development of relations between neighboring states foster the intensification of Az-Bz and Ai-Bi relations. Further intensification leads to the development of Az-Bz and Ai-Bi interaction at the expense of A-B relations, and even the domination of the former over the latter.

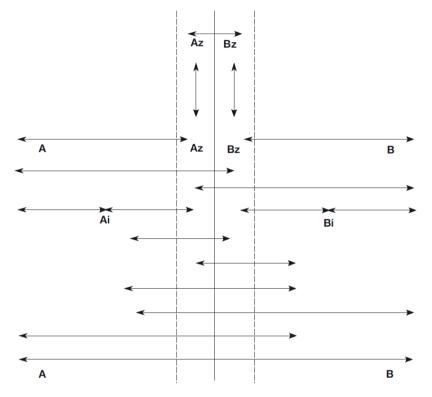


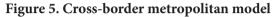
Figure 4. Model of transaction flow across boundaries

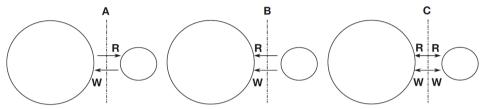
where: Az/Bz - border areas; Ai/Bi - border regions; A/B - centers of bordering states Source: House (1981, quoted in: Minghi 1991, 1994).

#### Cross-border metropolitan model

The cross-border metropolitan model proposed by Decoville, Durand, Sohn and Walther (2010, 2013) specifies three types of border regions interaction. Depending on the direction of movement of labor force, and the mobility of inhabitants of examined border regions, their integration may ensue through specialization, polarization, and osmosis (Figure 5). Still, this model fails to account for the gradation of interaction between border regions and refers solely to the movement of labor force and people.

Integration through specialization takes place when the metropolitan center attracts labor force from a region of low development potential, located across the state border. The region acts as a hinterland for the metropolitan region. In turn, residents of the metropolitan region move to regions of lower development potential and commute to work in the metropolitan region. Integration through polarization involves a simultaneous outflow of labor force and residents from the undeveloped region to the metropolitan region. Conversely, integration through osmosis takes place when there is a two-way flow of labor force and residents between the regions. The process may occur when both regions have a similar potential for development.



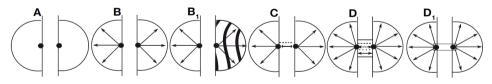


where: A - integration through specialization; B - integration through polarization; C - integration through osmosis; R - flow of residents; W - flow of labor force. Source: Decoville et al. (2010, 2013).

#### Cross border coastal region development model

The aforementioned models refer to the interaction of border regions located alongside terrestrial borders. However, cross-border links may also occur between border regions situated along maritime boundaries. Integration of border regions divided by strips of sea water was discussed by Palmowski (2001) in the cross border coastal region development model, in which the author distinguished between six types of regions (types: A, B, B1, C, D, D1) reflecting the consecutive stages of development of the cross-border region. This process is conditioned by geographical location and distance, navigability conditions, and the development of technical and transport infrastructure (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Cross border coastal region development model



Source: Palmowski (2001).

Type A regions (stage 1) present no interaction whatsoever, since they do not communicate on any level. Such a situation may be caused by wars or conflicts

involving states across a maritime border, or from the lack of appropriate transportation infrastructure. Type B (stage 2) regions involve the establishment of first cross-border contacts. One specific form of such regions are Type B1 (stage 3) border regions, where one region dominates over another located across the border, e.g. thanks to its military or economic potential. The improvement in the relations between neighboring states, along with the evolution of transportation and technology network, as well as social and economic relations, may lead to the development of type C (stage 4) border regions. These regions engage in more extensive collaborations on a number of planes. Another type of coastal border regions is type D (stage 5) regions. These regions may evolve from type C regions, provided that modern means of transportation have been introduced which shorten the commute and intensify the movement of people and goods between border regions. Further intensification of such relations may lead to the occurrence of type D1 (stage 6) regions. Such regions represent the highest level of integration of coastal border regions. Examples of D1 regions listed by Palmowski (2001) include Kvarken and Mitt Skandia, Archipelago Cooperation, Southern Finland and Estonia, Øresund, Storstrøm and Ostholstein, String, Bornholm and south-eastern Scania, Scania, Fyn and Kern, Euroregion Baltic and Euroregion Pomerania.

The model put forward by Palmowski fills a void in the subject literature with regard to the presentation of integration of border regions, as his concept refers to the interlinks between coastal regions, often overlooked by other authors. Palmowski's model nonetheless does not account for the degree of relations at individual stages of development.

## 3. Conditions of cross-border integration. Critical approach to the literature

The models and typologies presented in literature are interesting. It is suggested that they may be used to assess the degree of intensity of interactions between border regions. As a result, they are frequently cited by numerous authors. What is referred to most frequently, both in the English and Polish literature on the subject, is Martinez's model (1994a). However, the citations are only based on a partial presentation of Martinez's deliberations in this respect (Martinez 1994b). Many publications, predominantly in English literature, are also devoted to the model by Decoville, Durand, Sohn and Walther (2010, 2013). As far as the Polish literature on the subject is concerned, that model is almost completely overlooked, which undoubtedly constitutes a serious omission given the fact that it offers a relatively viable explanation of the reasons for migration of persons and workforce between border regions. The model and typology put forward by Strassoldo (1974b, 1989) constitute a subject of analysis slightly less often.

Overall, however, the majority of models is of relatively general nature, it concentrates on political and social problems, and fails to address cross-border economic integration. Such a manner of approaching the topic is derived from the disciplines and research perspectives adopted by respective authors and should not constitute an objection to their work, even though it limits research versatility and applicability. This shortcoming is also acknowledged by the authors themselves. The fundamental problem related to the discussed models is, however, the fact that they are not measurable. Presented publications concentrate, namely, on their conceptualization and fail to give due consideration to their operationalization. As a result, it is not possible to establish how close or how far the analyzed regions are to the following (or preceding) stage and what research methods may be applied to measure that process.

At this point, what requires consideration once again is Martinez's model. It is frequently adapted by numerous authors, mainly in the Polish literature on the subject, to evaluate the interlinks between border regions. The common feature of such publications is the lack of the description of methodology and sources of data, which restricts their usability and, in some cases the lack of any studies conducted by authors whatsoever (Raczyk et al. 2012; Miszczuk 2007; Szul 1999; Misiak 2002; Krok 2006).

The process of the integration of border regions is characterized by huge complexity. It can be concluded from the analysis of the presented models that the process in question is conditioned, first and foremost, on the national, international and supranational level (Martinez 1994a; Stiglbauer and Lackinger 1980; Sanguin 1983, Clark 1994; Strassoldo 1974b, 1989; Minghi 1991, 1994; Wróblewski 2017; 2018, 2020). From the point of view of border regions, such conditions are of exogenous nature, i.e. they do not directly originate from the regions in question. Yet, they constitute an essential prerequisite for their integration. Apart from those conditions what also affects the integration of border regions are measures and initiatives undertaken on the regional or local level. Thus, the integration of border regions depends on both, exogenous as well as endogenous factors.

External factors that are particularly highlighted in presented models and typologies include the functions of the state border, the degree of its formalization and permeability (openness) as well as relationships between neighboring countries (Martinez 1994a; Stiglbauer and Lackinger 1980; Sanguin 1983; Clark 1994; Strassoldo 1974b, 1989; Minghi 1991, 1994; Leimgrüber 1991; Novotná 2018; Decoville et al. 2010, 2013). They determine various links occurring in border regions. What is, however, overlooked is the impact of legal circumstances on the ability of SGUs as well as other entities to establish cooperation. Internal factors, on the other hand, primarily include cross-border cooperation, usually understood as cooperation between relevant self-government units as well as activities of local or regional communities, in most cases related to cross-border communing, changing one's place of residence or cultural activity.

## State border and its functions

The body of literature devoted to the subject of borders is very extensive. It is assumed that state borders may play multiple roles. Presented models and typologies are no exception in that regard. Literature review allows one to distinguish, inter alia, the unifying and dividing function, peripherality function, demonstrative, symbolic ones as well as the function consisting in the development of relations with neighbors. Barrier, filter, disintegration, fragmentation, integration, demarcation and limitation constitute further roles assumed by state borders. A lot of attention is devoted in literature to the barrier function of the state border (Ratii 1993; Misiak 2002;Raczyk et al. 2012; Krok 2006; Hoover 1962; Lösch 1961; Wróblewski 2017, 2020). In this perspective, the border limits various flows.

The essence of border functions as well as the border as such is subject to change, depending on the assumed perspective and research discipline. Moreover, state borders are often attributed with conventional or symbolic functions which are difficult to verify empirically. It is even claimed that borders are disappearing (Durand & Perrin 2017), which is a far-reaching oversimplification.

State borders, as such, do not have any complex functions. A state border constitutes, namely, a physically non-existent plane in space that is perpendicular to the plane of the Earth and cuts it in the direction of its geometrical midpoint (Wróblewski 2017). It determines the scope of legal, political and territorial jurisdiction of the state over a given territory, which is its exclusive and fundamental function. Border functions outlined in literature constitute a result of policies pursued by neighboring countries rather than an objective fact testifying to the impact of borders on border regions. The functions described in literature do not, in fact, derive from the process of border delimitation and demarcation but from policies pursued by neighboring states, e.g. commercial policy, labor market policy, visa policy, asylum and immigration policy (Wróblewski 2017). Border constitutes a man-made construct, and, in a metaphysical sense, it provides structure to humans and their surroundings. Accordingly, statements made in the field of broadly understood regional studies concerning the functions of state borders and their impact on border regions appear to be significant oversimplifications. Scholarly deliberations should, to a larger extent, focus on the impact of policies pursued by neighboring countries on border regions and interactions that emerge between them, e.g. on the impact on tariff, para-tariff and non-tariff market protection instruments on interactions between border region enterprises rather than on the conventional border functions.

#### Relations between neighboring states vs. cross-border integration

What seems equally significant are direct relations between neighboring states. The development of any ties between border regions is virtually impossible if neighboring states fail to recognize the delineation of the joint border, mutual sovereignty and territorial integrity or are in conflict. Relations between neighboring states are reflected, namely, in the ties between border regions that constitute a type of a barometer indicating the state of such relations (Leimgrüber 1991;Martinez 1994a; Stiglbauer and Lackinger 1980; Sanguin 1983, Strassoldo 1974b, 1989; Minghi 1991, 1994; Wróblewski 2017, 2020). As a result of policies pursued by neighboring states, the border, in simple terms, begins to divide instead of unifying. In such a case, border regions may be denoted a buffer zone and not an area of contact and integration (Wróblewski 2017).

Bilateral and multilateral agreements concluded by government authorities appear to be of paramount importance in that context. They lay the legal foundation not only for bilateral or multilateral relations, but they also allow for the establishment of multidimensional cooperation between SGUs across the border (Wróblewski 2017, 2020). While presented models devote a lot of attention to bilateral relations as such and generally acknowledge their impact on interactions between border regions what is consistently overlooked in conducted considerations is the influence of agreements concluded between neighboring states on ties between border regions. That problem is particularly visible in comparative analyses, especially if concluded agreements cover issues of joint interest to SGU, such as cooperation in terms of water management on border waters, introduction of the local border traffic, cultural cooperation and youth exchanges or cooperation with respect to emergency medical services (Wróblewski 2017), in particular in the case of analyses of specific border regions, e.g. border cities (twincities, bi-cities, bridge towns or cross-border cities). On account of their location, such regions are often forced to collaborate in resolving specific problems that occur in their respective territories (Minghi 1991; Schulz 2002; Joenniemi and Sergunin 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2020; Minkenberg 2005; Hall and Coerver 2006; Arreola and Curtis 2006).

Models and typologies presented in literature also fail to fully consider changes occurring in that regard within the European Union, both in terms of internal as well as external borders (Van der Velde 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2018, 2020). Relations between neighboring countries are, namely, not only governed by treaties concluded by state authorities and referring to, for instance, the delineation of borders, but they are also regulated by international and supranational organizations, such as the EU. Programs and initiatives supporting cross-border integration between border regions, such as the Pre-Accession Assistance, INTERREG, EGTC or the European Neighborhood Instrument, play a significant role in that scope. The aforementioned support involves providing a formal framework for the collaboration of regional and local authorities, along with financing different projects undertaken by these authorities, and the promotion of various types of best practices. These instruments facilitate the creation of platofmrs dedicated to intensifying the relations between border regions and their respective communities<sup>3</sup>.

The process of European integration involves the issue of the loss or transfer of state's sovereignty to the supranational level. That aspect is mentioned by Strassoldo (1974b, 1989), Martinez (1994a), House (1981, quoted in: Minghi 1991, 1994) and Minghi (1991). In presented models it is assumed that neighboring states voluntarily resign from a part of their sovereignty in exchange for deeper integration and wider benefits, as a result of which their borders evolve from closed to open ones. Yet, the concept of sovereignty evolved alongside the development of international relations. Currently, it denotes the ability of the state to single-handedly exercise power over a given territory and persons or a group of persons residing on that territory without any interference from other bodies. A nation state may be sovereign or not. It is an either/or feature. As a result of the integration a nation state does not transfer its sovereignty but the right to execute part of its sovereignty. What may serve as an example in that regard is the decision taken by some EU member states to resign from the national currency and replace

<sup>3</sup> The literature on such support measures is abundant, covering a number of examples of effective and efficient use of the aforementioned support measures in different EU regions. Still, the scope of this study does not allow a more extensive discussion of the subject. See, Virkkunen (2002), Van Houtum (1998), Durà et. al. (2018), Gualini (2003), Gorzelak and Krok (2006), Perkmann (1999, 2003, 2007b), Perkmann and Spicer (2007), Wróblewski (2017, 2020), European Commission (1992, 2000, 2015, 2017), Czimre (2013), Groupe (2007), Szmigiel-Rawska and Dołzbłasz (2012), Dołzbłasz (2008), Dołzbłasz and Raczyk (2011), Guz-Vetter (2002), Constantin-Vasile2013, and others.

it with the euro under the EMU. That process is, in any case, significantly more complex than presented models may indicate. It is associated, namely, with the process of the EU organization and functioning pursuant to, among other things, the principle of subsidiarity, proportionality and the principle of conferred powers.

It appears, therefore, that disputes regarding the impact of integration of neighboring countries under international and supranational organizations, such as the EU, on border regions should, to a larger extent, consider the course of integration within such organizations. It is of paramount significance as the process in question does not only affect the relations between neighboring countries, which constitutes an area of particular interest in presented models, but it also determines economic aspects of cross-border integration discussed in the further part of this publication.

# Legal conditions vs. cross-border integration

In principle, presented models and typologies also fail to consider the impact of powers and tasks of regional self-government bodies, determined pursuant to domestic law, on the ability of SGUs to establish cross-border cooperation. SGUs may conclude cross-border cooperation agreements exclusively within the limits specified by domestic law, that is the Basic Law, state law and other legal acts determining the powers and tasks of SGUs. Public international law does not apply in that regard. The recognition by state authorities of powers vested to SGUs pursuant to international law in that respect would entail the loss of control over cross-border cooperation of SGU (Durand 2015; Groupe 2007; Minghi 1991; Sohn and Reitel 2009; 2013; Walther and Reitel 2012; Wróblewski 2017).

Depending on internal regulations the cooperation of SGUs may cover various fields, beginning with sharing best practices, joint work and deliberations of self-government administrative units and ending with cooperation concerning the construction of technical infrastructure, economic development, labor market or environmental protection. However, self-government units in particular countries may have various powers in that regard or those powers may prove insufficient(Decoville et al. 2010, 2013; Miszczuk 2007; Minghi 1991; Wróblewski 2017; Sohn and Reitel 2009; 2013; Walther and Reitel 2012; Durand 2015; Groupe 2007; Hansen and Serin 2007). There were attempts in the Council of Europe or the EU to solve that problem by adopting a number of regulations or initiatives supporting cross-border cooperation, such as the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (also called the Madrid Convention) or EGTC. And yet, they did not involve a transfer of powers from state authorities to an international or supranational level.

Therefore, all analyses, especially comparative ones, devoted to the phenomenon of cross-border cooperation between SGUs should present the impact of the legal landscape on that cooperation. What should be analyzed, are powers and tasks vested to SGUs specified by the Basic law, state law as well as other legal acts outlining the powers and tasks of SGUs. Otherwise, conclusions stemming from conducted deliberations may not only be misleading but also incorrect.

## Commonmarket and EMU vs. cross border integration

What seems to be particularly overlooked in the literature on the subject are economic conditions of cross-border social and economic links, i.e. the internal market of the EU, the EMU. It may seem surprising as it is the common market that allows for the intensification of the exchange of goods, services and capital between enterprises, satisfaction of consumer needs of individual customers as well as optimum allocation of workforce (Clark 1994; Flash Eurobarometer 2015; Decoville and Durand 2018; Spierings and Van der Velde 2008; Van der Velde 2012; Decoville et. al. 2010, 2013; Mazzoleni and Mueller 2017; Wróblewski 2017, 2018, 2020; Strüver 2002; Bouwens 2004; Bergs 2012; Koff 2015; Wastl-Walter and Kofler 1999; Bressan 2017;Gottholmseder and Theurl 2007; Hansen and Serin 2007; Van der Velde and Spierings 2010). Currency integration, in turn, acting in complementary capacity to the assumptions of the common market, allows for the reduction of transaction costs, improved effectiveness of capital location and investment security. Moreover, it eliminates the foreign exchange risk as well as the commission and it contributes to the growth in exchange of goods and services as well as the availability of capital (Capello et al. 2018; Wróblewski 2018; Krugman et. al. 2015; Mundell et al. 2005; De Grauwe 2001; McKinnon 1996; El-Agraa 2011; De Groot and Elhorst 2010). As a result, the goods or services constituting the object of local purchase-sale transactions may become the object of international trade and the capital as well as workforce enjoy favorable conditions for optimum allocation (Wróblewski 2017, 2018, 2020; Flash Eurobarometer 2015; Decoville and Durand 2018).

In the presented models the fundamental premise for socioeconomic ties, mainly manifested by the movement of workforce and migration of residents, is believed to be the differentiation in the development of border regions (Decoville et al. 2010, 2013; Martinez 1994a). This premise is, after all, very common in the literature on the subject (Dołzbłasz2012; Raczyk et al. 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2018,

2020; Decoville& Durand 2018; Mazzoleni and Mueller 2017). However, when analyzed from the economic point of view, it seems to be a significant oversimplification. The interrelation between the development level and the degree of regional interaction is not obvious. Development level may have an impact on interaction, but it does not have to. Regional flows always occur between complementary regions, i.e. from the region with a surplus supply of goods or production factors to a region suffering significant shortages in that regard. Regional connections, including those of cross-border nature, are determined by market mechanisms exemplified by such aspects as: the goals and actions of enterprises, consumers' desire to satisfy their needs as well as differences in consumer preferences, money supply and its purchasing power, fiscal and economic policy, price and pay levels, disposable income level, the quality and availability of goods or services, local economic situation, unemployment and employment level, labor productivity and efficiency, the quality and availability of labor factors, volatility in the exchange rate or interest rates. Furthermore, the failure to give due consideration to the fact that the development level, usually measured in GDP per capita, is often generated in one region and consumed in another may lead to incorrect conclusions. What should be done to illustrate possible interrelations between the level of development and the intensity of interactions between border regions is to conduct analyses using methodologically neutral synthetic measures of development.

Presented models pay a lot of attention to cross-border commuting and migration of the residents of border regions. In multiple publications such phenomena are viewed as exceptionally common in border regions of EU countries (Van der Velde 2012; Wróblewski 2017, 2018; Decoville et. al. 2010, 2013; Flash Eurobarometer 2015). In fact, however, the movement of workforce within the EU is hugely diversified both, in terms of the scale as well as the directions of migration. Border regions of the new EU namely see significantly lower flows than equivalent regions of the old EU (Wróblewski 2017, 2018;De Groot & Elhorst 2010; Kooiman et al. 2018; Ludwig & Johnson 2017).

The migration of workforce is largely determined by the difference in wages. Change of one's place of residence, in turn, is motivated by significantly more factors affecting the quality and standard of living. They may be dubbed push and pull factors, and inhibiting and discouraging factors. Those factors complement each other. What appears to be particularly important in this regard are local or regional taxes as well as prices and the supply of real estate. The main barrier for the flow of workforce and individuals is considered to be the inability to speak the language of the neighboring state or any foreign language at all (Wróblewski2017, 2018, 2020; Decoville & Durand 2018; Decoville et al. 2010, 2013).

Presented models seem to ignore the impact of the economy of internal market on the migration of workers. The lack of consideration given to the impact of flexibility of regional or local job markets and the mobility of workforce on the interrelations between border regions is particularly noteworthy. Theories on market integration and optimum monetary area would be helpful in that regard (Krugman et. al. 2015; Mundell et al. 2005; De Grauwe 2001; McKinnon 1996; El-Agraa 2011; De Groot and Elhorst 2010). Thorough analyses concerning the impact of market and monetary integration on border regions would contribute to better understanding of the interrelations between border regions or lack thereof. Yet, it requires better comprehension of the mechanisms of optimum flow of production factors as well as the premises of the theory on optimum currency area.

#### 4. Conclusion

This publication is concerned with the integration of border regions. The scholarly literature in that scope is extensive and the research topic as such is an area of interest to numerous authors from various scientific disciplines. Various models and typologies of border regions are proposed, among others, by Martinez, Strassoldo, Decoville, Durand, Sohn and Walther. They present types of border regions depending on the intensity of interactions between them and identify a range of factors determining that process. Yet, the majority of them is relatively general in nature. Furthermore, in most cases they concentrate on the sociology and political sciences' perspective. As a result, a number of significant conditions is either overlooked completely or only presented in a simplified fashion. Fundamental factors for the integration of border regions are believed to include relations between neighboring states and their level of integration within integration groups as well as the openness level of state borders. They determine the links between border regions exemplified by the cross-border cooperation between SGUs, cultural ties between residents or cross-border commuting and change of place of residence. Discussions are less frequently devoted to the purchasing mobility of individual customers as well as goods and service-related, financial and capital links between enterprises. Such deliberations often prove relatively perfunctory, in contrast with considerations pertaining to relations between neighboring states. What is particularly striking at this point is the lack of reference to the theory of market integration and the optimum currency area. Discussions in that regard could also easily benefit from the assumptions of the international trade theory. The above-mentioned theories would provide more insight into the reasons for the emergence as well as the development of socioeconomic ties, in particular the phenomenon of optimum workforce allocation and the interactions of enterprises.

The literature on the subject also seems to ignore the impact of policies pursued by neighboring countries on their border regions and links existing between them, e.g. trade policy, economic or fiscal policy. Instead, emphasis is placed on the functions performed by borders, which appears to be an oversimplification. What is also noteworthy is the lack of analyses concerning the legal landscape determining the competencies and tasks of SGUs. This problem is particularly striking in comparative analyses.

Critical analysis of the literature on the subject, especially presented models and typologies, conducted for the purposes of this publication, sheds new light on the process of integration of border regions and its determining factors. As has been demonstrated, numerous factors are discussed only in a perfunctory fashion or ignored altogether. It seems, therefore, reasonable to change the existing approach to the issue of border region integration in favor of a more comprehensive one, encompassing a broader range of factors, drawing on the legacy of scholarly works from beyond the field of borderlands or regional studies, placing less emphasis on relations between nation states and focusing more on local or regional interactions. Such an approach will allow for a better understanding of the phenomenon of cross-border integration.

## Literature:

Arreola, D.D., Curtis, J.R. (2006). Tourist Landscapes. In: O.J. Martinez (ed.), U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Lanham: Jaguar Books.

Bergs, R. (2012). Cross-border Cooperation, Regional Disparities and Integration of Markets in the EU. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 27, Issue 3.* 

Bouwens, S. (2004). The dynamics of cross-border labor: Commuting from the Dutch to the German part of the Euregio Meuse-Rhine, 1960-2000. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 19, Issue 2.* 

Brenner, C.T. (2013). The Role of Comparative Analysis in Borderlands Studies. *Public Policy and Public Affairs, Paper 47*.

Bressan, G. (2017). Power, Mobility and the Economic Vulnerability of Borderlands. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 32, Issue 3.* 

Brunet-Jailly, E. (2010). The State of Borders and Borderlands Studies 2009: A Historical View and a View from the Journal of Borderlands Studies. *Eurasia Border Review 1, no. 1*: 1–15.

Capello, R., Caragliu, A., Fratesi, U. (2018). Compensation modes of border effects in cross-border region. *Wiley Journal of Regional Science, Vol. 58, Issue 4.* 

Clark, T. (1994). National boundaries, border zones, and marketing strategy: A conceptual framework and theoretical model of secondary boundary effect. *Journal of Marketing, Vol. 59.* 

Constantin-Vasile, T. (2013). Romanian-Hungarian cross-border cooperation at various territorial levels, with a particular study of the Debrecen-Oradea Eurometropolis (European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation-EGTC). *Eurolimes No. Supplement of Eurolimes*.

Czimre, K. (2013). Development of cross-border regions. Debreceni Egyetem. http://eta.bibl.u-szeged.hu/1300/1/development\_of\_cross\_border\_regions.pdf.

De Groot, A.J., Elhorst, J.P. (2010). Labour market effects of flexicurity from a regional perspective. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, Vol. 101, No. 4*.

De Grauwe, P. (ed.). (2001). *The political economy of monetary union*. Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

Decoville, A., Durand, F. (2018). Exploring cross-border integration in Europe: How do populations cross borders and perceive their neighbours? *European Urban and Regional Studies*. Sage.

Decoville, A., Durand, F., Sohn, Ch., Walther, O. (2010). Spatial integration in European cross-border metropolitan regions: A comparative approach. *CEPS INSTEAD Working Papers, No 2010–40.* Luxembourg.

Dołzbłasz, S. (2012). Transborder relations between territorial units in the Polish-German borderland. *Geographia Polonica, Vol. 85, Issue 3.* 

Durand, F. (2015). Theoretical Framework of the Cross-border Space Production – The Case of the Eurometropolis Lille–Kortrijk–Tournai. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 30, Issue 3.* 

Durand, F., Perrin, T. (2018). Eurometropolis Lille–Kortrijk–Tournai: Crossborder integration with or without the border? *European Urban and Regional Studies, Vol. 25(3)* 320–336.

Durà, A., F. Camonita, M. Berzi, and A. Noferini (2018). *Euroregions, Excellence and Innovation Across EU Borders: A Catalogue of Good Practices*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

European Commission. (1992). *A Practical Guide to Cross-Border Cooperation*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2000). *Practical Guide to Cross-Border Cooperation*, (3rd ed). Luxembourg: Association of European Border Regions.

European Commission. (2015). *Cross-Border Cooperation in the EU - Aggregate Report*. European Commission 422. Brussels.

European Commission. (2017). *My Region, My Europe, Our Future. Seventh Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion.* Luxembourg.

European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities, European Treaty Series - No. 106, Madrid, 21.V.1980 El-Agraa (ed.). (2011). *The European Union: economics and policies*. Cambridge: University Press.

Flash Eurobarometer 422 (2015). *Cross-border cooperation in the EU - Aggregate report*. European Commission, Brussels.

Gorzelak, G., Krok, K., (ed.). 2006. *Nowe granice Unii Europejskiej – współpraca czy wykluczenie?* Warszawa: Scholar.

Gottholmseder, G., Theurl, E. (2007). Determinants of cross-border commuting: Do cross-border commuters within the household matter? *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 22, Issue 2.* 

Groupe d'études politiques européennes (2007). European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation, Committee of the Regions.

Hall, L.B, Coerver, D.M. (2006). The Arizona-Sonora Border and the Mexican Revolution. In: O.J. Martinez (ed.), *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Lanham: Jaguar Books.

Hansen, P.A., Serin, G. (2007). Integration strategies and barriers to co-operation in cross-border regions: Case study of the Øresund region. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 22, Issue 2.* 

Hoover, E. (1962). Lokalizacja działalności gospodarczej. Warszawa: PWE.

Joenniemi, P., and A. Sergunin. (2012). Laboratories of European Integration: City-Twinning in Northern Europe. *Euborderregions, Working Papers Series 1*. Tartu.

Koff, H. (2015). Informal Economies in European and American Cross-border Regions. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 30, Issue 4.* 

Kooiman, N., Latten, J., Bontje, M. (2018). Human capital migration: a longitudinal perspective. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, Vol. 109, No.* 5.

Krugman, P.R., Obstfeld, M., Melitz, M. (2015). *International Economics: Theory and Policy*. Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River NJ.

Krok, K. (2006). Polsko-ukraiński region transgraniczny – perspektywy współpracy. *Optimum – Studia ekonomiczne, no 2 (30)*.

Leimgrüber, W. (1991). Boundary, values and identity: The Swiss-Italian transborder region. In: D. Rumley, J.V. Minghi (eds.), *The Geography of Border Landscapes*, London: Routledge.

Ludwig, A., Johnson, D. (2017). Intra-EU migration and crime: a jigsaw to be reckoned with. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, Vol. 108, No. 6.* 

Lösch, A. (1961). The Spatial Organization of the Economy. Warszawa: PWE.

Martinez, O. (1994a). *Border people. Life and society in the U.S. – Mexico borderlands*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Martinez, O. (1994b). The dynamics of border interaction. New approaches to border analysis. In: C.H. Schofield (ed.), *Global Boundaries. World Boundaries* Volume I, London: Routledge.

Mazzoleni, O., Mueller, S. (2017). Cross-Border Integration Through Contestation? Political Parties and Media in the Swiss–Italian Borderland. *Journal of Borderlands Studies 32, no. 2:* 173–92.

McKinnon, R.I. (1996). *The rules of the game: international money and exchange rates*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Minghi, V.J. (1991). From conflict to harmony on border landscapes. In: D. Rumley, J.V. Minghi (eds.), *The Geography of Border Landscapes*, London: Routledge.

Minghi, V.J. (1994). European borderlands: International harmony, landscape change and new conflict. In: C. Grundy-Warr (ed.), *Eurasia. World Boundaries Volume 3*, London: Routledge.

Minkenberg, M. (ed.). (2005). *Transborder relations. Going local in Frankfurt* (*Oder*) *and Słubice*. Berlin: Pro BUSINESS GmbH.

Misiak, W. (2002). Polityka zagraniczna wobec zmian społecznych z perspektywy obszarów transgranicznych. In: R. Stemplowski, A. Żelazo (eds.), *Polskie pogranicza a polityka zagraniczna u progu XXI wieku*, Warszawa: PISM.

Miszczuk, A. (2007). Zewnętrzna granica Unii Europejskiej – Ukraina. Możliwości wykorzystania dla dynamizacji procesów rozwojowych. Warszawa.

Mundell, R.A., Zak, P.J., Schaeffer, D.M. (eds.). (2005). *International monetary policy after the euro*. Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

Newman, D. (2006). The Progress in Human Geography lecture. The lines that continue to separate us: borders in our 'borderless' world. *Progress in Human Geography, No. 30, 2.* 

Newman, D., Paasi, A. (2013). Podziały i sąsiedztwa w ponowoczesnym świecie. Narracje granic w geografii politycznej. *Pogranicze. Polish Borderlands Studies*, *No.* 1.

Novotná, M. (2018). Schengen Cooperation: What Scholars Make of It. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2018.1457974.

Palmowski, T. (2001). Cross-border co-operation on the example of Baltic Europe. In: M. Koter, K. Heffner (eds.), *Changing role of border areas and regional policies, Region and Regionalism No. 5*, Opole–Łódź: University of Łódź, Silesian Institute in Opole.

Raczyk, A., Dołzbłasz, S., Leśniak-Johann, M. (2012). *Relacje współpracy i konkurencji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Gaskor.

Ratti, R. (1993). Spatial and Economic Effects of Frontiers: Overview of Traditional and New Approaches and Theories of Border Area Development. In: R. Ratti, S. Reichman (eds.), *Theory and Practice of Transborder Cooperation*. Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Helbing and Lichtenhahn.

Sanguin, A.L. (1983). L'architecture spatiale des frontières politiques: Quelques réflections theoriques à propos de l'exemple Suisse. *Regio Basiliensis 24* (1–10).

Schulz, H. (2002). Twin Towns on the Border as Laboratories of European Integration. *F.I.T. Discussion Paper*, 4/02. Frankfurt(Oder).

Sohn, Ch., Reitel, B. (2009). Cross-Border Metropolitan Integration in Europe (Luxembourg, Basel and Geneva). *Working Paper in SSRN Electronic Journal*.

Sohn, Ch., Reitel, B. (2013). The role of states in the construction of cross-border metropolitan regions in Europe. A scalar approach. *European Urban and Regional Studies, Vol. 23, Issue 3.* 

Spierings, B., Van der Velde, M. (2008). Shopping, borders and unfamiliarity: consumer mobility in Europe. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, Vol. 99, Issue 4.* 

Stiglbauer, K., Lackinger, O. (1980). Ziele der Raumordnung für den oberösterreichisch-bayerischen Grenzraum. Linz: Trauner Verlag.

Strassoldo, R. (1974a). Boundaries in society. In: A.M.C.H. Reigersman-Van der Eerden, G. Zonn (eds.), *A desirable world. Essays in honor of profesor Bart Landheer*, Hague.

Strassoldo, R. (1974b). *Friaul-Julisch Venetien als europäische Auβengrenzregion, Probleme grenznaher Räume II*. Innsbruck: Institut für Städtebau und Raumordnung der Universität Innsbruck.

Strassoldo, R. (1989). Border Studies: The State of the Art in Europe. In: A.I. Asiwaju, P.O. Adeniyi (eds.), *Borderlands in Africa. A multidisciplinary and comparative focus on Nigeria and west Africa.* Lagos: University of Lasos Press.

Strüver, A. (2002). Significant insignificance – boundaries in a borderless European Union: Deconstructing the Dutch-German transnational labor market. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 17, Issue 1.* 

Szul, R. (1999). Rola granicy w gospodarce – próba ujęcia teoretycznego. In: A. Mync, R. Szul (eds.). *Rola granicy i współpracy transgranicznej w rozwoju regionalnym i lokalnym*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Rolewski.

Van der Velde, M. (2012). Boring European Borders?! Integration and Mobility across Borders. *Eurasia Border Review, Vol. 3, Issue 1.* 

Van der Velde, M., Spierings, B. (2010). Consumer mobility and the communication of difference: Reflecting on cross-border shopping practices and experiences in the Dutch-German borderland. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, *Vol. 25, Issue 3-4*.

Van Houtum, H. (1998). *The development of cross-border economic relations*. Amsterdam: ThelaThesis Publishers.

Walther, O., Reitel, B. (2012). Cross-border policy networks in the trinational region of Basel. *CEPS/INSTEAD Working Papers, No. 2012-26*.

Wastl-Walter, D., Kofler, K. (1999). The dynamics of economic transborder cooperation between Austria/Carinthia and Slovenia. *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol. 13, Issue 2.* 

Wróblewski, Ł.D. (2017). Koncepcja pięciostopniowej integracji regionów przygranicznych. Ocena stopnia integracji miast na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim. Warszawa: Difin.

Wróblewski, Ł.D. (2018). Powiązania społeczno-gospodarcze na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w warunkach rynku wewnętrznego Unii Europejskiej. *Studia Regionalne i Lokalne, vol. 19, no. 4(74).* 

Wróblewski, Ł.D. (2020). The Integration of Border Regions in the European Union: A Model Approach. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/08865655.2020.1816201



© 2020 by the author. Published by University of Opole. This work is an open access article licensed and distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (CC-BY-NC-SA).