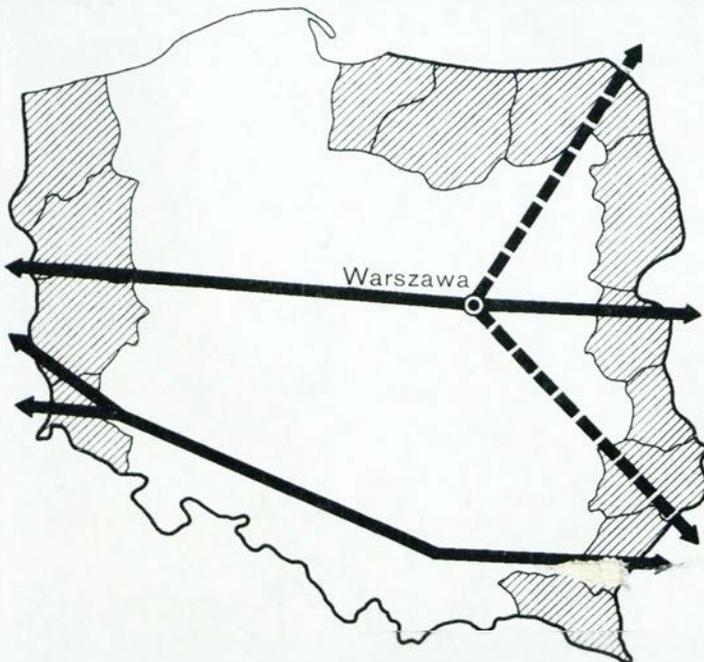


POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

FOUNDATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN AND  
EASTERN BORDER AREAS OF POLAND

**Bulletin No. 12**

## **SOME NEW ASPECTS OF REGIONAL PLANNING IN POLAND AND HUNGARY**



Warsaw, November 1995

## WYKAZ PUBLIKACJI

projektu badawczego nr 6 6130 92 03 pt. "Podstawy rozwoju zachodnich i wschodnich obszarów przygranicznych Polski":

- Biuletyn nr 1, Materiały z konferencji "Problematyka Zachodniego Obszaru Pogranicza", Zielona Góra 16–17.10.1992, Warszawa, maj 1993,
- Biuletyn nr 2, Problematyka Wschodniego Obszaru Pogranicza, Warszawa, lipiec 1993,
- Biuletyn nr 3, Problemy polsko–ukraińskiej współpracy przygranicznej, Warszawa–Kijów, grudzień 1993,
- Biuletyn nr 4, Rolnictwo zachodnich i wschodnich obszarów przygranicznych Polski, Warszawa, grudzień 1993.
- Biuletyn nr 5, Węzłowe problemy współpracy przygranicznej, Warszawa, sierpień 1994.
- Biuletyn nr 6, Problemy współpracy przygranicznej pomiędzy Polską i Obwodem Kaliningradzkim Federacji Rosyjskiej, Warszawa, grudzień 1994.
- Biuletyn nr 7, Euroregion "Nysa". Trzy lata doświadczeń, Warszawa, grudzień 1994.
- Biuletyn nr 8, Problemy polsko–białoruskiej współpracy przygranicznej, Warszawa – Mińsk, maj 1995.
- Biuletyn nr 9, Problemy polsko–ukraińskiej współpracy przygranicznej, Warszawa – Kijów, lipiec 1995.
- Biuletyn nr 10, Polska i jej współdziałanie transgraniczne z sąsiadami, Część I, Warszawa, wrzesień 1995.
- Biuletyn nr 11, Polska i jej współdziałanie transgraniczne z sąsiadami, Część II, Warszawa, wrzesień 1995.
- Bulletin no. 12, Some new aspects of regional planning in Poland and Hungary, Warsaw, November 1995.

PL-ISSN 1230-6215

**POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES**  
Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization

Research Project No. 6 6139 92 03  
Foundations for the Development of Western and  
Eastern Border Areas of Poland

**Bulletin No. 12**

Project Leader:  
Prof. Andrzej Stasiak

**SOME NEW ASPECTS OF REGIONAL PLANNING  
IN POLAND AND HUNGARY**

**Proceedings of the 8th Polish-Hungarian  
Geographical Seminar**

**(Zielona Góra, Poland 7-11 September 1992)**

Edited by:  
Krzysztof Miros  
Annamária Duró

Warsaw, November 1995

<http://rcin.org.pl>

Technical editor:

Anna Tkocz

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## FOREWORD

The transformation of the economic system in Poland and Central Europe has regional dimensions as well. Initially, regional changes were less apparent than macroeconomic ones. For example, in Poland regional policy was a problem of secondary importance in the first years of transformation. According to the neoliberal doctrine, a restructuring of the Polish economy should take place owing to market mechanisms. But the economic recession did not allow for fast changes in this field. Significant effects were first visible only in finance, privatisation of production and services and international economic relations. Later on, the works on restoring the regional policy has started. Some of the most common problems in this field are connected with the development of border regions, e.g. areas along the state boundaries.

Cross-border cooperation between the former communist countries was hardly successful, despite of the official declarations of friendship. Border regions were characterized by economic regression and outflowing population. Cooperation for example between Poland and the former East Germany mainly involved the employment of workers from the Polish border region in East German enterprises. On the Polish-Soviet border cooperation structures did not exist at all.

The early 1990s brought an explosion of various forms of cooperation between various border regions but in different scale and different areas of interest to regional policy. The most common features of this cooperation are as follows: environmental protection undertakings, primarily joint projects to bar transborder pollution; efforts to eliminate the infrastructural barriers; promoting supranational trade and cooperation, including the development of border regions; creating and developing Euroregions. It is very characteristic that individual regions, especially border ones, are looking for partners in neighbouring countries. As a result of this more and more local and regional-scale links appear. In the case of Poland, most of these initiatives are still concerned with the Polish-German border.

The present volume contains the papers presented at the 8th Polish-Hungarian Geographical Seminar on "Some New Aspects of Regional Planning in Poland and Hungary". The Seminar organized by the Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization of Polish Academy of Sciences took place in Zielona Góra, Poland, between 7-11 September 1992. The Hungarian delegation represented different departments of the Centre for Regional Studies and the Institute of Geography, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the University of Pécs. The Polish participants represented the Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization, Polish Academy of Sciences.

The presented papers addressed specific subtopics which included: the general characteristics of the European transport network and the problems of accessibility; the characteristics of the development of border regions; demographic and sociological problems of border regions; the development of services and tourism in border regions.

The scientific program was completed by study trips to the Polish-German border region. The participants of the Seminar had the opportunity to observe the working of crossing points and the specific economic activity of this region on the Polish as well as on the German side.

In our book, the regional and sociological dimensions of the transformation of border areas are discussed. The authors beginning from the assumption that regional strategy, integrated with the European one, may release new factors and creates new opportunities for an accelerated development of border regions. While observations of changes and partial analyses were prevailing in the first works dealing with this problem, more and more examples of practical activities are visible.

The organizers of the Seminar and the editors of this volume acknowledge the financial support and assistance of the Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization of Polish Academy of Sciences and professor Andrzej Stasiak, leader of the Research Project entitled "Foundations for the Development of Western and Eastern Border Areas of Poland".

Warsaw, November 1995

Marek Potrykowski

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## **BORDER REGIONS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN HUNGARY**

### **1. General survey**

Concerning the ethnic composition, the 1990 National Census, just as the one in 1980, gave information only on the villages. It is favourable at the same time that these data are given on the same villages, so comparative analysis can be made, on the other hand, they were published in a short time, so the analysis can be made in time. The data concerned the nationality and the mother tongue at the same time and also included such summaries as, where the population speaks the given language. We can analyse, on the basis of the data, the most favourable places for minorities, the population - regarded minorities on the basis of the combinations of different criteria - and their place of living. It is only regrettable that we do not have basic data concerning the towns.

In Hungary there are 16 villages, where the overwhelming majority of the population can be characterized as nationalities of the combinations of the criteria. It is interesting at the same time that from these 16 villages there are 7 Croatian, 5 Slovenian, 2 German and only one Slovakian and 1 Rumanian. 43 Hungarian villages have absolute (50-75%) majority of nationalities, from them there are 16 German, 15 Croatian, 10 Slovakian, 1 Serbian and 1 Rumanian. It is considerable that from 500 investigated villages in about 100 settlements live only one person, re-

garded as minority and in other almost 200 villages the rate of minorities is under 1%. The number of German inhabited villages is the highest (457), then the Slovakian, Rumanian, Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian settlements follow. Considerable differences can be found concerning different nationalities, according to the various rate of the minorities (Table 1-2).

## **2. Ethnic groups**

### **2.1. Germans**

In absolute figures the Budapest agglomeration, Buda-side settlements and villages connected to them, have outstanding values. The biggest German community with 3500 inhabitants lives in Pilisvörösvár. In Baranya county Mecseknádasd and Bóly have the biggest German minority. Concerning the proportion (disregarding some villages) the settlements of Baranya and Tolna county play the leading role (Table 3).

The cartogram, showing the territorial position of German inhabited settlements, gives us several opportunities for detail investigation (Fig. 1).

### **2.2. Slovaks**

Tótkomlós has got the biggest Slovakian minority among the Hungarian villages with almost 3000 inhabitants. Except Tótkomlós two South-Eastern Hungarian settlements can be found among the first 10, while the other 7 ones are the parts of the settlement belt situated North-West to Budapest. We have only one village (Komlóska), where the overwhelming majority is Slovakian. From the Zemplén Hills further villages are at the category above 50%, while some from the Pilis Hills and from Békés county representing Slovaks (Table 4).

If we represent the villages having the biggest proportion of Slovakian minorities, we can see that besides the group of villages situated round Budapest, the Zemplén and Békés groups are remarkable and some bordering settlements are worth mentioning (Fig. 2).

### 2.3. Rumanians

There are two Hungarian settlements (Kétegyhaza and Méhkerék), where the number of the Rumanian minority is above 2000. In Elek which is inhabited by three different nationalities, almost 1000 Rumanians live, while in other settlements we can estimate the number of Rumanians few hundreds.

It is considerable that all of the 10 settlements, with the exception of Budakeszi, are situated along the Rumanian-Hungarian border. The situation is similar if we take a look at the proportion of the Rumanian minority; in this respect it is worth mentioning, that 90% of the inhabitants of Méhkerék are Rumanian (Table 5).

The map showing the regional situation of the settlements with the highest proportion of the Rumanian inhabitants (Fig. 3), apart from border-region settlements, shows but a few places with smaller Rumanian concentration.

### 2.4. Croatians

In all of the 10 villages of the largest Croatian population more than 500 Croatians live. In 3 cases out of these the number of the Croatians is over 1000. It is considerable that the Croatians live in settlements quite complete ethnically: the proportion of the Croatians is over 50, in fact, 70% in many settlements (Table 6).

The settlements that have the highest proportion of Croatians are situated mainly on the border of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia, and partly along the Hungarian-Austrian border. (On them and on the Slovenes would have based Benes, after World War I, the corridor that would have linked the two newly formed Slavic countries, Czechoslovakia and Serbian-Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom between Hungary and Austria). Although this corridor is not at all a homogeneous slav-ethnic region (Fig. 4).

## 2.5. Serbian

There are much less Serbians in Hungary than it is thought in the public, quite often (accepting the official "Yugoslavia" nomenclature) mixing Serbians and Croatians. Most of the Serbians live in Tököl, though their population remains below half a thousand even their rate is the highest in Lórév, while they represent quite a modest rate in other settlements (Table 7).

The feature of the regional situation of the Serbians in Hungary is that they are concentrated in a stripe reaching North along the Danube, especially around Budapest. The angle of the Tisa and Maros, and Southern Baranya mean further concentrations (Fig. 5).

## 2.6. Slovenes

Most of them can be found in Felsőszölnök, but some smaller villages of the Órség (Vendcountry) are inhabited by Vends, too. The proportions are high there, on the other hand, apart from these settlements, we can find only some scattered Slovene ethnic groups with small population (Table 8).

The cartogram showing the regional situation of the settlements with the highest rate of Slovene population (Fig. 6), shows us the regional concentration of the Slovenes in Hungary well and also the fact the number of the Slovene population living in other parts of the country is negligible.

## 2.7. Gipsies

Actually no one knows the proper number of Gipsies in Hungary. The data of the National Census, while it is based on personal voluntary declaration and it is not easy to undertake the name Gipsy, do not reflect the real situation. We are facing the same situation with certain surveys and the often exaggerating data of the recently formed Gipsy organizations.

One thing is sure. The number of Gipsies increasing quickly, the proportion of them in the decreasing population of the country is increasing as well. Their territorial placing is motivated by possibilities of residing (Fig. 7), characteristically with the accumulated disadvantageously situated regions concentrate them. The North-East and the South-West territories of the country shows us a characteristic picture, where the proportion of their residence is higher, and a belt between the two regions where hardly any Gipsies settled down.

### 3. Conclusions

From the new borders of Hungary fixed after the Great War only the West and South-West lines were real ethnic borders. All the other parts of the borders cut territories inhabited by Hungarians. According to this historical fact, ethnic groups living in Hungary are not placing along the state borders and they generally are not connected with the relative peoples of the surrounding countries.

Their spatial distribution is motivated by

- historical reasons (traditional areas of several ethnic groups inhabited after the end of Turkish occupation of Hungary);
- special reasons (Serbians and Greeks around Budapest);
- political discrimination after the Second World War (against Germans, Serbians, Croatians);
- "population change" between Czechoslovakia and Hungary;
- role and possibilities of several ethnic groups in the process of urbanization;
- social structure and economic possibilities.

Table 1

Number of the settlements with populations that can be considered minorities based on the combination of definitions, according to the rate-categories of the minorities (1990)

Nationality	Minority						Majority		Altogether
	Small proportion		Middle proportion		Pregnant		absolute (50-75%)	overwhelming (75%)	
	minimal (1 person)	accidental (1%)	palpable (1-5%)	considerable (5-10%)	important (10-25%)	definite (25-50%)			
Slovakian	77	155	19	13	26	15	10	1	316
Rumanian	54	167	71	5	4	2	1	1	306
Croatian	70	93	49	9	12	10	15	7	265
Serbian	97	114	34	6	1	—	1	—	253
Slovene	42	28	2	—	—	1	—	5	73
German	7	67	101	92	118	54	16	2	457

Table 2

Division of the concerned settlements among the rate-categories of minorites

Nationality	M i n o r i t y						M a j o r i t y		Altogether
	Small proportion		Middle proportion		Pregnant		absolute (50-75%)	overwhelming (75%)	
	minimal (1 person)	accidental (1%)	palpable (1-5%)	considerable (5-10%)	important (10-25%)	definite (25-50%)			
Slovakian	24.4	46.1	6.0	4.1	8.2	4.7	3.2	0.3	100.0
Rumanian	17.6	54.9	23.2	1.7	1.3	0.7	0.3	0.3	100.0
Croatian	25.4	35.1	18.5	3.4	4.5	3.8	5.7	2.6	100.0
Serbian	38.3	45.1	13.4	2.4	0.4	—	0.4	—	100.0
Slovene	53.8	35.9	2.6	—	—	1.3	—	6.4	100.0
German	1.5	14.7	22.1	20.1	25.3	11.8	3.5	0.5	100.0
Together	20.7	37.3	16.5	7.5	9.6	4.9	2.6	0.9	100.0

Table 3

Settlements with the highest rate and number of German population (1990)

According to proportion		According to absolute number	
Settlement	Rate (%)	Settlement	Persons
1. Ófalu	88.0	1. Pilisvörösvár	3,462
2. Óbánya	79.1	2. Csolnok	1,672
3. Liptód	72.3	3. Hajos	1,581
4. Görcsönydoboka	71.5	4. Budkeszi	1,275
5. Vaskeresztes	70.6	5. Nemesnáadudvar	1,274
6. Vértestolna	69.2	6. Mecseknádasd	1,266
7. Mecseknádasd	68.4	7. Solymár	1,184
8. Szür	60.7	8. Bóly	1,176
9. Hásságy	58.8	9. Taksony	1,087
10. Szakadát	58.5	10. Tarján	1,083

Fig. 1. Areas with German minority

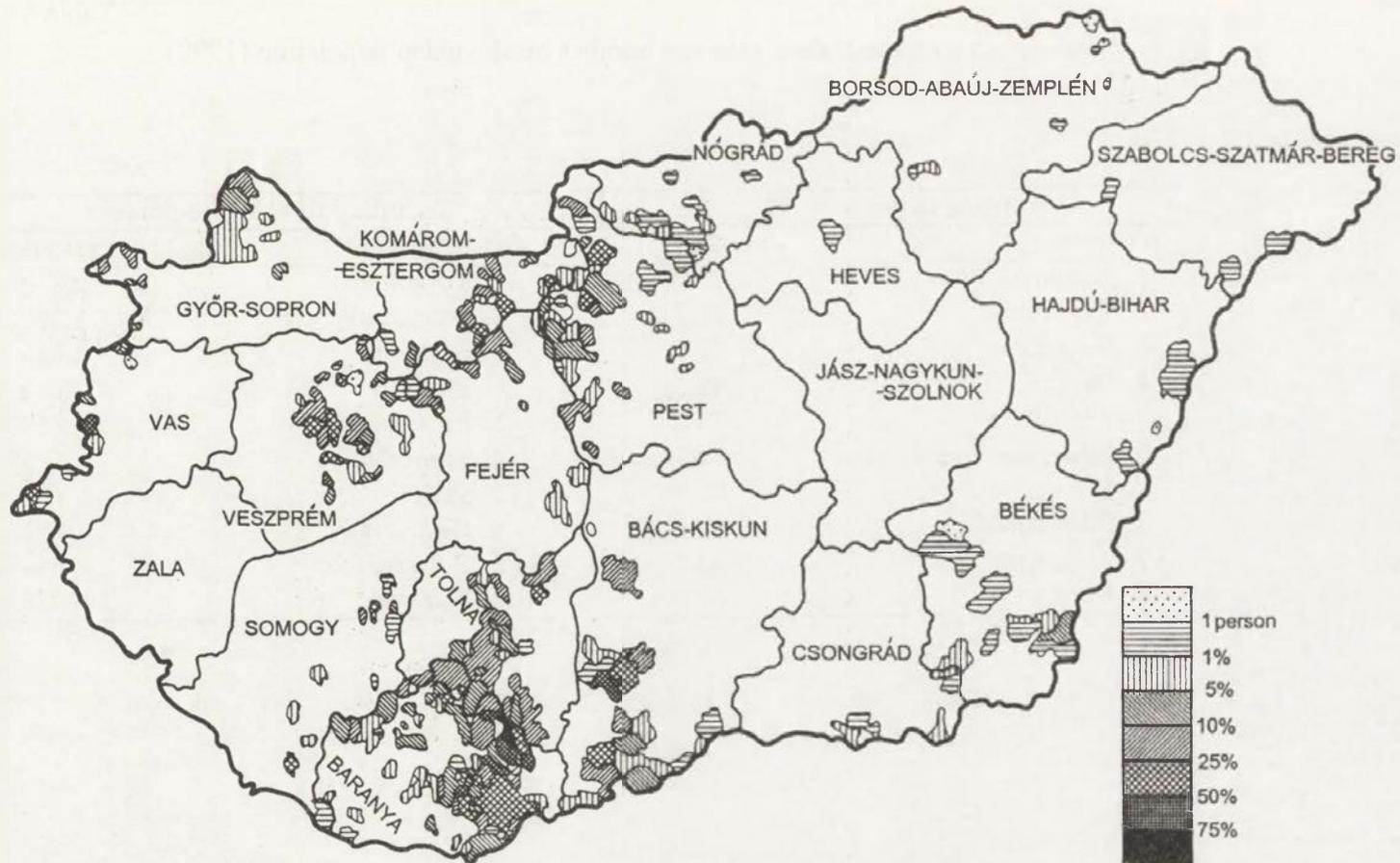


Table 4

Settlements with the highest rate and number of Slovakian population (1990)

According to proportion		According to absolute number	
Settlement	Rate (%)	Settlement	Persons
1. Komlóska	77.2	1. Tótkomlós	2,819
2. Vágáshuta	71.7	2. Pilisszentkereszt	1,325
3. Nagyhuta	71.1	3. Kesztlőc	1,035
4. Ösagárd	69.7	4. Piliscsév	1,012
5. Répáshuta	65.5	5. Pilisszentlászló	986
6. Pilisszentkereszt	65.1	6. Tardosbánya	695
7. Sámsonháza	60.7	7. Sárísáp	606
8. Pilisszentlászló	58.9	8. Csabacsüd	521
9. Alsóregec	53.1	9. Pilisszentlászló	484
10. Kardos	52.5	10. Kardos	478

Fig. 2. Areas with Slovakian minority

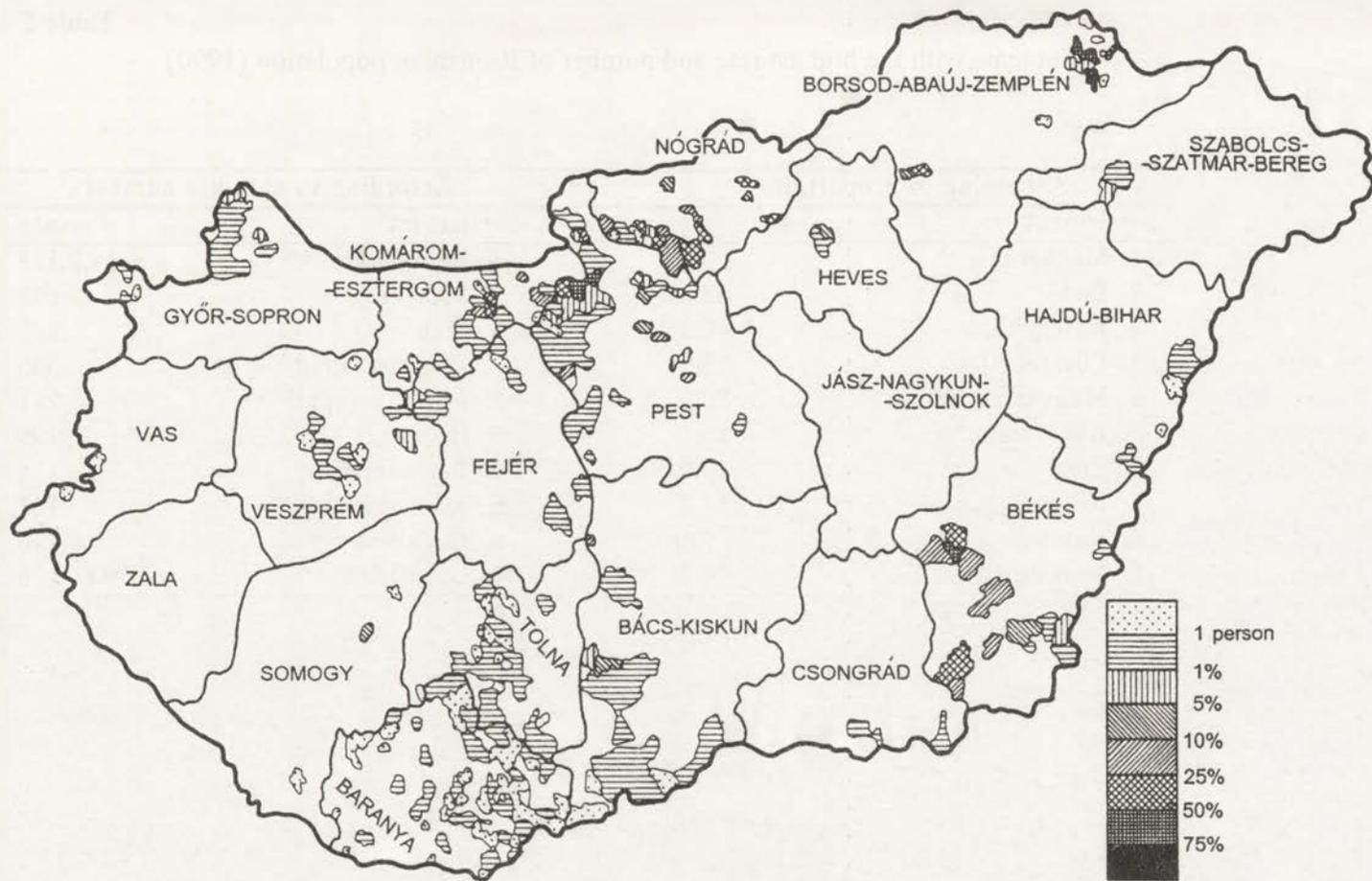


Table 5

Settlements with the highest rate and number of Rumanian population (1990)

According to proportion		According to absolute number	
Settlement	Rate (%)	Settlement	Persons
1. Méhkerék	90.0	1. Kétegyháza	2,118
2. Bedö	52.0	2. Méhkerél	2,033
3. Kétegyháza	46.9	3. Elek	993
4. Pusztaotlaka	35.9	4. Magyarcsanád	355
5. Magyarcsanád	20.9	5. Körösszegapáti	211
6. Körösszakál	18.0	6. Bedö	196
7. Elek	17.8	7. Pusztaotlaka	178
8. Körösszegapáti	17.7	8. Körösszakál	157
9. Kalaznó	9.5	9. Budakeszi	145
10. Váralja	06.3	10. Lökösháza	125

Fig. 3. Areas with Rumanian minority

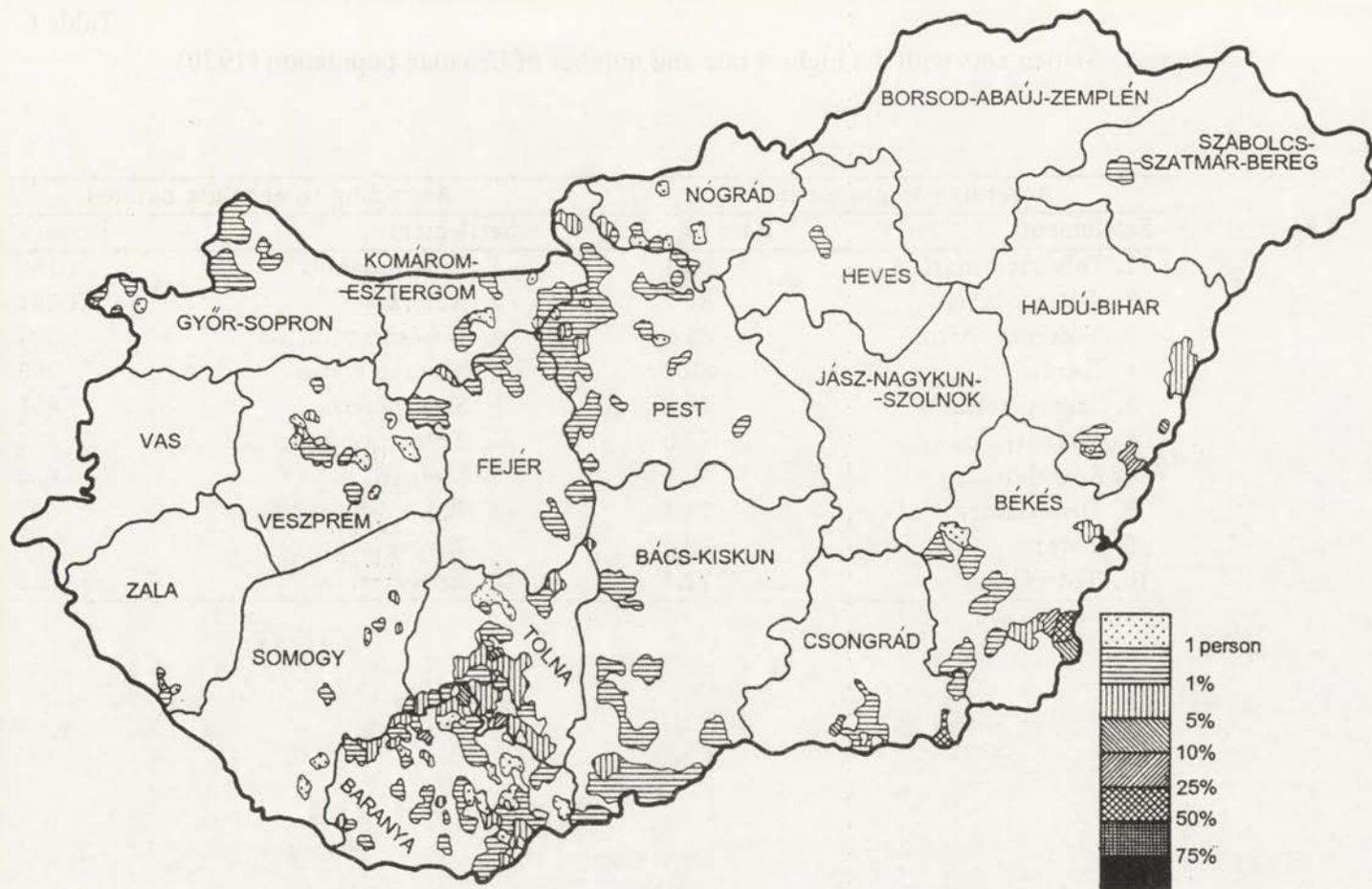


Table 6

## Settlements with the highest rate and number of Croatian population (1990)

According to proportion		According to absolute number	
Settlement	Rate (%)	Settlement	Persons
1. Felsőszentmárton	90.1	1. Tótszerdahely	1,166
2. Tótszerdahely	87.7	2. Kópháza	1,164
3. Tótszentmárton	83.1	3. Felsőszentmárton	1,124
4. Narda	80.2	4. Murakeresztúr	995
5. Szentpéterfa	78.6	5. Szentpéterfa	851
6. Molnári	77.0	6. Tótszentmárton	834
7. Szentborbás	76.8	7. Molnári	654
8. Drávasztára	73.5	8. Bezenye	567
9. Potony	73.4	9. Hercegszántó	560
10. Tótújfalu	72.5	10. Horvátzsidány	533

Fig. 4. Areas with Croatian minority

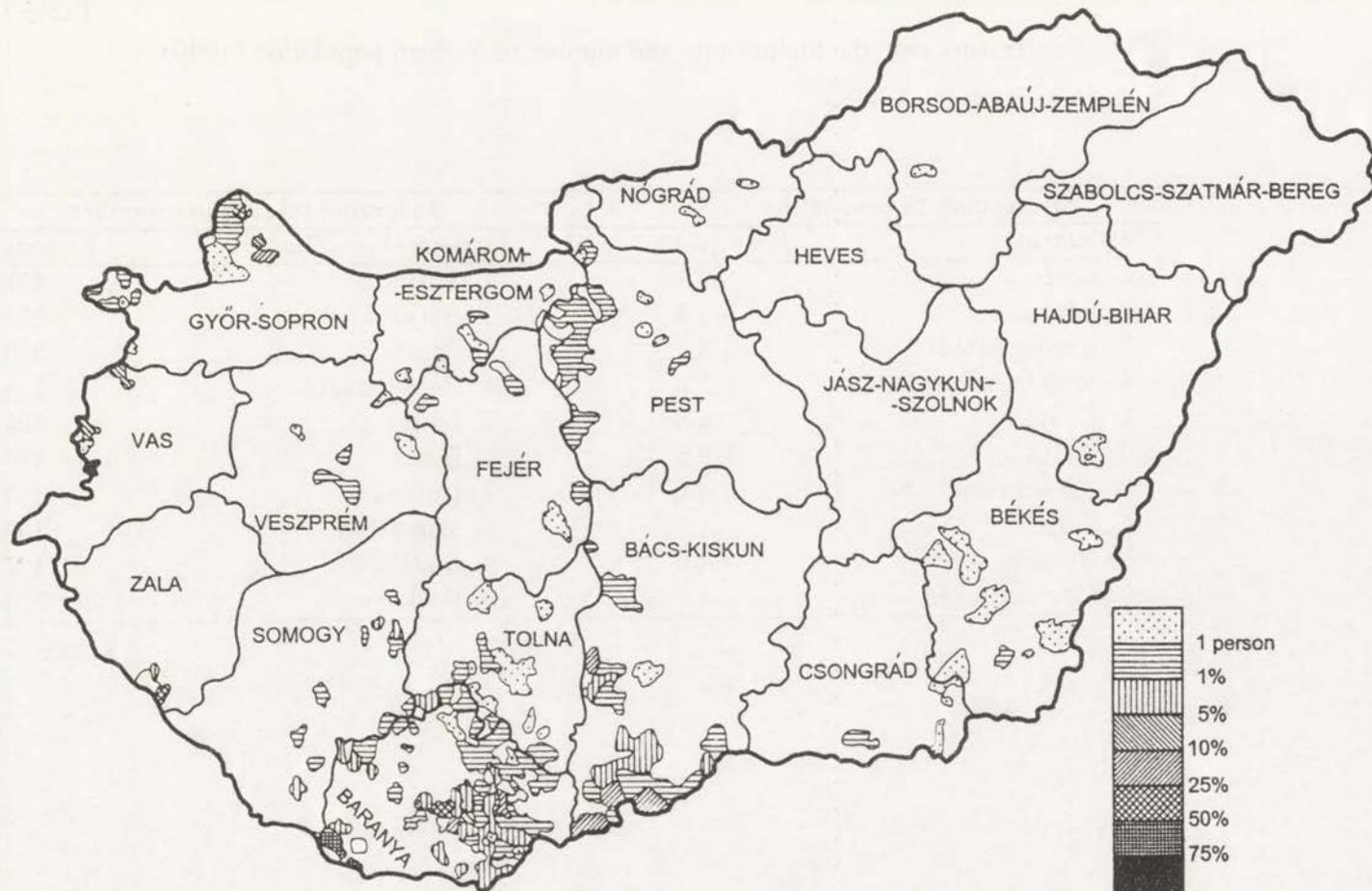


Table 7

Settlements with the highest rate and number of Serbian population (1990)

According to proportion		According to absolute number	
Settlement	Rate (%)	Settlement	Persons
1. Lórév	59.1	1. Tököl	431
2. Bática	11.3	2. Bática	272
3. Hercegszántó	8.4	3. Pomáz	210
4. Szigetcsép	7.0	4. Hercegszántó	209
5. Tököl	6.8	5. Lórév	185
6. Deszk	6.6	6. Deszk	183
7. Újszentiván	6.2	7. Dusnok	159
8. Lippó	5.4	8. Szigetcsép	153
9. Dusnok	4.6	9. Budakalász	127
10. Magyarcsanád	4.6	10. Harkány	120

Fig. 5. Areas with Serbian minority

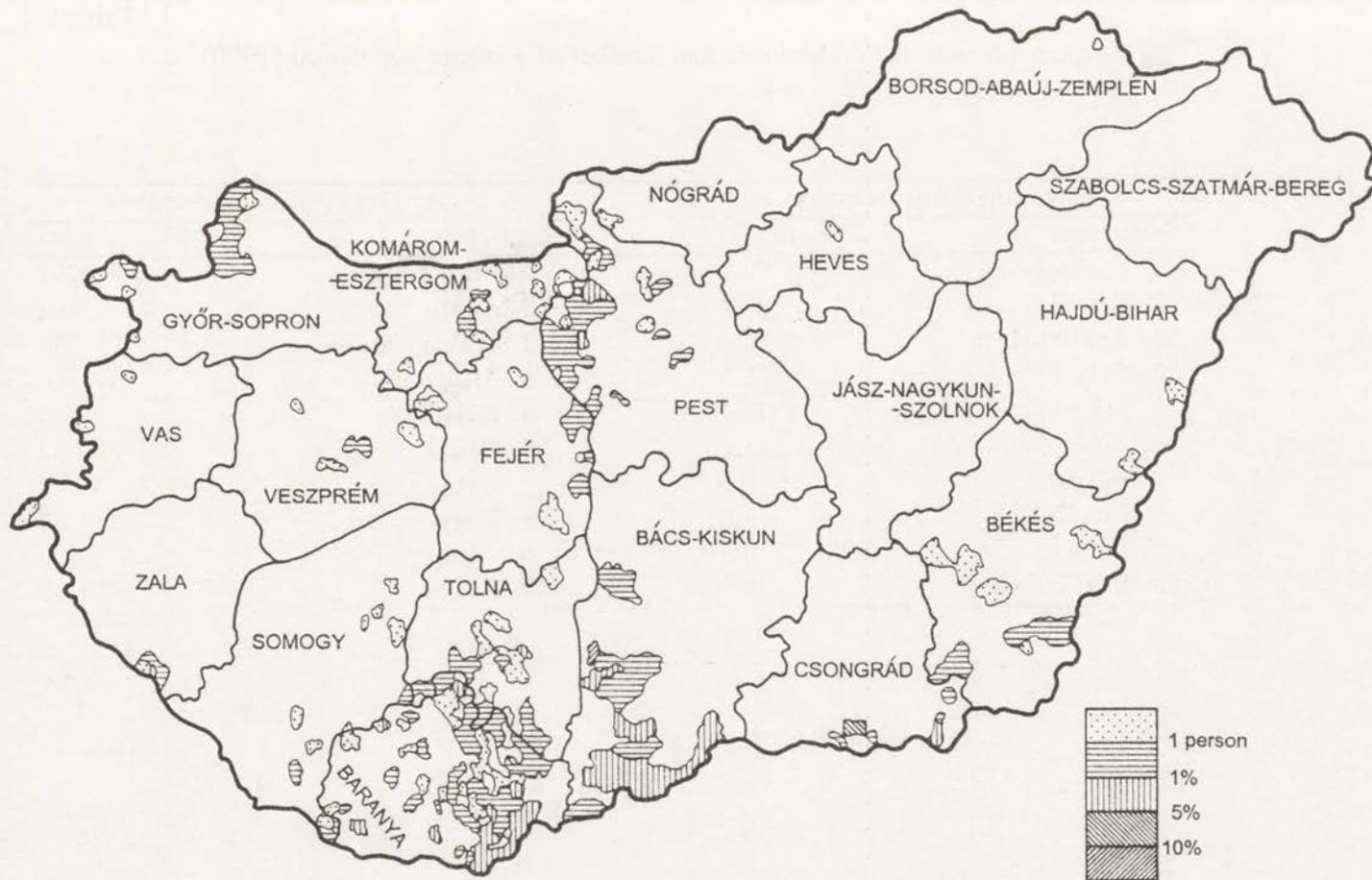


Table 8

## Settlements with the highest rate and number of Slovene population (1990)

According to proportion		According to absolute number	
Settlement	Rate (%)	Settlement	Persons
1. Felsőszölnök	92.7	1. Felsőszölnök	701
2. Kétvölgy	89.4	2. Apátistvánfa	368
3. Apátistvánfa	84.0	3. Szakonyfalu	296
4. Orfalu	80.5	4. Alsószölnök	186
5. Szakonyfalu	76.7	5. Kétvölgy	143
6. Alsószölnök	41.2	6. Orfalu	62
7. Bátya	2.0	7. Bátya	48
8. Rönök	1.9	8. Hegyeshalom	13
9. Bonnya	0.5	9. Rönök	9
10. Horvátlovő	0.5	10. Katymár	7

Fig. 6. Areas with Slovene minority



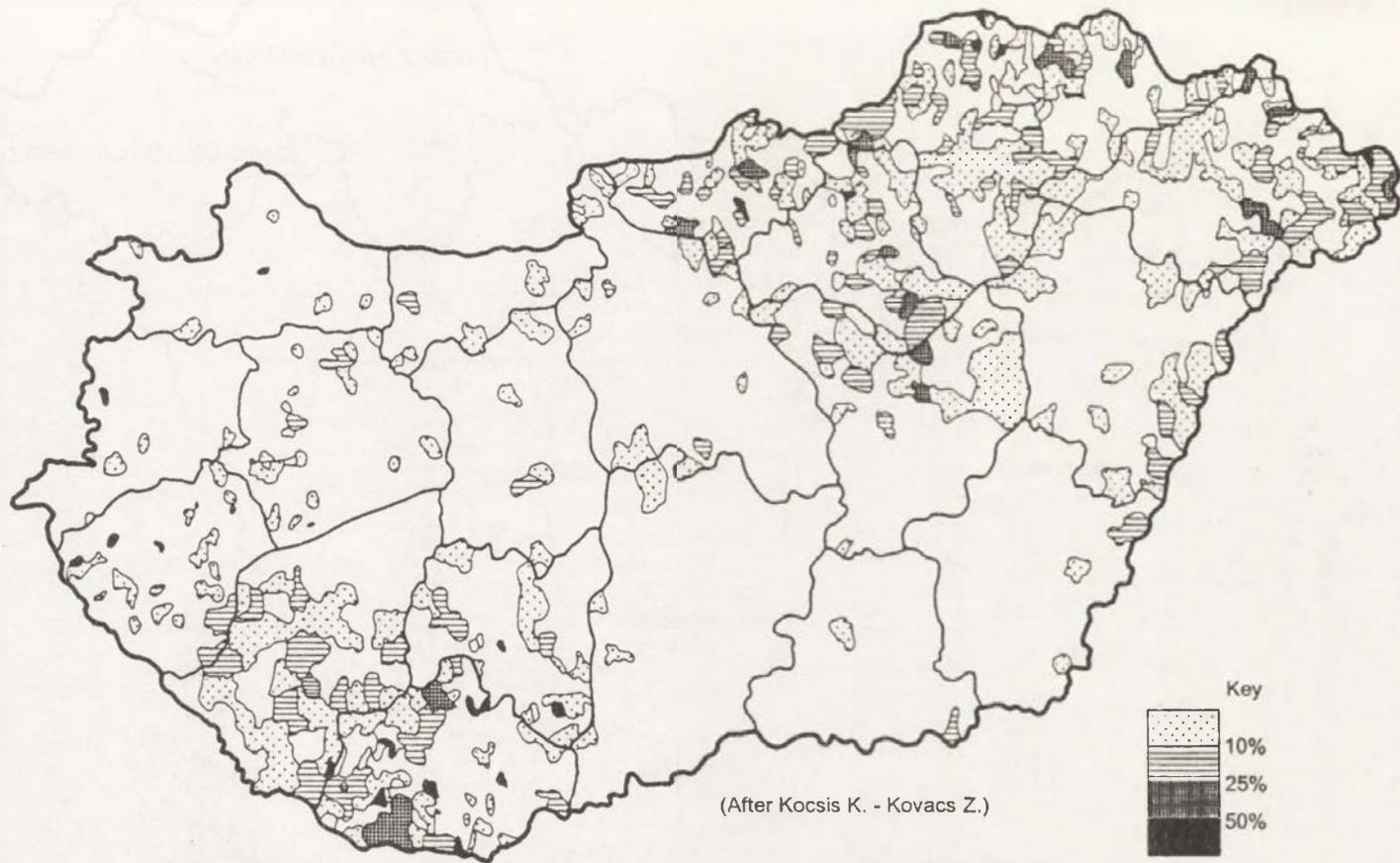


Fig. 7. Areas with Gipsy minority

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## **THE NEW POSSIBILITIES OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE GREAT HUNGARIAN PLAIN**

### **1. Introduction**

The changes on regional level are a special field of the Eastern-Middle European social-political transformation. These changes can be valued according to five main aspects:

- 1) Ecological,
- 2) Economical (industrial and agricultural),
- 3) Infrastructural,
- 4) Administrative and spatio-organizational,
- 5) Social-political.

All of the above mentioned aspects show some specific regional features. I would like to touch upon those tendencies which are the most characteristic of the Great Hungarian Plain.

When we try to analyze the regional features of the transformation we have to face the problem that the new system has not yet gained its spatial structure. The old central, planned economy system - that was based on total redistribution - has already failed but the new one has not been developed yet. There is almost an overall disintegration on the regional level. What are the most important signs, symptoms of it?

The new central power (the Parliament and the Government) is first of all very busy with its own stabilization, and the legislation is concentrated on the solution of the inherited, day by day social-political conflicts. Some of the regional problems can be found among them (eg. the treatment of some heavy industrial areas being in crisis, the spatial differentiation in the rate of unemployment and the support of the backward regions, etc).

The local self-governments are similarly cautious in judging of the regional problems. The new Hungarian act on the self-governments assures relatively great independence to the local self-governments elected two years ago. That is, and partly the missing financial resources and suitable specialists, why they approach any solution on the regional level as the limitation of their independence.

The lack of data and information heavily hinders the investigation of the regional processes. The counties lost their power and functions and work only formally. There is no law on providing either data or information, so in many fields the regular data services have been stopped. This way it became difficult to follow and evaluate the real regional processes.

## **2. The most important processes of the regional factors on the Great Hungarian Plain**

### **2.1. Ecological factors**

The 36,000 km<sup>2</sup> area from a natural geographical point of view is a nearly unified plain filled up by rivers. In the second part of the last century the rivers were regulated and since then the environment has been changed only by anthropogen effects. The water of the rivers has been forced between dams and heavy floods became regular in every decade. Meanwhile alkali soil appeared in the formerly water-covered areas, the destruction of the soil increased. The large-scale agricultural production, changing the former small holders' activity, formed large fields and caused further essential environmental changes.

First of all the humus content of the soil was damaged and as a consequence of large-scale agricultural cultivation (the usage of pesticides,

big machines, etc.) the structure and chemical composition of the soil has changed at several places. Because of the winter draught for the tenth year in a row about 1000 mm water is missing from the soil of the area. The level of subsoil water has been lowering (at some places by 3-8 m) first of all at the sandy areas. Only 30-40% of the sewer network and sewage treatment capacity has been built in the settlements that are supplied with drinking water. In this way there is an accumulation of several kinds of pollution in the whole area. The National Parks were formed too late, only about twenty years ago and they are only partially able to protect some parts of the natural environment. The number of natural habitats is minimal, and there are no ecological corridors. All the region is in the situation of the ecological threat. The special rules and institutes of environment protection have not yet been formed, now this activity has a punishing and following rather than a conceptional regulating and preventing character.

## **2.2. Economical factors**

The Great Hungarian Plain has been a traditional agricultural area and has always had a significant disadvantage comparing to the other large regions of the country. After the changing of the economic and social system these disadvantages increased. The multiple disadvantageous position of the industry on the Great Hungarian Plain increased, because of the following reasons. The so-called socialist big firms in Budapest and in other industrial areas first got rid of their affiliated firms and subsidiaries situated here. The former, mostly out of date workshops in the small towns and villages can be privatized very slowly and there are more and more people out of work. There were two other characteristic features of the industry on the Plain: the homogeneous Soviet market orientation and the dominance of food industry. The first one is practically over, the second one is being changed. The agricultural cooperatives and state farms are being liquidated or transformed because there is no more or only minimal state subsidy. The economy of the region has almost collapsed. Most of the new small enterprises do not work in the productive sphere, the underdeveloped infrastructure do not attract foreign investments to this peripheral region. The cultivated fields have decreased by 12% the last year. Those special productional districts which - instead of agricultural mass production - would be adequate to not only

the specific climate and soil conditions, but the small scale cultivation and export demands as well, have not been formed yet. The economy of the region shows such crises symptoms that the idea of the so-called self-supporting regional development can not be applied at present.

### **2.3. Infrastructure**

The suitable infrastructure is the base and the precondition of regional development. The almost 10-year-long recession effected all kind of infrastructural development very badly. Only the privatized telephone network started to develop. The condition of roads, railways, bridges are getting worse and they hinder the future development, as well. The infrastructural services for the population became so expensive that they are less and less possible to reach for wide social strata. This process can be compared to a spiral line moving down, worsening the situation in the backward areas, first of all along the borders. There is no sign of state intervention to help infrastructural development, though it can often be seen in a crisis situation like this all over the world.

### **2.4. Administrative and spatio-organizational processes**

As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, the medium-level administrative and spatio-organizing activity has completely been stopped or changed. The regional supply functions (hospitals, secondary schools, etc.) now belong to the local self-governments without defining the exact spatial scopes and responsibilities. There is no organized administrative relation between the towns and villages. As a result of this exaggerated independence the settlements are not able to think in regions and can not use their resources effectively. This is especially valid in those former administrative districts which were the major commuting areas for the people's everyday activities during the centralized model period. Not only had the functions of the former counties been diminished, but most of the skilled administrative employees were dismissed, as well. The average number of employees in the former county offices decreased from 400 to 60-70. At the same time, as a political compromise, the county self-government's body was practically left without any regional organizing roles and distribution functions. In this way the ministries, ignoring the regional character or specific territorial features, have got a

direct relation to all the 3200 Hungarian local self-governments. It is a totally nonsense situation to influence the present and future regional processes. The central administration of course did their best to change this situation. Several ministries created their so-called deconcentrated offices, which are directed without any regional or local control, and having direct contact with the central administration are capable to influence the activity of the local self-governments. (The number of employees in these offices are over 1000 in each county). Parallel with the ceasing of the county councils a new regional supervisory institution, the "Central Deputy Office" has been formed without any existing regional relations, each of them for the legal control of 2-3 counties. At present these offices fulfill the role of the appeal level but some of the county offices belong to them, too. Their structure and function could be widened in the direction of a regional government but not without a strict regional-social control. To tell the truth neither the government nor the local self-governments really want them. Referring to the future of regional development, the most critical point seems to be that the planning capacity was destroyed on both the county and the regional level. There is no new building regulation, planning and supervising methodology. Settlement development is directed by the Ministry of Interior, regional development by the Ministry of Environmental and Regional Development. Instead of a coordinated contribution, the two ministries have only prestige debates ignoring the needs of the local society.

## **2.5. Social-political processes**

Having mentioned the second above, now I would like to tell you about some new elements of the regional social manifestations. Perhaps the most important among them is the revival of regional identity. We can experience several signs of it on the Great Hungarian Plain. The Association of the Plain Counties, the Great Plain Foundation and other small regional self-government associations which are being organized rely their activity on local identity or want to create it. The changes of agricultural property relations, getting back field within the compensation, may help the local identity. It is interesting that the new self-governments are trying to get support from those intellectuals who left the region during the past decades. (About one million people left the Great Hungarian Plain in the last 40 years). New school system, subjects

are necessary and new local leadership who know the specific features of the region must be educated to establish new, healthy regional identity. New identity programs are necessary which would relieve the real natural, economical and social sources and values of the region to revive the local people's self confidence and to help them create the democratic social environment for a new regional policy.

### **3. Some empirical experience about the possible realization of a new regional policy**

Our research team made questionnaire surveys at the time of the local elections (September, 1990) and after the government decision about starting the Regional Development Program for the Great Hungarian Plain (March, 1992). We wanted to observe and analyze the typical changes in the regional relations of the self-governments. At the end of my lecture I would like to show you some of our experience. After the first survey I gave my essay the title: "Hesitating Settlements in the Space". It shows that the self-governments recognize the importance of the regional relations but can see neither financial nor constitutional possibilities to put them into practice (Tables 1-5).

Table 1. The functional ranking list of the answers referring on the possibilities of small scale regional cooperation

	Points	Frequency of first places
1 Common service development and maintenance	2.69	12
2 Common institution maintenance, development and operating	3.48	9
3 Infrastructure development	3.38	8
4 Water supply	4.00	4
5 Environment protection	4.00	2
6 Small region development and planning	4.65	7
7 Establishing of common funds	5.27	2

It can be seen clearly from the data that at present the local governments are interested in solving the day by day problems. In the ranking list of the tasks those were put to the last position which could do the best for a real regional cooperation.

Table 2. Ranking list of the small towns' functional cooperative relations between villages and towns

	Points	No. of first places
1 Hospital, clinic supply	1.4	36
2 Secondary schools	2.2	6
3 Transport organization	3.0	3
4 Administration	3.9	0
5 Culture	4.2	0

Because of the former redistributive priorities working to the towns' advantage, the village self-governments are hostile to the towns, though the new normative distribution system (according to the number of the population) the towns are not privileged any longer. There is practically no cooperation between the small towns and their rural regions at all.

Table 3. Judging of the county self-governments' possible tasks

Is the county self-government necessary?	YES	NO	PERHAPS
	29 (67.4%)	3 (7.0%)	11 (25.6%)

Which of its task do you think would be the most important?  
(There could be more possible answers)

1 Protection of interests	28 (65.1%)
2 Functional	7 (16.3%)
3 Power	0 (0.0%)
4 Coordination	36 (83.7%)
5 Expressing regional and countryside specifics	16 (37.2%)
6 Others (eg. professional, special, further education, etc.)	2 (4.7%)

Similar uncertainty can be experienced about the former county level, too. The protection of common local interests is not a task of the county self-governments yet it is first of all expected to be one. At the same time the local governments do not want to contribute to the county's coordinative activity because it would have of course financial consequences, too.

Table 4. The most important levels of regional development according to the answers.

	Points	First place	Second place
1 Small region level (based on free association)	1.72	22	12
2 County level	1.90	11	19
3 Regional level (bigger than a county)	2.55	7	4
4 National level	2.81	4	5

This ranking proved to be the same in the case of the answers given on the expected demands for the levels of regional cooperation, too. According to it the local leaders can see clearly that in a democratic regional policy the small region and the former county levels are the most important, but they can only see a theoretical possibility to organize them, though the new law on self-governments assures the legal and constitutional possibilities, as well.

Table 5. Judging of the deconcentrated county offices and the role of the Central Deputy Offices

Are you afraid of there exaggerated role?	YES	NO	PERHAPS
1 In the case of the deconcentrated county offices	23 (53.5%)	17 (39.5%)	3 (7.0%)
2 In the case of the Deputy Offices	18 (41.9%)	18 (41.9%)	7 (16.2%)

The judgement of the local leaders given two years ago practically became right. The exaggerated role of the deconcentrated county offices can be seen both in the distribution financial resources and the application for the different funds.

#### **4. Summary**

Our statistical surveys proved that the legal, constitutional, professional and social conditions have not yet been provided for a new regional policy. The natural participants (investor companies, regional banks, quasi non-governmental organizations, etc.) are missing, too. They could produce a really organic regional development, far beyond the partial national or local political and party interests. However, in Europe the regional policy and cooperation develops parallel to the nations' integration. The United Europe will be only partly the unification of countries. It will rather be based on the natural human-social-economical relations among the European Regions. Lots of water will be flown down the Danube and the Vistula until we can achieve it.



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## **SELECTED PROBLEMS OF DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN BORDER REGION OF POLAND**

### **1. General remarks**

#### **1.1. Introduction**

There has been an important growth of research in problems related to border regions in Western Europe after World War II. In the so-called socialist countries such studies were carried out sporadically, quite randomly and did not develop up to the level adequate to their importance. Rapid changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, dissolution of Comecon (CMEA) and new capacities of European integration led to emergence of new interest in these problems within the so-called post-communist countries. This is of special importance for Poland, located on the transport and East-West communication axis and having, after reunification of Germany, direct boundary with Federal Republic of Germany and with EEC. Interest expressed within EEC with regard to Poland and, through Poland, to contacts with the republics previously constituting parts of the Soviet Union, makes up another motivation for such kind of studies. It is because of these reasons that in the Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization of the Polish Academy of Sciences a comprehensive research program was designed and undertaken, entitled: "Foundations for development of the Western and Eastern

border regions of Poland", carried out in principle together with the Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung Hannover (Academy of Spatial Research and Regional Planning of Hannover, Germany) for the Western region, and with Byelorussian Academy of Sciences in Minsk and Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev for the Eastern region.

An illustration of importance attached to the problem in Poland is provided by the fact that in the early spring of 1991 the National Council of Spatial Planning devoted two plenary meetings to these problems. One meeting was devoted to the Western region and the other one to the Eastern region.

## 1.2. Spatial scope of studies

We have adopted, in principle, two spatial scopes for more detailed analyses (excepting country-wide and supra-national links). We assume, namely, that there exist:

a) border regions - which are composed by virtually all voivodships which are directly adjacent to the Eastern and Western boundaries of Republic of Poland;

b) border zones - encompassing with their reach communes and towns within the border-adjacent belt of 20 to 30 kms of depth.

*Border regions.* The Western border region stretching along the boundary with Germany, from the Baltic Sea to the North down to Sudety Mts. to the South (467 kms altogether), defined mainly by the courses of Odra and Łużycka Nysa rivers, was assumed to be composed by four voivodships: Szczecin, Gorzów, Zielona Góra and Jelenia Góra. Their total surface is approximately 31.7 thousand sq.kms, i.e. some 10% of total surface of Poland, and population is approximately 2.64 million, i.e. some 6.9% of the Polish total. The greatest town is Szczecin with more than 400 thousand inhabitants. There are, besides this, three relatively big urban centers - Gorzów, Zielona Góra and Jelenia Góra with 100-200 thousand inhabitants each.

In the Eastern border region, along the border of Poland with what has to date been Soviet Union, altogether 1244 kms of length, there are 9 voivodships: Elbląg, Olsztyn, Suwałki, Białystok, Biała Podlaska, Chełm, Zamość, Przemyśl and Krosno. These voivodships have altogether

er some 65 thousand sq.kms of surface, i.e. 21% of Poland and are inhabited by some 4.3 million people, i.e. approximately 11.5% of the Polish total. The biggest town in this region is Białystok with approximately 270 thousand inhabitants, and there are also two towns with population of more than 100 thousand - Elbląg (125 thousand) and Olsztyn (161 thousand).

One could incorporate into this region other voivodships, closely connected with the ones mentioned before, namely - Lublin (town of Lublin with some 350 thousand inhabitants) and Rzeszów (town of Rzeszów with some 150 thousand inhabitants). In this case the Eastern region would have the surface of some 76.5 thousand kms (approximately 24.5% of total surface of Poland) and would be inhabited by some 6 million people (approximately 16% of the Polish total).

In any case, both regions considered would account for some 1/3 of Polish land, but their population would constitute merely slightly more than 1/5 of Polish total population. This proves that both these border regions are weak. Average population density is lower here than the national average, i.e. 122 persons per sq.km, because for the Western region this density is at some 82 persons per sq.km, for the Eastern region in the narrower sense - 66 persons per sq.km and in the broader sense - 79 persons per sq.km.

Similarly, both regions lack towns of more than half a million inhabitants - only Szczecin, treated as agglomeration together with Świnoujście, approaches this magnitude. All over Poland there are 42 towns of 100 thousand inhabitants and more. Here, one the area of 1/3 of Poland there are only 8 such towns, i.e. less than 1/5 of the total number. This is an indication of weakness of urban population concentration processes in these areas. Still, in both regions urban population grew quickly, and in the Eastern region there appears the phenomenon of depopulation of rural areas, whose intensity in the Western region is much lower.

*Border zones.* In the Western region the border zone was assumed to encompass 37 towns and 34 rural communes of total surface of 11.2 thousand sq.kms and population of 1.1 million people. This gives the average population density of some 98 persons per sq.km, due to the fact that Szczecin and a large part of its agglomeration belong to the zone.

In the Eastern region the respective zone was assumed to encompass 32 towns and 137 communes of total surface of 26.6 thousand sq.kms and population of some 1.34 million people. This gives the average population density of some 50 persons per 1 sq.km. Such a situation results, in particular, from the fact that the zone considered does not encompass any town of more than 100 thousand inhabitants.

In the further course of this paper we shall limit ourselves to the problems of the Western border region.

## **2. The Western border region**

### **2.1. Characterization of the area**

The region is composed of four voivodships whose common feature is relatively high concentration of population in towns - more than 60% of total population (in Szczecin voivodship even 76% of voivodship population lives in towns) - with exception of Jelenia Góra voivodship, accompanied by weakly populated rural areas (Table 1). This common feature results partly from the high share of forest areas there (about 40% of surface is taken by forest, while Polish average is at some 28%), with exception of Szczecin voivodship, where the share is only at 27%, and from high contribution of socialized farming in agriculture within this region (more than 40%, surfacewise). The socialized farming of the Western border region is mainly constituted by the large state farms. The surface share of socialized farms attains 65% in Szczecin voivodship, while Polish average is at some 24%.

It seems that this is a sufficient explanation for the very low population density in rural areas of Gorzów and Szczecin voivodships. Villages are on the average small - their average population ranging from 200 to 280 inhabitants.

The Western border region has a dense urban settlement network, formed mainly in the Middle Ages. There are 103 towns, i.e. some 12.5% of all towns in Poland. These towns are, however, usually small - up to 10 thousand inhabitants. Such towns constitute approximately 2/3 of their total number in the region, while in Poland their share is at 1/2.

On the other hand the group of medium and bigger towns (of more than 50 thousand people) is feebly represented, constituting mere 5% of the set of all towns, while in Poland on the average this share is at 11%. This fact is reflected in the share of urban population of the Western region in the total urban population of Poland, namely, for 1989, 7.7%, while the share in the number of towns is 12.5% (Table 2).

There is, though, a significant differentiation among voivodships. And thus, in Szczecin voivodship, excepting the very town of Szczecin, where approximately 412 thousand people live, there is a distinct subregional center of Stargard Szczeciński with 70 thousand inhabitants, while two towns with 30-40 thousand inhabitants - Police and Świnoujście - belong in my opinion to the agglomeration of Szczecin.

In Gorzów voivodship there is one clear center of concentration, namely the capital of the voivodship, Gorzów Wielkopolski, where 125 thousand people live. The second town as to population number, Międzyrzecz, has only 20 thousand inhabitants. There are also two border towns, Kostrzyń and Słubice with population of 15 to 20 thousand.

In Zielona Góra voivodship the domination of the town of Zielona Góra is somewhat smaller. This town is inhabited by 115 thousand people, while towns of Nowa Sól, Żary, Żagań - by 30- 40 thousand people. There is one more important border town, Gubin, where some 20 thousand people live.

Domination of Jelenia Góra as the capital of voivodship is not very big either. This town is inhabited by approximately 95 thousand people, while Zgorzelec and Bolesławiec are inhabited by some 35-45 thousand people (Zgorzelec being, additionally, an important border town).

As can therefore be seen the urban settlement network is in general quite dense, but towns, with just a few exceptions, are rather small or medium-small. In the proper border zone the only truly big town is Szczecin, while Świnoujście and Zgorzelec are medium towns as to their population numbers. Such border towns as Kostrzyń, Słubice and Gubin have some 20 thousand inhabitants and they require a distinct development support if they are to play the roles of nodes in the international transport.

## 2.2. Demographic changes in the period 1950-1988

As is known the areas of the Western border region were subject after 1945 to intensive processes of population exchange. German population, previously inhabiting these territories, left, and in their place Polish population came and settled down, originating both from the previous areas of Eastern Poland (taken in the World War II by the Soviet Union) and from the areas of Central and Western Poland. It can be assumed that by 1950 the processes of mass post-war migration were terminated. According to the national census of 1950 the areas in question were inhabited at the end of 1950 by some 1.4 million persons, i.e. by approximately 5.6% of Polish population. Until 1988 the population number grew up to 2.6 million, i.e. to 6.9% of total population of Poland. Growth was especially rapid in urban centers. And so, in 1950 urban population was at 691 thousand, while rural - 716 thousand (51%), meaning that there was a slight majority of rural population, this majority being, however, more distinct on the national scale (56%). Between 1950 and 1988 urban population increased in this region from 691 to 1775 thousand, i.e. more than 2.5 times, while the national increase was of more than 2 times. In the same period rural population increased from 716 thousand to mere 851 thousand, i.e. by just 1/5. In all this note that similarly as in the country as a whole there has been a slight decrease of rural population in the decade of 1978-1988. Likewise, in this decade the pace of increase of urban population in the Western border region slowed down and maintained the average national dynamics (Table 3). It will be interesting to study whether the development of transboundary movement of goods and people shall contribute to renewed acceleration of urbanization processes. This might in particular concern the border towns which, until now, with exception of Szczecin and Świnoujście, and partly Zgorzelec, have been rather limited in their development by their location on the boundary between Poland and German Democratic Republic.

## 2.3. Comments on selected demographic features

It seems worthwhile to turn attention to certain features or demographic indicators for population inhabiting the area in question. In particular, it might be interesting to look at the degree of demographic

ageing of population, i.e. the share of population of 65 and more years of age in total population numbers against the background of data for Poland as a whole.

Thus, in Poland, this indicator remained over the period 1980-1989 at the level of some 10% of the whole population, with 9% for urban population and 12% for rural population. In the voivodships of the region considered there occurred in this period a distinct ageing of population, for the indicator attained in 1989 the values ranging from 7.5% in Szczecin voivodship up to 9% in Jelenia Góra voivodship, while the previous level of the indicator had been 6-7%, but was still lower than for the country as a whole. Similar processes were occurring for urban population, for which the indicator attained in 1989 8.0%, also in Jelenia Góra voivodship.

The share of old age population in rural areas was the highest in the latter voivodship as well - 10.9% in 1989. In comparison with the Eastern border region the Western one had much more advantageous demographic proportions with that respect, since e.g. in Zamość voivodship the share of population of 65 and more years of age in the total number was at 13%, and in the rural areas of Białystok voivodship the indicator attained even 17% (Data from: "Demografia", GUS, Warsaw, 1991; Table 4).

It is also interesting to look at the annual population increase indicators in per cent shares. On the country-wide scale such an indicator, seeing limited net migrations, reflects in principle the rate of natural increase. In relation to towns and villages, though, internal migrations play a much more important role. In towns these migrations are to a large extent responsible for population increases, while in rural areas - for population decreases. The values of the indicator analyzed, i.e. of the increase, declined on the average in the country from some 0.9% in 1980 to 0.4% in 1989 (in urban areas the respective change was from 1.8% down to 1.0%, while in rural areas the value of the indicator remained at the similar level of -0.4 % - -0.5%).

In the voivodships under consideration - excepting Jelenia Góra voivodship - the increases have been somewhat higher than in the country as a whole (younger population), i.e. 0.6% to 0.7% in 1989 and only in Jelenia Góra voivodship it dropped down to 0.1%, indicating thereby the demographic weakness of this voivodship.

The increase in towns is at the national or slightly higher level with, again, the only exception provided by Jelenia Góra voivodship. In rural areas there appears, similarly as on the average in Poland for rural areas, a weak downward tendency, with, as in the other cases, Jelenia Góra voivodship indicating distinctly greater downward tendency of the indicator in question (Table 5).

There is one more indicator that I would like to present, namely the ratio of the number of births to the number of deaths and its changes over the period 1980-1989.

Over these years the ratio deteriorated significantly in Poland, from some 2.0 to about 1.5, and even to 1.4 in towns, which proves that natural increase was significantly slowed down in general, and in urban areas in particular. In voivodships of the region analyzed the ratio was in 1980 significantly better than the national average, attaining some 2.5, while in 1989 it approached importantly the national averages (the values ranging from 1.5 to 1.8). This results, first, from the progressing ageing processes in the society, which take also place in this region, and, second, from the decline in natural increase, which is related certainly to changes in the lifestyle of population, especially of urban population. It is perhaps worthwhile to mention that within the rural areas of Białystok voivodship the indicator attained in 1989 the level of 1.0.

The data on migration processes of the 1970s' showed that the voivodships considered had positive net migrations in towns and negative net migrations in rural areas. The only exception was constituted, as always, by Jelenia Góra voivodship where in the period 1978-1985 there was zero net migration in towns. In 1989, when there was a significant migration-caused population increase in Polish towns (more than 121 thousand of positive net migration in urban areas), all the voivodships of the region had positive net migration in towns, and Szczecin voivodship had also positive net migration for the whole voivodship. Migratory increase in towns per 1000 inhabitants remained at the level of 5.5-7.5 and has been higher than the natural increase rate. Jelenia Góra was the only voivodship where this migratory increase in towns was at a very low level of some 2.0, lower than the natural increase rate of 4.0 per 1000.

Rural areas were suffering from significant migration losses ranging from 11.4 per 1000 in Szczecin province to 15.4 in Jelenia Góra

province, and these losses were everywhere higher than the natural increase rates.

### 3. Concluding remarks

1) The Western border region is characterized by population density relatively lower than the national average, in particular in rural areas, which are very poorly populated and are subject to slow depopulation processes.

2) This region has a well developed urban network, which is composed, though, mainly of small towns (of up to 10 thousand inhabitants) and medium-small towns (of up to 50 thousand). There are only four bigger centers of which Szczecin comes to the forefront with more than 400 thousand inhabitants, while Gorzów, Zielona Góra and Jelenia Góra, with population numbers in the order of 100 thousand each, can play the role of secondary regional centers.

3) The border towns have in reality been rather limited in their development capacities by their location over boundary. It can be hoped that Kostrzyń, Słubice, Gubin and Zgorzelec will receive new impulses for their development.

4) Areas newly settled after the World War II have gone through the period of intensive population growth in the years 1950-1978, which touched first of all urban population, growing at a faster pace than the national average. This resulted from the fact that society there was quite young and the natural increase rates were high, but also from the abundant migration flows from rural to urban areas.

5) In the years 1978-1989 the pace of population increase was gradually becoming similar as in the rest of the country, which indicates that the factors of "demographic youth" of population in this region were disappearing, that the lifestyles were changing, leading to lower rates of natural increase, and that the role of economic factors diminished, entailing the decrease of migratory flows from rural to urban areas.

6) A distinctly different demographic character is displayed by Jelenia Góra voivodship when seen against the background of Polish demo-

graphic characteristics. Studies should be undertaken in order to explain the combination of causes which are responsible for this.

7) It can be expected that activation of the Polish-German boundary shall bring in new impulses for growth, especially in the border towns and at the more important border crossings. Thus, the towns like Kostrzyń, Słubice, Gubin or Zgorzelec are also in a way bound for development and they should be granted special support. the same applies to areas near to important border crossings, such as Kołbaskowo, Świecko, Olszyna, and even to medium ones, like Łęknica or Sieniawka.

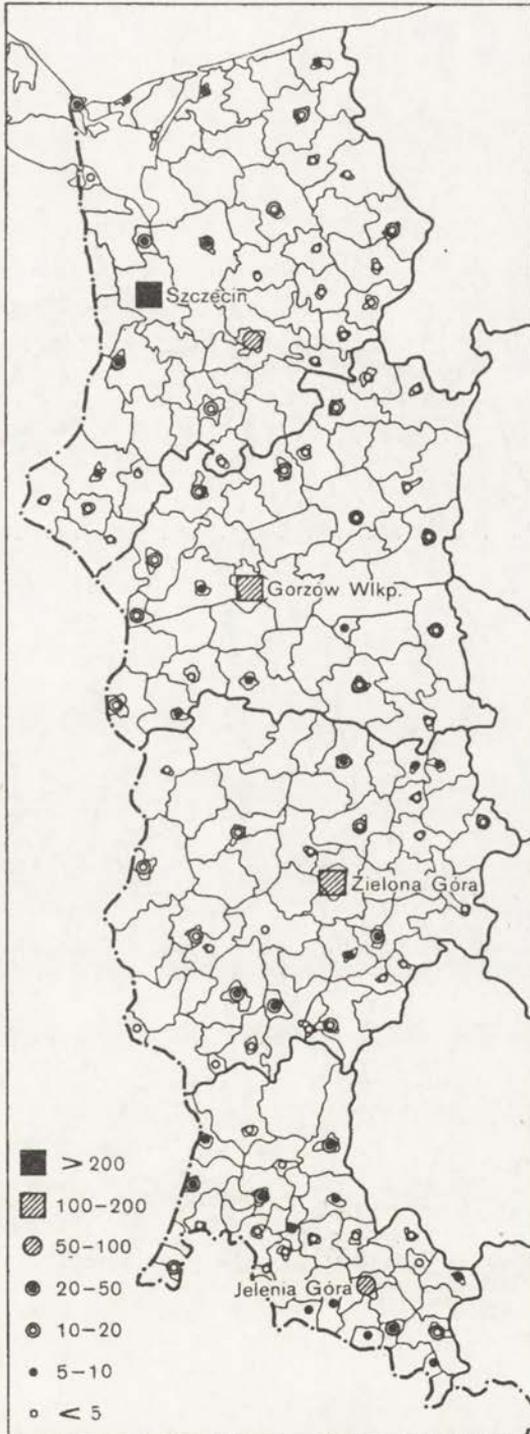


Fig. 1. Towns in West border region

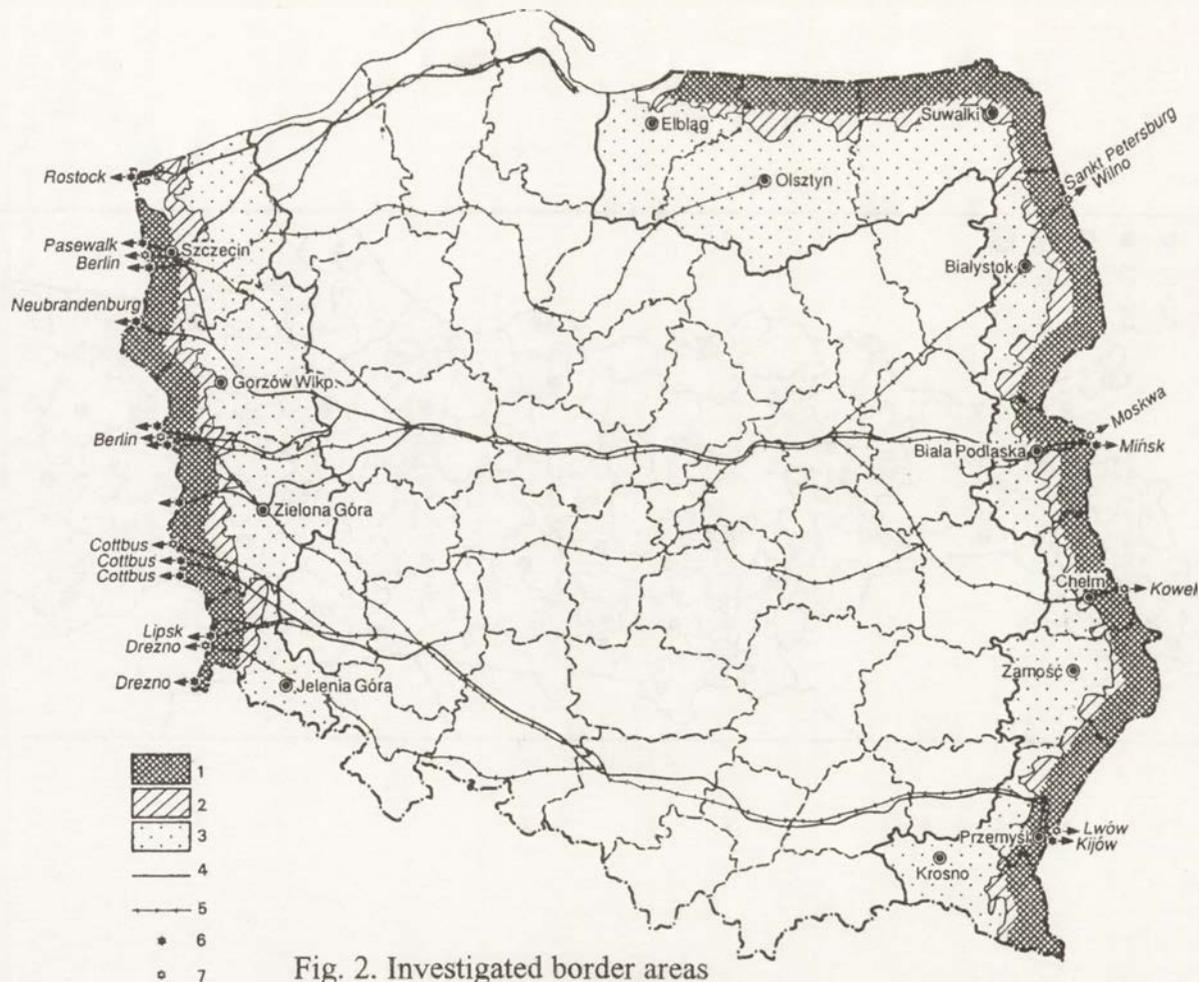


Fig. 2. Investigated border areas

<http://rcin.org.pl>

Table 1

## Population and area (31.12.1989)

Poland voivodships	Area, km <sup>2</sup>	Population, thousands			Urban population %	Population density	
		Total	Towns	Rural areas		Total	Rural areas
Poland total	312,677	38,038.4	23,415.4	14,623.0	61.6	122	51
Voivodships in West border region	31,711	2,640	1,793	847	67.9	83	•
Voivodships: Szczecin	9,981	967.3	734.2	233.1	75.9	97	27
Gorzów	8,484	498.3	311.3	187.0	62.5	54	23
Zielona Góra	8,868	657.4	404.0	253.3	61.5	74	31
Jelenia Góra	4,378	517.0	343.8	173.0	66.5	118	47

Source: "Demografia 1990", GUS, Warszawa 1991

Population in towns and cities in 1989

Table 2

	Population, thousands							
	Total	< 5	5-10	10-20	20-50	50-100	100-200	> 200
Poland total								
a) Towns in %	825 100.0	254 30.7	181 21.8	173 21.0	128 15.5	47 5.7	22 2.7	20 2.6
b) Region in %	23,415 100.0	790 3.4	1,286 5.5	2,497 10.7	3,986 17.0	3,194 13.6	2,889 12.3	8,791 37.5
West border region								
a) Towns in %	103 100.0	45 45.8	19 18.6	22 21.5	12 11.6	2 1.8	2 1.8	1 0.9
b) Population in towns in %	1,793 100.0	146 8.2	142 7.9	316 17.7	377 27.0	163 9.0	237 13.2	412 23.0

Source: "Demografia 1990", GUS, Warszawa 1991

Table 3

## Changes of the population of Poland and West border region in the period 1950-1988

Poland voivodships	Population, thousands					Changes		
	1950	1960	1970	1978	1988	1950- -1978 1950=100	1978- -1988 1970=100	1950- -1988 1950=100
Poland total	25,008	29,776	32,642	35,001	37,879	140.2	108.0	151.5
Towns	10,714	14,361	17,407	20,150	23,175	188.1	115.0	216.3
Rural areas	13,883	15,045	15,245	14,911	14,704	107.4	98.6	105.4
Voivodships:								
Szczecin total	450	658	789	878	961	195.1	109.4	213.5
Towns	273	434	552	643	727	235.5	113.1	266.3
Rural areas	177	224	236	235	234	132.8	99.3	132.2
Gorzów total	272	367	411	444	495	163.2	111.6	182.4
Towns	103	168	213	256	307	248.5	120.0	298.1
Rural areas	169	199	198	188	188	111.2	100.1	111.2
Zielona Góra total	358	497	553	597	653	166.8	109.5	182.4
Towns	149	242	294	338	399	226.8	118.1	267.8
Rural areas	209	255	259	259	254	124.0	98.4	121.5
Jelenia Góra total	327	435	474	488	517	149.2	105.9	158.1
Towns	166	244	285	308	342	185.5	110.9	206.0
Rural areas	161	191	189	180	175	111.8	97.3	108.7
West border region	1,407	1,957	2,227	2,407	2,626	171.1	109.1	186.6
Towns	691	1,088	1,344	1,545	1,775	223.6	114.9	256.9
Rural areas	716	869	882	862	851	120.4	98.7	118.9

Source: "Statystyka Polski", nr 128, GUS, Warszawa 1980; "Ludność i mieszkalnictwo w Polsce", NSP 1988, GUS, Warszawa,

Table 4

Population at age 65 years and more in percentage of total population  
in years 1980 and 1989

Poland voivodships	1980	1989
Poland total	10.0	10.0
Towns	8.9	8.8
Rural areas	11.7	11.8
Voivodships in West border region:		
Szczecin total	6.1	7.5
Towns	5.8	7.3
Rural areas	6.9	8.3
Gorzów total	7.7	8.1
Towns	6.7	7.1
Rural areas	9.1	9.8
Zielona Góra total	7.8	8.5
Towns	6.7	7.3
Rural areas	9.1	10.3
Jelenia Góra total	7.1	9.0
Towns	6.4	8.0
Rural areas	8.4	10.9

Source: "Demografia 1990", GUS, Warszawa 1991

Table 5

Annual growth rate in years 1980 and 1989 in percentage  
of total population

Poland voivodships	1980	1989
Poland total	0.9	0.4
Towns	1.8	1.0
Rural areas	-0.4	-0.5
Voivodships in West border region:		
Szczecin total	1.0	0.7
Towns	1.4	0.9
Rural areas	-0.1	-0.2
Gorzów total	1.3	0.7
Towns	2.4	1.4
Rural areas	-0.3	-0.5
Zielona Góra total	1.0	0.6
Towns	1.9	1.2
Rural areas	-0.3	-0.4
Jelenia Góra total	0.5	0.1
Towns	1.1	0.6
Rural areas	-0.4	-0.9

Source: "Demografia 1990" (Demographie 1990), GUS, Warszawa 1991

Table 6

Vital statistics relation live birth to one death  
(demographic dynamics)

Poland voivodships	1980	1989
Poland total	1.978	1.476
Towns	1.994	1.382
Rural areas	1.959	1.603
Voivodships in West border region:		
Szczecin total	2.636	1.634
Towns	2.592	1.497
Rural areas	2.743	2.012
Gorzów total	2.646	1.867
Towns	2.749	1.830
Rural areas	2.548	1.914
Zielona Góra total	2.577	1.761
Towns	2.608	1.661
Rural areas	*	*
Jelenia Góra total	2.394	1.510
Towns	2.344	1.456
Rural areas	2.474	1.603

Source: "Demografia 1990", GUS, Warszawa 1991



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## **DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS OF THE WESTERN BORDER REGION IN POLAND**

### **1. Introduction**

In 1945, on the basis of agreements concluded during the conference in Yalta and then finally confirmed in the Potsdam treaty, Poland lost in the East about 180 thous. sq.kms of the areas located, generally speaking, on the right side of river Bug, to the advantage of the Soviet Union. Poland gained, on the other hand - at the expense of Germany - its Western and Northern territories, accounting altogether for 110 thous. sq.kms, reaching the line of Oder and Lusitanian Nysa rivers. Consequently, there was an important westward shift of the boundaries - by some 200 kms, on the average. Taking over of the Northern and Western territories by Poles was accompanied by the population replacement - Germans left these territories during the war or were resettled into the post-war Germany, according to the decisions of Potsdam treaty, while Poles moved into the regained areas. An important share (30%) among the settling Poles was constituted by those who originated from the territories taken after the World War II by the Soviet Union.

One of the results of these population movements was establishment - in an artificial manner - of an unambiguous Polish-German ethnic border along the Oder - Lusitanian Nysa line. In spite of profusion of slogans speaking of the border of peace and friendship, this boundary had a clearly dividing nature. The political system, existing both in Poland and

in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) did not encourage individual contacts among the citizens of these two countries. These contacts were also by no means facilitated by the cultural difference existing between the newly settled Polish population and the German population across the border.

Deep political changes, which took place in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 entailed, in particular, a strong reorientation of the previous economic and political tendencies in the direction of Western Europe. Unification of Germany in 1990 made out of the Polish-German border the border with the EEC. It is especially in this context that the importance of the western part of Poland significantly increased over the last few years.

One of the preconditions, and simultaneously consequences of the process of integration of European countries is cooperation between the frontier-adjacent regions, both in terms of practical activities and science. The problems of border regions, though, belong to those which are as yet very poorly explored. These problems were almost entirely neglected in the studies to date, due, it appears, more to political conditions than to the lack of interest from the side of scientists. It should be also noted, though, that the world scientific literature does not abound in publications devoted to this subject. The difficulties start already at the point of delimitation of the "frontier-adjacent area". Besides this, the studies of these areas should have interdisciplinary nature and become the object of interest of geographers, historians, lawyers, economists, ecologists and, it seems, representatives of yet a few scientific disciplines. Furthermore, the studies should not only involve scientists, but also the representatives of local authorities of all the countries considered.

## **2. Geographical characteristics of the Western Border Region**

The present report adopts the definition of the Western Border Region of Poland, according to which this region encompasses four Polish voivodships bordering with Germany, namely Szczecin, Gorzów, Zielona Góra and Jelenia Góra voivodships (see Fig. 1). Existence of such a region might in the future find its reflection in the course of development

of economic processes and spatial organization, and perhaps also in the course of demographic and social processes. Account should be made of the existence of this region in formation of regional policies, especially when concerning the areas in question.

The Western Border Region, as defined before, has the surface of 31.7 thous. sq.kms, that is - a bit more than 10% of the total surface of Poland. The voivodships composing this region (excepting Jelenia Góra voivodship) belong to the greatest ones in the country. The Region has a relatively dense urban network, formed primarily in the Middle Ages. There are 103 towns in the Region, i.e. some 12.5% of all the Polish towns. The towns in the Region, however, are usually small, with up to 10 thous. inhabitants. Population in border towns ranges from 15-20 thous. (in Kostrzyn, Słubice and Gubin) to 40 thous. (in Zgorzelec). Most of these towns need a definite outside assistance if they are to play the role of true nodes in the international traffic.

Population density is in this region much more lower than the national average. We should remember, though, that the area in question (and in particular Gorzów and Zielona Góra voivodships) is characterized by a very high forest share in land use (approximately 40%). This characteristic should be taken into consideration in the development of the tourism and recreation function of the area in question, to be eventually made use of by the population of both banks of Oder and Lusitanian Nysa.

Another demographic feature of the region considered is constituted by the share of younger age groups which is higher than the national average, this fact being connected, in particular, to the natural increase rate that is higher than the national average. The data on migration processes indicate that the voivodships considered had positive net migration in urban areas and negative in rural ones.

The areas newly populated after the World War II went through a rapid population growth in the years 1950-1978, especially with respect to urban population, the growth there being quicker than the national average. This phenomenon resulted from the "young age" of the society and the high natural increase rates, and also from the vigorous migrations from rural to urban areas. In the years 1978-1989 the rate of population growth approached the national average, which indicates that the factors of "demographic youth" of the local societies burned already down and

that the changes in the life patterns of these societies occurred. This entailed a decrease in the rates of natural increase and disappearance of the economic motivations causing previously mass migratory flows from rural to urban areas. As could be observed, Jelenia Góra voivodship displays here a clearly different demographic features.

One of the major sources of living in the Western Border Region is presently agriculture. Because, however, of the high share of forests in these areas, the arable lands take there relatively less surface than on the average in the country. Another obstacle is constituted by the ownership structure. The dominating share of socialized agriculture, and especially of the state farms, attaining 55.1% on the average and in Szczecin voivodship even 65% of agriculturally used land is the characteristic feature of the agriculture of this region. This creates enormous problems with carrying out of privatization within this sector of economy. It should therefore be well thought out how to conduct lotting out of the state farms in conditions of limited demand for land.

The new political and economic situation requires a new insight into the problems of transport in Poland, as well. The previously valid concepts of development of the transport network - mainly roads - resulted from the existing political situation in Europe, and also from the military situation. Thus, for instance, the magnitudes and the directions of passenger flows did not indicate at all the necessity of strengthening the connections along the East-West axes. The geographical and political location of Poland in Europe make out of our country a natural transit area. Presently, the greatest transit transport traffic takes place along the East-West direction. Transport along this direction brings, for instance, almost 80% of transit revenues of the Polish State Railways (PKP). This is the consequence of the magnitudes and structure of the mass of goods transported.

Within the area of the Western Border Region exist only 13 road border crossing points for passenger traffic and 8 for freight traffic. The present state of the border crossings in terms of the technical and social requirements of service for mass passenger and freight traffic is not satisfactory. Almost all the crossing points should have their custom tax offices modernized. Establishment of the new border crossing points requires significant investment outlays to be made into their technical and social infrastructure. Were they opened, though, the passenger and

commodity traffic in general, and the border zone traffic in particular, would get importantly enhanced.

In the current situation of the Western frontier-adjacent areas in Poland one should also see the presence of essential developmental opportunities. The attractiveness of these areas in the context of opening up of the border is on the increase. The Polish-German trade, which is presently developing spontaneously on the marketplaces and squares of Polish border towns may be facilitated and transformed into a more civilized activity. This would require construction of market halls, sanitary facilities, storage facilities, hotels and inns, the construction of adequately equipped - in a broad meaning of the expression -border crossings put aside.

Another opportunity, besides trade, is offered by tourism. There is a pressing need of expanding its infrastructure, and especially of having the governmental authorities and local self-governments assist individual entrepreneurship in this domain. It seems that deep consideration should be given to the suggestions of Germans, proposing establishment of a large-scale tourism and recreation area within the Western Border Region. Forests, lakes, weakly developed industry and, most probably, decreasing pollution give a good basis for such an undertaking. The most attractive areas are: the sea coast in Szczecin voivodship, the area of Lusatia as well as the Western parts of Gorzów and Zielona Góra voivodships.

### **3. The role of the Western Border Region within the framework of development of cooperation between Poland and Germany**

The direct neighbourhood with Germany inclines to cooperation in all the domains of social and economic life. Such a cooperation, though, cannot take on a completely spontaneous character, for over a longer period it may lead to domination and forcing of certain decisions from the side of the much richer, better organized and more active Western neighbour of Poland.

It should be noted that the differences in economic potential and in the value of fixed assets within the areas located on both sides of the border will become increasingly visible. The areas located on the Polish side will be subject to gravitational forces originating from the German urban and industrial centers lying on the very border or near to it, and especially from the agglomeration of Berlin. The tendency appears of integrating the systems of municipal economies of Polish and German towns located on both sides of the border, like in the cases of Zgorzelec and Görlitz or Gubin and Guben, the two pairs located on the opposite banks of Lusitanian Nysa. It can also be expected that with progressing liberalization of legal rules concerning land economy and location of foreign investments in Poland the inflow of German capital and its share in the ownership structure of the Western voivodships of Poland will be increasing.

Thus, a justified anxiety arises that if Poland does not undertake a widely conceived program of activities aiming at improvement and dynamization of the economic standing of its Western regions and if a reversion of the presently disadvantageous demographic processes taking place in these territories is not ensured, then Germany will be influencing these territories in an increasing degree.

The most pressing task is to elaborate a comprehensive plan of development of the Western macroregion of Poland. The "Long-term Concept of the Spatial Organization of the Country" (September 1990), prepared within the Central Planning Office, accounts for cooperation with the neighbouring countries. It is correct, in my opinion, that this Concept emphasizes two questions: common creation of the European systems of technical infrastructure, i.e. of transport, energy flow and communication, and the ecological problems (protection of purity of atmospheric air, curbing of the transboundary flows of pollutants, cooperation in the domain of organization and protection of frontier-adjacent protected areas, coordination of water economy over border rivers and their basins, rational common use and protection of the Baltic Sea and its resources). Some of the undertakings proposed, whose implementation necessity must not be justified with scientific studies, have to be decided upon through a political process (like, e.g. introduction of facilitating measures in local transboundary traffic, opening up of new border crossings, coordination of activities connected with the location of numerous

undertakings in the frontier-adjacent zones and organization of a steady monitoring over the area of Baltic Sea).

It should be expected that the developing cooperation within the border regions would bring accelerated economic growth with a variety of its consequences, like significant population increase. This calls for establishments of a special - more or less formal - institution, which would be vested with the tasks of coordination of planning, economic management and cooperation between our two countries in questions concerning the area here considered. It will be necessary to ensure a coordination of activities, allowing thereby for a harmonious development of the border regions and for the holistic treatment of specific problems pertaining to the border zone.

The across-the-border cooperation takes a special significance in the case of border areas where three countries are involved, meaning here Poland, Germany and Czech (the so called Zittau Bag and its vicinity). Enormous pollution and landscape degradation of this area, related to opencast mining and then burning of lignite in power generation plants constitutes a very important problem for each of the three neighbouring countries. This problem, however, is especially acute in the case of Poland, for a disadvantageous distribution of prevailing wind directions makes most of air pollution flow to Poland. This transboundary pollution flow resulted already in complete destruction of forests in Isera Ridge and it constitutes a real threat for tourism over the whole area of Sudety Mountains.

Hence, in the light of the situation here depicted and the course of events expected in the future it seems necessary to activate Polish regional policy, to perform a reorientation of its strategy and to undertake a definite intervention from the side of the state. In spite of the pressing needs in other areas of the country, a program of acceleration of the economic development and of reconstruction of the infrastructure in Western voivodships of Poland should be elaborated and put to work.

#### **4. Characteristics and reasons for the establishment of euroregions on the Polish-German border**

Rational management of the areas near borders requires, as it was previously mentioned, coordination of actions on both sides of the border and often their common execution. Apart from government agreements favouring these objectives, the development of regional transborder cooperation is gaining more and more importance. It has been recently institutionalized in the form of so-called euroregions, founded in the last several years or which are in the project phase. In the area of the Polish-German borderland three agreements on establishment of euroregions (Nysa, Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr, Pro Europa Viadrina) have been so far (August 1994) concluded and the fourth one - Pomerania - is being prepared. (Fig. 2).

##### **Nysa Euroregion**

The Nysa Euroregion is the oldest one in this region, as well as it is the oldest in Poland. It is a trilateral, transborder communal union which encompasses adjoining areas of three countries: Poland, Germany and the Czech Republic. Its establishment was initiated during a conference deliberating in Zittau on May 23-25, 1991. The basic leading goals of the idea of establishing the Euroregion was to stimulate the development of this region by transborder cooperation executed on the basis of complete equal rights, taking into account the contents of the document issued by the European Council in 1980 titled "European Frame Pact on Transborder Cooperation Between Territorial Organizations".

The "Nysa" Euroregion consists of 9 administrative districts (Kreis) of Saxony: Bautzen, Bischofswerda, Görlitz, Hoyerwerda, Kamenz, Löbau, Niesky, Weisswasser, Zittau and the town of Görlitz, 4 administrative districts (okresy) of the Northern Czech Land: Ceska Lipa, Jablonec, Semily and the region of Sluknov of the Decin administrative district as well as the voivodship of Jelenia Góra. However, it should be noted that the range of the euroregion sketched in this manner is only a framework which can be filled by communes independently deciding whether they want to belong to the euroregion or not. On the Polish side almost all of the Jelenia Góra voivodship communes applied for the

membership in the Euroregion as well as the Przewóz commune of the Zielona Góra voivodship, formally beyond the programme. The Lusitanian Nysa river which constitutes network axis runs through the very centre of the region.

The Frame Pact of the "Nysa Euroregion" determines 4 basic objectives of its functioning:

- 1) support for the development of the borderland area by means of coordinating space management, infrastructure expansion, protection from natural disasters projects, etc.;
- 2) support, in terms of possessed possibilities, for commune as well as individual projects, aimed at developing the region;
- 3) support for all communal actions and tendencies which may aid Poland and the Czech Republic to enter into the European Communities;
- 4) acting in order to draw up international agreements for incumbent regulations on transborder communal cooperation.

The main problems to be solved in terms of euroregional cooperation include:

- improvement of the state of the natural environment, especially reduction of air pollution (necessary shutting-down or modernization of obsolete brown coal power plants) and limitation of surface water pollution including especially the borderland Lusitanian Nysa river (shared execution of sewage treatment system),
- modernization of the existing communication and transportation system on the regional level,
- intensive development of the system of border crossings,
- establishment and strengthening of transborder mutual relations between people.

### **Sprowa-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion**

Another Polish-German borderland area euroregion (Sprowa-Nysa-Bóbr) is located in the north of the "Nysa Euroregion". It was founded on the basis of agreement signed on September 21, 1993 in Gubin. According to the agreement, Sprowa-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion is a platform of voluntary cooperation of Polish communes with administrative districts and

towns in the Federal Republic of Germany and the cooperation is to be executed on the basis of complete equal rights.

The Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion consists of the Zielona Góra voivodship on the Polish side and of 5 administrative districts (Kreis) of Brandenburg on the German side: Cottbus, Eisenhüttenstadt, Forst, Guben and Spremberg and the town of Cottbus. The network axis is marked by the Lusitanian Nysa river, similarly to the "Nysa Euroregion", which constitutes the border between both countries and the Sprewa and Bóbr rivers.

The main objective of the Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion is to decrease the existing differences in economic situation of the inhabitants of borderland areas by means of increasing its economic potential and integration of its inhabitants. Activity of the Euroregion is supposed to lead to:

- overcoming of everyday border problems and increase of the border capacity for small borderland traffic,
- overcoming of cultural problems, especially language barrier,
- overcoming of environmental and landscape protection problems as well as to spatial management of the region,
- overcoming of transborder cooperation problems in the field of small production.

### **Pro Europa Viadrina Euroregion**

The next euroregion (Pro Europa Viadrina) encompasses areas on both sides of the Polish-German border marked in this case by the Oder river, located directly in the north of the territory of the Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr Euroregion. The main statutes objectives of the Euroregion, founded also in 1993, include:

- development of relations between people on both sides of the border,
- development and modernization of the infrastructure in the borderland area.

The Pro Europa Viadrina Euroregion encompasses 6 administrative districts (Kreis) of Brandenburg on the German side: Beeskow, Bad

Freienwalde, Eisenhüttenstadt, Fürstenwalde, Seelow and Strausberg as well as towns: Eisenhüttenstadt and Frankfurt on Oder and on the Polish side the Gorzów voivodship (Cybinka commune of the Zielona Góra voivodship also applied for the membership in the Euroregion).

Nearly all of the current problems of the Pro Europa Viadrina Euroregion arise from the specific geo-political situation, not only prior to, but also in consequence of transformations in Central and Eastern Europe. The most important of them include:

- negligence of the infrastructure in the borderland area (eg. roads, telecommunication, supply, services),
- strong language barrier and small transborder cultural exchange,
- increasing social problems, eg. unemployment due to i.a. established industrial mono-cultures,
- serious disturbance of economic cooperation due to the unification of Germany.

### **Pomerania Euroregion**

The last of the euroregions of the Polish-German borderland (Pomerania) has not been founded so far although talks on the topic have been held for the past 3 years. According to the project, the Pomerania Euroregion would include:

- the Szczecin voivodship (Poland),
- 3 administrative districts (Kreis) of Brandenburg (Germany): An-germünde, Eberswalde and Prenzlau as well as the town of Schwedt,
- 7 administrative districts of Mecklemburg-West Pomerania (Germany): Altentreptow, Anklam, Greifswald, Grimmen, Pasewalk, Ueckermünde and Wolgast and the towns: Greifswald and Stralsund.

Moreover, participation of the southern part of Scania (Sweden) and Bornholm (Denmark) are considered.

In case of establishment of the region in the above presented shape, broadly understood marine industry will become the common field of the interest of all the participants. For the Polish and German sides, cooperation in the same fields as in case of other Polish-German euroregions will

be of great importance, focusing especially on problems of the infrastructure and natural environment protection.

## 5. Conclusions

Cooperation executed in terms of the euroregions has not caused spectacular achievements so far. They are mainly manifested in the form of personal relations, education, science and culture. Great problems appear while solving the problems connected with natural environment protection, border crossings and road infrastructure. Strong economic differences of Poland and Germany or even regions which are components of the euroregions, make the economic cooperation very difficult and impossible to solve only within their terms. Great doubts should also be connected with great disproportion of economic potential between Germany and Poland. In consequence, it will lead to further differentiation of particular parts of the euroregion instead of its integration which is not favoured by commonly known historical conditions either. This is why, the development of cooperation in the polish-german euroregions should be observed carefully but with a distance. Achievements should be noted along with the problems which should be utterly solved.

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## **THE SYSTEM OF HUNGARIAN SCATTERED FARMS ON THE WAY OF TRANSFORMATION (A case study from the southern part of the Great Plain)<sup>1</sup>**

### **1. Historical review**

The Hungarian 'tanya', as a form of rural settlement and as a way of farming, is the speciality of the Great Plain. Is it a Nomadic inheritance or a result of the Turkish influence? The problem of origin is still unsolved but it may be in close connection with the East European urban development. These scattered farms which were called into existence by the requirements of animal keeping, appeared on the outskirts of so-called rural-market-towns (*oppidum*), the settlements which occupied the rank between the royal city (*civitas*) and the serf village (*villa*) in feudal Hungary. The farm-house itself, the group of farm-buildings and the land belonging to the 'tanya' formed one production unit at that time.

The outer area homes had not been permanently inhabited until the more and more intensive ways of cultivation required it. But even the real 'tanya'-dwellers never separated from the parent town: they used to go "home" to church, to market, to visit relatives, and the well off families even owned a house there.

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<sup>1</sup> The author was a postgraduate student of Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund, Hungarian Academy of Sciences; her present study was elaborated in the framework of this scholarship.

The 1949 local administrative reform modified this traditional relationship. Since scattered farmsteads as individual dwelling and working places were obstacles to collectivization, over 100 'tanya'-centres were singled out in order to make 'tanya'-dwellers move into new core settlements.

While in 1942 the administrative areas of the 62 agrarian towns occupied 42.9% of the whole territory of the Great Plain (Fig.1.), owing to the policy of forming villages this rate was reduced to 30.3% (J.BECSEI 1983, p.22.). Fig.2. shows how the settlement network of Csongrád county changed. Out of the former rural-market-towns it was probably Szeged which suffered the greatest loss: nine new settlements were established in its historical regions. (Fig.3.)

## 2. Research projects and methods

Approaching it either from a geographical or a sociological point of view, there are two levels on which 'tanya' can be regarded as a system:

- on a macro scale it is the level of the Great Plain as a region,
- on a micro scale it is the level of the historically developed core settlements with scattered farmsteads.

According to data of census, after 1949 no doubt the decrease of outer area inhabitants became the determining process of 'tanya'-transformation. Considering the seven counties situated on the Great Plain, in 1960 22% of their whole population lived on scattered farmsteads (759.510 people) - in 1980 only 9.5% already (20.201 people)<sup>2</sup>. However this general pace of decrease covers significant spatial differences. While in the Eastern part of the region, for example, the process of 'tanya'-liquidation advanced nearly everywhere during this period, on the sandy soil between the Rivers Danube and Tisza this kind of settlement- and farming system managed to adjust itself to the new conditions.

Micro scale researches tell us much more about what happened within the settlement boundaries having been formed over forty years ago. In order to describe the spatiality of present 'tanya' way of life, we

<sup>2</sup> Data of census 1990 were not published till the end of August 1992.

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should start out from the modified 'tanya'-core settlement relationship. First of all those connecting links are worth analyzing which exist between scattered farmsteads of today and their central village, the former parent town, or the neighbouring core settlements. In a social geographical approach, these links are identified as spatial connections developed by 'tanya'- dwellers while exercising basic social functions (work, housing, provision, education, recreation, communication, social life).

### 3. Social geographical field studies in Mórahalom

I have carried out this kind of research in four new communities of the historical regions of Szeged city: in Domaszék (1984), Szatymaz and Zákányszék (1987-89) and Mórahalom (1990-91). I would like to show you as an example the place of my last social geographical survey. (Fig.3).

Mórahalom can be characterized briefly in this way: a village with scattered farmsteads which gained the rank of a (small) town in 1989. (So far it has been a rather future possibility; most of the local people also regard their settlement as a village even now). This special legal position is due to the fact that its inner area has one-hundred-year history: in 1891 an outer area administrative centre was established here by the city of Szeged with a church, a cemetery, a school, a shop and health service.

Studying scattered farmsteads of the present Mórahalom, I started out from the local outer area map, the register of landed properties and the preliminary data of census 1990. This time not only the real 'tanya'-dwellers were involved in the collection of data appearing in questionnaires but also the 'tanya'-owners living in the central village or in the city of Szeged. Those being questioned - every tenth household - were chosen on the basis of family structure (outer area inhabitants), the place of the permanent residence (village- and city-dwellers), and the distance of the 'tanya' from the core settlement. Thus the three selected social groups are represented by 59 families living on the outskirts, 11 ones from the centre of Mórahalom, and 12 ones from Szeged. (Fig.4).

Having no possibility to present the whole system of the basic social functions, now I select only two of them. I am going to describe the

Table 1.

Some characteristics of the villages with scattered farmsteads established  
in the historical regions of Szeged  
(According to data of national census. \*Preliminary data)

SETTLEMENT	TERRITORY	TOTAL NUMBER					PROPORTION			
	/HA/	OF PERMANENT RESIDENTS					OF 'TANYA'-DWELLERS %/			
	1980	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990*	1960	1970	1980	1990*
Ásotthalom	12255	8062	6542	5942	4966	4111	91,5	83,5	65,0	50,5
Balástya	10995	6369	5722	5238	4375	3731	89,9	84,6	75,2	64,7
Csengele	6066	3680	3643	3154	2707	2238	90,7	85,7	73,1	61,1
Domaszék	5214	4338	3955	3574	3320	3178	99,7	92,5	77,6	58,4
Mórahalom	8314	6732	6142	5859	5997	5529	70,7	60,4	41,1	29,3
Röszke	3663	4227	4186	3742	3517	2971	41,3	42,3	29,3	21,6
Rúzsa	8468	4469	4103	3662	3182	2709	92,6	87,6	76,4	51,4
Szatymaz	5382	3897	4007	4148	3781	3470	88,8	79,1	69,4	52,9
Zákányszék	6606	3468	3393	3293	3050	2700	90,6	84,9	68,8	53,7

process of 'tanya'-transformation highlighting the spatial connections of housing and farming.

#### 4. Spatial groups of the local society

The scattered-farmstead-areas of the former rural-market-towns became potential villages when they were divided by new boundaries and their future core settlements were singled out. The designated 'tanya'-centres were made real villages by the development of public institution network and moving in. From the point of view of our topic, especially the latest process is worth analyzing.

According to the data of Table1, since its establishment demographic processes of opposite direction have taken place in the inner and the outer area of Mórahalom: while the number and the rate of village-dwellers have increased, those of 'tanya'-dwellers have decreased. As the total number of local residents has also diminished during this time, an inner population regrouping may be concluded.

It is quite certain that in the case of Mórahalom also the prohibition on building on the outskirts was the most effective device of making people move into the central village. As there was no possibility of modernizing the farm-houses as required, the enterprising 'tanya'-dwellers preferred to start building in the inner area. Since then possessing a village house has become an example to be followed for the inhabitants of the outskirts.

No doubt this population regrouping took place to the detriment of the outer area. On the other hand, the pace of the decrease of 'tanya'-dwellers does not necessarily correspond to the degree of the decay of scattered farmsteads because leaving the 'tanya' has different stages just like belonging to the central village. For not all the new owners move in their village houses immediately, and even those ones moving in do not leave their farms once for all. It is also very common that families living in Szeged buy the 'tanya'-s abandoned by their permanent inhabitants. The "double way of life" based on possessing two residences can have several variations both inside the family and in the generation change, depending on whether people "go inwards" from the outskirts, or "go outwards" from the core settlement.

The rate of those ones "going in from outside" can be concluded only from the answers of the interviewed 'tanya'- dwellers. Out of the 59 chosen families every sixth one has a site, a flat, or a house besides their outer area home - if not in their own central village then in some neighbouring one, or in Szeged.

As my field studies applied to the outskirts of Mórahalom, I have much more detailed information about the seasonally inhabited scattered farmsteads.

This kind of 'tanya'-s could be found in the historical regions of the former rural-market-towns as well. But while they were not yet permanently inhabited, the present ones have no permanent inhabitants any more. Thus separating from the parent town in the past took place through the same stages just like attaching to the new central villages today.

Most of the people "going out from inside" live in the inner area or in Szeged but the residents of other surrounding settlements also can have seasonally inhabited 'tanya'-s in Mórahalom. While in the case of village-dwellers it is usually the outer area home which is the starting point of obtaining two residences, in the case of city-dwellers it is mostly the town house or flat. It means that in the relation of 'tanya'-central village moving in is the determining demographic process, while in the relation of 'tanya'-parent town it is the seasonal settling out that is decisive.

According to the case study of Mórahalom, the local society of villages with scattered farmsteads cannot be divided simply into village-dwellers and 'tanya'-dwellers. We can find village-dwellers "going out" to their scattered farmsteads as well as 'tanya'-dwellers "going in" to their central village houses. Moreover there are 'tanya'-owners appearing quite irregularly in the outer area, who are the residents of the former parent town, or some neighbouring settlement. The representatives of these social groups live different types of the 'tanya' way of life, depending on whether the outer area home, the village house, or the town flat means the starting point for them.

## 5. Housing conditions

The 'tanya'-system had been developed to support the agricultural production and it has not lost this function even though the land-ownership changed. The present farm-houses cannot be separated from the group of farm-buildings and the land belonging to the 'tanya' either.

**The farm-house.** The majority of the 82 scattered farmsteads involved in the analysis were built before 1949, some of them in the 19th century. These farm-houses, considering both their location and the way of building, are the heritage of the past.

The places of the 'tanya'-s in the historical regions of Szeged were mainly chosen according to the physical circumstances, the locality of the landed properties, and the transport conditions. As a result of collectivization, the establishment of new core settlements and building the road-network, other settling factors became important after 1949. As that time it was impossible to start building in new areas on the outskirts already, the 'tanya'-system was able to adjust itself to these factors in one way only: by the depopulation of scattered farmsteads getting into disadvantageous position. No wonder the best part of the seasonally inhabited 'tanya'-s can be found in the distant corners which are far away from the central village as well as from the main road, or in those parts of the outer area where large-scale fields were formed.

Nevertheless the quality of the living-houses, depending on the individual invention, could be improved. The high standard of the present 'tanya'-dwellers is proved by the high rate of the outer area homes supplied with electricity (92%) and having a bathroom (47%).

On the other hand, the seasonally inhabited scattered farmsteads possessed by village-dwellers are in a rather neglected condition: their owners do not spend too much money on modernizing them. Those ones "going out" from Szeged have quite different relation to their second homes. These people, though they usually visit their 'tanya'-s more rarely than the local residents do, try to create circumstances which are appropriate to the standards of the town.

**The farm-buildings.** The existence or absence of certain buildings refers to the type of farming. Henhouses, pigsties, stables and barns can

be found in almost every selected farm-yard of Mórahalom, which shows the importance of animal husbandry based on corn-growing.

Seasonally inhabited scattered farmsteads are usually characterized by fewer farm-buildings and sometimes it occurs that there are none. As animals can be kept here perhaps in the summer, the 'tanya'-owners living in some core settlement need storing buildings more.

**The land.** The individual parts of the land belonging to a present 'tanya' are different not only in the type of cultivation-vineyard, orchard, plough-land, etc. - but also depending on whether they are co-operative lands, private properties, or fields on lease. The residents of the outskirts try to join the scattered parts, which shows the revival of the traditional 'tanya'-function. (Nearly 60% of the interviewed families take advantages of this: all the land they use - from 0.25 to 5 hectares - is situated around their outer area home).

The 'tanya' with the surrounding land is a part of the family property for those ones, too, who "go out from inside". While most of the visited village people cultivate other fields as well besides the one close to their 'tanya', the city-dwellers are usually satisfied with the possibilities provided by these 0.25-0.5 hectare pieces of land.

## 6. Farming possibilities

Being a 'tanya'-dweller, nowadays does not necessarily mean making your living from agriculture. The progress of occupational restructuring depends on the choice of working and commuting possibilities of the given settlement as well as on the type of the local agricultural co-operative.

In the pre-war period the balance of different branches of cultivation was characteristic of the 'tanya' way of farming around Szeged: gardening was connected with animal husbandry based on corn-growing. Since small vineyards and orchards could not be united like corn-fields, in Mórahalom - similarly to other new settlements of this sandy region - a so-called specialized agricultural co-operative was formed. (It is an alternative form of union the members of which - the so-called member-farmers - give up only the private ownership of the land, they keep the right of using it and pay financial contribution to the collective farm).

Out of the present inhabitants of scattered farmsteads it is only the member-farmers and the private owners for whom farming means the main source of living. The representatives of other occupational groups, the co-op members and retired people depending on their personal demands and possibilities - deal with part-time-farming on different levels around their outer area homes.

The question would be worth formulating in the following way: Whether the 'tanya' as a farming place is the scene of the first or the second economy? The results of this analysis have some significance beyond the chosen particular settlement.

**First economy.** Considering the interviewed active workers of Mórahalom, the members of the local specialized agricultural co-operative are in majority. These people, taking advantage of the traditional land-use-system, keep on cultivating their "own" estates but so far they had to be satisfied with the inherited conditions because the prohibition on selling the land prevented them from possessing bigger or better located fields. These farmers have to maintain at least 3-6 hectares holdings, so that they could make a traditional way of living. Those ones who use other pieces of land as well besides the one surrounding their farm-houses, generally form the production profile in accordance with the distance.

On the other hand, the member-farmers living in the centre measure the distance from their village houses already. In this way they have to commute between the inner and the outer area according to the requirements of farming, which contradicts to the essence of the 'tanya'-system.

**Second economy.** While work-place connections are individual, household-farming can be regarded as a form of family enterprise in which the employed, the retired and the dependent equally can take part though their prospects are rather different.

In theory not only the member-farmers can lease a field or a pasture but the fact should not be forgotten that the 0.25-0.5 hectare piece of land surrounding a 'tanya' of today, even in itself provides much better conditions for part-time-farming than the small yards of the central village houses. The chances of non-agricultural employees are determined by the location of work-place rather than the type of their profession. (Those ones finding their jobs in the inner area usually spend less time on going to work daily than those ones commuting to Szeged). The retired have

the worst prospects: being more and more incapable of work, they are forced to reduce their production.

Most of the visited city-dwellers possessing a 'tanya' in Mórahalom have been also attracted by the possibility of part-time-farming rather than the demand on recreation though owing to the ever rising petrol prices it is less and less economical to lead this kind of "double way of life".

## 7. Perspectives

Separating from the former parent town and attaching to the new central villages - the process of the villages with scattered farmsteads becoming independent settlements can be characterized in this manner from the point of view of the 'tanya'.

Mórahalom has advanced further on this way than the other new communities established after 1949: it has become not only a well-operating village but also a (small) town in the legal sense, although considering its functions it is still closer to a village.

In spite of the fact that the centre has been developed to the detriment of the outskirts, the inner population regrouping has not led to the planned rapid liquidation of the 'tanya'-system:

1) Leaving scattered farmsteads does not necessarily mean decay. As the case study of Mórahalom shows, a considerable part of the outer area homes abandoned by their permanent residents has become seasonally inhabited. In this way the continuity of 'tanya' way of life is broken only in the traditional sense; this kind of scattered farmsteads, whether village people or city-dwellers their owners are, start to play new roles.

2) Thanks to the local specialized agricultural co-operative, member-farmers can take advantage of the former land-use-system after collectivization as well. However even the chance of household farming seems to be sufficient to keep this settlement- and farming system in existence, especially if we suppose the best part of the seasonally inhabited 'tanya'-s are kept alive by this function, too.

What are the paths of the future? It is quite certain that the decrease of the permanently inhabited scattered farmsteads will continue because the populous generation which started a family during the last large

swarming out immediately after 1945, gradually die out. Their children and grandchildren regard 'tanya'-life only the means of collecting and for the time being the outer supply is not so much so as to be able to compensate this decrease.

In this respect it is only the arrangement of land-ownership relations and becoming safe of the agricultural production conditions that can bring a change. But as for the future the uncertainty is so big that I can rely only on the answers of the families involved in the analysis when drawing conclusions concerning the perspectives of different 'tanya'-types.

*We were born here, we have to keep on doing this.* The majority of the visited outer area inhabitants (51 families) insist on their scattered farmsteads. These people cannot imagine the future without farming and it needs a 'tanya'.

And what about the ones who are planning whether to move or not? No wonder the fifties and the sixties are the most mobile; it is the usual order of the traditional 'tanya' way of life. But it is a new phenomenon that there are also young families with small children wanting to move.

*We may need the land in the future.* The inherited 'tanya', as it turns out from the questionnaires, is a kind of reserve for the village-dwellers. So far it has been quite easy to build a house in the centre starting out from the outskirts. Although owing to the market problems it is more and more difficult to make money from agriculture, these people cannot see any other way out from the crisis of today than returning to the land.

*You come to like what you create from the ruins.* Most of the interviewed city-dwellers who bought scattered farmsteads in Mórahalom have been attracted by the possibility of part-time-farming rather than the demand on recreation. They do not want to resign from their 'tanya'-s even if it is more and more expensive to drive out from Szeged.

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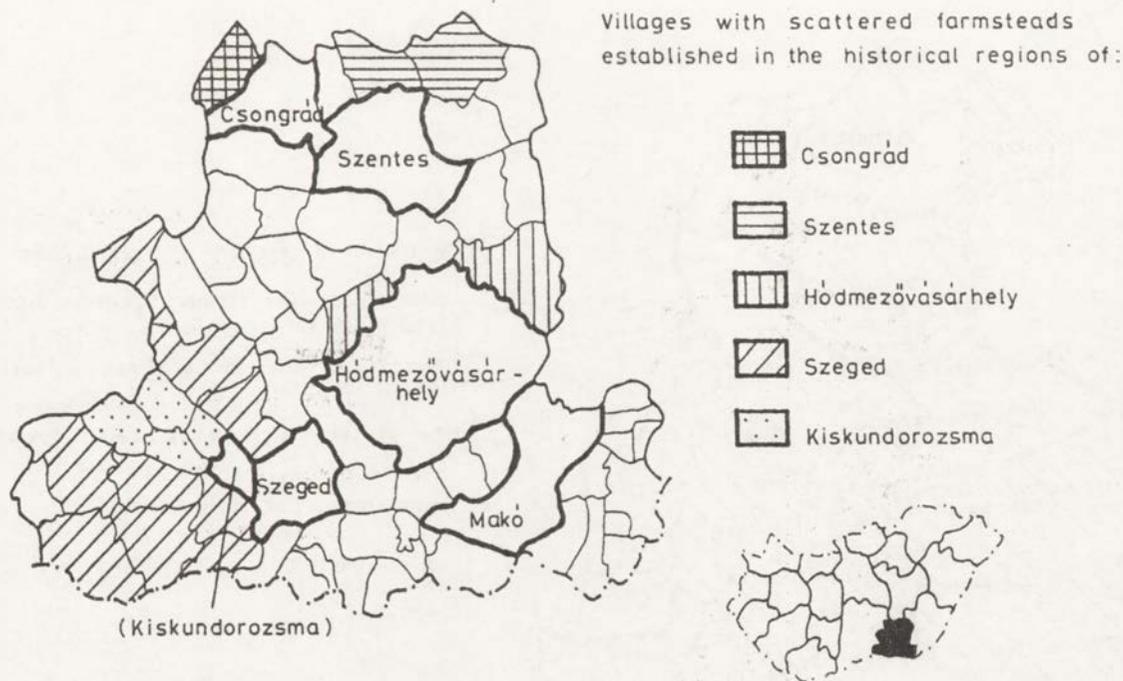
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Fig. 1. Agrarian towns on the Great Hungarian Plain in 1942  
(This map based on the research of F. ERDEI  
was published by J. BECSEI in 1983)

Fig. 2. Villages with scattered farmsteads and their parent towns in Csongrád county



(According to the state of the sixties when the five neighbouring settlements - Algyő, Tápé, Szőreg, Gyálarét and Kiskundorozsma - were not united with Szeged yet)

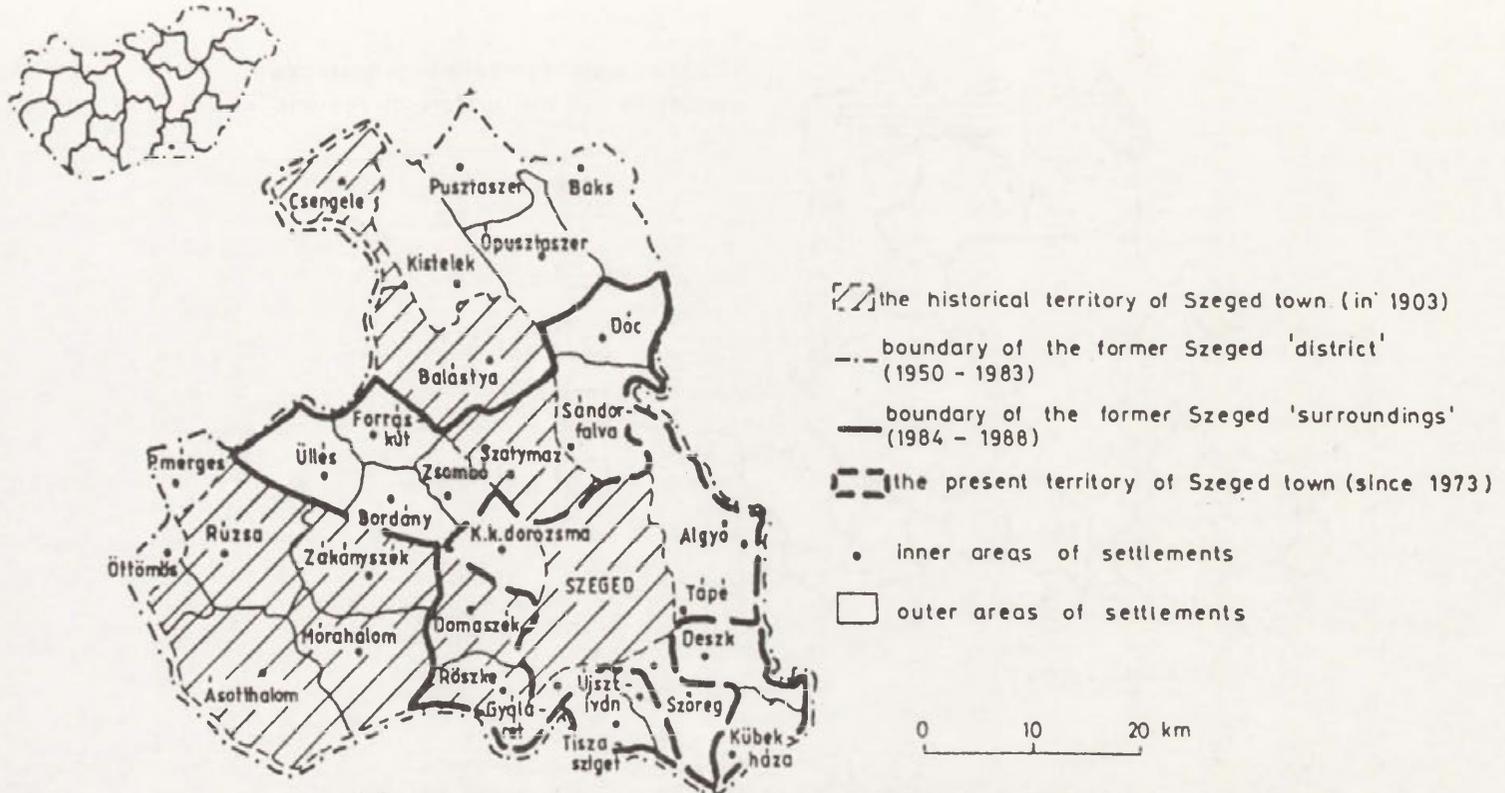


Fig. 3. Villages with scattered farmsteads in the historical regions of Szeged

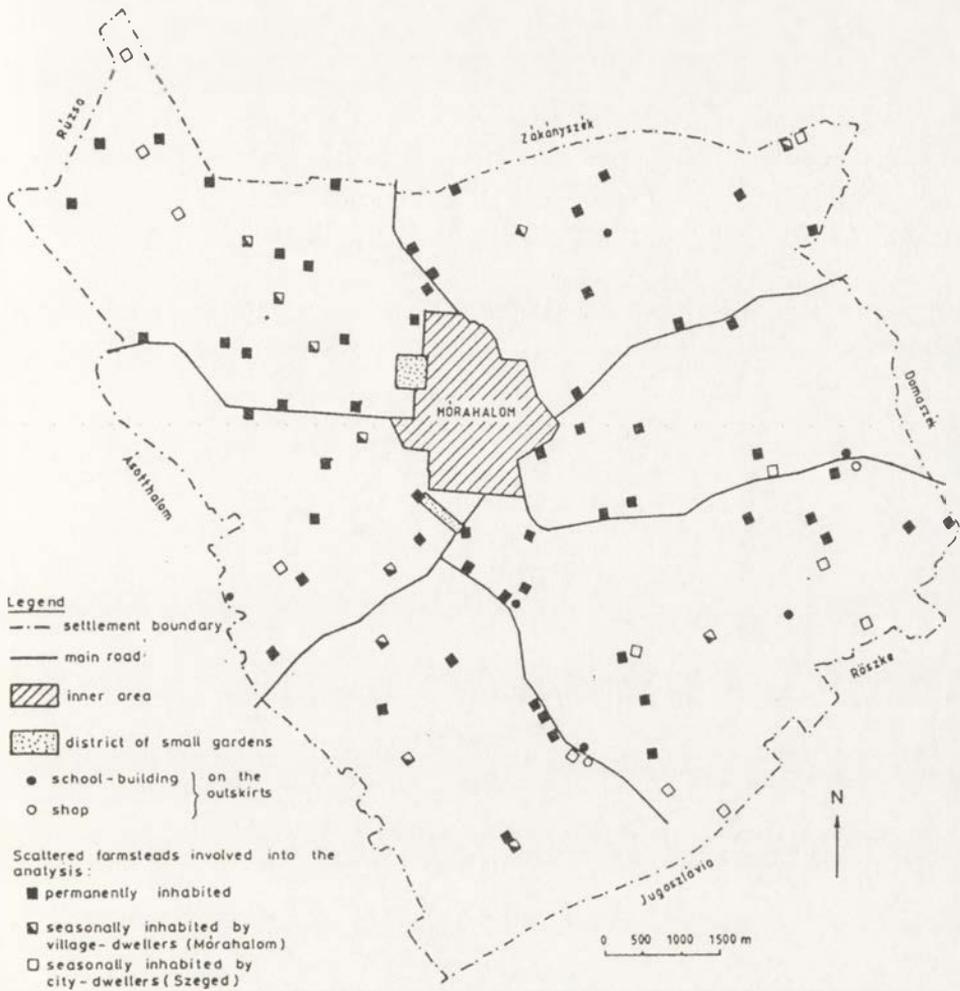


Fig. 4. The outskirts of Mórahalom



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## **SPECIAL SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF BORDER RURAL AREAS IN HUNGARY<sup>1</sup>**

The definition of border has two opposite implications. One is that a border runs between two areas and in this way it has a separating function. On the other hand those different areas that are situated along the same country border may form a homogeneous region or different areas with the same features may be linked. The first function of border dominates in wartime, while the other one in peace. Furthermore, borders fulfill their function on three different levels:

- local,
- regional,
- national.

There are different interactions among these different territorial units. In wartime interstate relations are dominating. In peace economic and cultural relations are in the focus of public interest and microregional

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<sup>1</sup> In 1986-1987 the Hungarian Research Centre for Regional Studies defined a frontier zone consisting of 803 rural and 27 urban settlements. This was a 30-50 km wide zone along the border, where different multidisciplinary researches were carried out. Six researchers have participated in the research team of sociology. This paper is a summary of research results. Such as Judit Berta, Zsuzsa Bögre, Judit Csoba, Eva G. Fekete, Ilona Szabó and János Tét. We have carried out empirical researches in 10 border settlements. 890 families have participated in research. The selection of family heads was done by a carefully planned sample. The following settlements were involved in research: Hidvégardó, Bódvaszilas (on the Slovak border), Vállaj, Nyirvasvári and Biharugra (on the Rumanian border), Öttömös, Pusztamérges and Murakeresztúr (on the Yugoslavian border), Szentpéterfa and Velem (on the Austrian border).

relations become important. In wartime interstate military interactions are dominating above all. Naturally the problem of borders becomes a key issue during wars and regional conflicts, e.g. peace treaties.

I would like to present the problems of the Hungarian border from sociological aspects. The sociological aspects of borderland situation become more and more important because during the last 40 years of peace the Hungarian border has had the same functions as a border has during war: it was separating and confronting different nations. What are the reasons? This paper is going to give an answer to this problem.

In these periods borderland situation had different consequences on urban and rural development on the standstill of their development. Based on our results we can separate 3 types of borders in the period starting from 1920 and ending with our present period. These types are as follows:

1. Easily traversable, less guarded borders;
2. Hardly traversable, strongly guarded borders;
3. Open borders.

### **1. First type: easily traversable, less guarded borders**

The word 'border' itself had some negative implications then. By losing a part of the country and population, Hungarians living on the present territory of Hungary had a feeling of isolation and limited freedom.

Urban settlements lost some of their gravity zones and they had a smaller degree of their previous administrative, cultural, trading and economic functions, i.e. those very functions that give a town's rank to a settlement.

Villages were also the losers of this process, for they were separated from their former centers. Thus, they had a lower level of industrial, commercial services but at the same time local markets lost their good customers coming from cities. To solve this problem rural residents had to seek for new centers where they could sell their goods. For all that villages maintained some of their former contacts because the legal status

of state borders was formal, i.e. they were easily traversable and less guarded.

Some villages could make some benefit from the change of borders. Those landowners who had some land on the other side of border (most border villages belonged to this category) had a possibility to cross the border for land cultivation. They were following the earlier old village paths that are called now as 'green borders'. They were doing this because there were only a few legal border stations lying very far from villages. This phenomenon, i.e. if someone had a piece of land on both sides of the border was named 'double possession'.

Residents could make some economic benefit from borderland situation. Many of them having the right of crossing the 'green border' could make some use of their mobility and the differences between the price system of the two neighbouring countries. This means they were buying goods for reasonable prices, and they could buy such goods that were not available in their home country.

The possibilities of crossing the 'green border' were different at that time. There were large differences within the same border, like on the Yugoslavian-Hungarian border. In those cases when the border was separating Hungary from Croatia, Hungarians were free to visit Croatian weekly markets, while on the Serb-Hungarian border there were far more strict restrictions, for the border was separating Hungarians on both sides.

It was the Austro-Hungarian border that was the most easily traversable. Apart from crossings for visiting regular weekly markets, Hungarians were doing day-labouring in Austria, mainly in agricultural sector. They were using there more advanced technologies and tools and these were adopted by them in Hungary. On the other hand Hungarians who were living in Burgenland were studying at the secondary schools of Sopron and Kőszeg. Jewish retail dealers who were living in Austria regularly visited villages on the border two or three times a week to purchase fruits, such as red currant, raspberry, chestnut, cherry, eggs etc. and to sell them at the markets of Vienna.

It was the Rumanian border that was the most strictly guarded, for it was separating the largest areas with homogeneous Hungarian population. It was impossible to maintain traditional relations between the two

sides of border. In countries with homogeneous Hungarian population at both sides there was a much more fear of territorial reintegration than in those, where official borders coincided with natural ethnic borders.

Smuggling was usual at every part of border. People were smuggling not only salt, this very scarce and indispensable item, but they were bringing horses as well through Czechoslovakian and Yugoslavian borders. Thus, we can see that borders in this period were easily traversable and less guarded, so people could maintain their earlier contacts on both sides of the border. That's why the old generation keeps a good memory of these years. Middle and young generations have no personal experiences of this period.

Hungary was among the losers of the First World War and in 1920 the definition of the new border brought a significant reduction both in the territory and in the population of Hungary. These aroused a national feeling of isolation and limited freedom. For those who were living on the border it was easier to cross it and the feelings mentioned here were less intensive in their case. In other words, the word 'border' had generally a negative implication but those who were living close to the border did not experience it so intensively as others living inside.

## **2. Second type: hardly traversable, strongly guarded borders**

The second period in the history of border started in 1947 and ended in 1989, the year of the removal of the 'iron curtain' on the Austro-Hungarian border. Compared to the previous period, here the possibilities of crossing the border and of the maintenance of earlier contacts were far more less.

In 1947 'double possession' was abolished, so if anybody had some landed property on the other side of border he was not allowed to cultivate it any more and his land was taken. Since then crossing the border was possible only through legal border stations that were strictly guarded. Sometimes people had to take long roundabouts to get into a neighbouring settlement on the other side of border. Neighbouring settlement contacts that sometimes looked back to hundreds of years were still partly maintained after 1920.

During the Second World War (1939-1944) Hungary got back some of her earlier territories and as a result of this, earlier inter-settlement contacts were reinforced. That is why the introduction of rigid, strictly guarded and hardly traversable border was a great change for borderland population between 1947-1989. While so far borderland situation was only a psychological problem, the new features of the border had political and regional development implications as well.

The intensity of the supervision of border depended on the political relations with our neighbours. During the 1950s the Austrian and Yugoslavian borders were the 'most critical'. Neither Austria nor Yugoslavia belonged to the Warsaw Pact, while Hungary was its loyal member. The relationship with Yugoslavia worsened when she was disclosed from the organization of 'Informburo', an alliance of communist parties, in 1948 and Yugoslavia was declared as its major enemy. Stalin found a good partner in Rákosi because he was ready to introduce Yugoslavia to the world as the most hostile and traitorous nation being the source of 'any kind of evil'.

While between the two world wars, compared to the population of inside areas, borderland residents had a feeling of more freedom and less restriction, after 1947 nobody wanted to live on the border and everyone was happy to live as far from the border as he could. Borders were lined by mines and there was a barbed wire fence along the Austro-Hungarian border, named as the 'iron curtain'. Frontier zones were defined and marked along both sides of border. That means, in Hungary certain documents were needed to enter these zones. Those who were living outside this zone and wanted to enter frontier zones e.g. to visit their relatives, they had to apply for it. In this sense there was another border within Hungary. Visitors had to show their documents for control, and they could not continue their way until the frontier bar was opened for them. Separate buildings were built for staff, which after all served as an inner border station.

This was the time of building labour camps in Hungary. At first only rich but later any people who were 'persona non grata' for the political regime were taken to these places. They had to live and work in terrible conditions there.

There was also a labour camp in Hortobágy, which had 'residents' from the Yugoslavian and Austrian border regions. A documentary film was made about survivors by the Gulyás brothers under the title: 'Violation of Law'. The film gives a dramatic picture on the high price of living on the border.

Our research has proved that these families having been taken to Hortobágy were not allowed to return their homes even after the shut-down of the camp. These tensions had negative consequences on regional development policy and investment sources. Although it was the border cities that were mainly affected, the limitation of private housebuildings had some consequences on border villages as well.

In the 1970s and rather in the 1980s it was the Soviet-Hungarian and the Rumanian-Hungarian borders that became the most 'critical'. Although there were no inner frontiers, mines, iron curtains etc., i.e. there were no fortifications and the neighbours were in the same military alliance with Hungary, these borders were rigid, strictly guarded and hardly traversable.

Every third Hungarians have relatives or friends in Rumania. Rumania had a falling tendency of living standards in the 1970s and 1980s. There were shortages in a lot of essential commodities. Hungarians were travelling there in masses to help their relatives. These trips were very troublesome, for people had to wait 12 or sometimes 24 hours on the border and officers were very rude during strict custom controls. Traffic was slow through the Soviet border as well because of the large traffic of goods and the strict and illogical custom control procedures.

Thus, we can conclude that the definition of the Hungarian border slowed the development of border cities. This process reached border villages after 1947. It was a special period from the point of view of the villages which were cut from their mother cities, for they belonged to another country. They had limited contacts with Hungarian settlements as well.

In the area of Bánát that belonged to Serbia a large number of Hungarians left their villages in the 1960s and moved to Subotica. The intensity of their emigration was so great that in some Hungarian villages full streets were left empty. This emigration process was simultaneous with Serbia's industrialization and urbanization process. All Hungarians

went to Subotica. There are four reasons why they did so. First, they went there because this was the only place where they could educate their children in Hungarian. Secondly, they themselves could not, or hardly could speak Serb and for this reason they had a feeling of inferiority. They thought such an 'incompleteness' would be better tolerated in Subotica. Thirdly, they could see the Hungarian TV programs there, and as a fourth reason, they had relatives in Hungary and living close to the border was good for maintaining intensive contacts with their home country.

Borders had some attraction for ethnic minorities, which resulted special regional processes in the case of local communities. Their close situation to the border, which was open at that time brought enormous chances for them to maintain their cultural and national identity. Those Hungarians who move to Serb cities will be assimilated there in a few generations' time. Although this example was taken from the other side of the border, it gives a typical illustration about the problems of borderland situation and ethnic minorities.

The second example is about the primary school of Drávasztára having 47 pupils. Local residents are of Croatian nationality and some subjects are taught in Croatian. If river Dráva would not separate Hungary from Yugoslavia senior students could travel to the nearest Croatian school on the other side of border every day. They could have an opportunity for learning a better Croatian and could have a better information on the culture of their home country. The school of Drávasztára could be maintained only for lower classes. Both Hungarian and Croatian schools could make some benefit from this situation. Until now there no similar methods were used in any other countries.

I hope that as a result of the recent East European changes there will be some possibilities for school boards or parents' delegations to visit the nearest school on the other side of border so that they could establish direct cooperations. So far different relations have been established, mainly in the field of language and verbal communication, but less attention was paid to economic relations. Our research results indicate that the TV programs of the neighbouring countries can play an important role in the everyday life of these nations. If TV programs speak on their native language or give better entertainment, more information or have a different opinion than the TV programs of their home country, they may be more interested in them. This results a difference in the number of spec-

tators of the neighbours' TV programs. On the Austrian border two-thirds of Hungarians watch the Austrian TV program. On the Serb border a half, and on the Croatian border one-third of the people having been interviewed watch the TV program of the neighbouring country. On the Czechoslovakian border every seventh, while on the Rumanian border every ninth interviewed persons belong to this category.

Apart from the Austrian TV programs, every second of the residents of Szentpéterfa - a village on the Austrian border with Croatian nationality - are watching Croatian TV programs as well. A typical answer came from an old man who said: 'I watch the Hungarian, Austrian and Yugoslavian news all the time, so I always know what is happening in the world.'

As it is known, the role of 'Panoráma' a Hungarian TV program, was very important in the information of residents on the other side of border in the period of Czechoslovakian and Rumanian revolution. These people told us that they were passing information to their relatives who were living inside these countries. This method of passing information, I think, will soon become the past because in the near future by means of satellite broadcasting system the Hungarian TV programs will be available throughout the whole Carpathian Basin. So far until the positive changes in East Europe the maintenance of contacts through the border meant only negotiations between political leaders. Although they are also necessary but the results are relevant for the whole country's territory and they cannot solve the development problems of frontier regions. Bilateral cooperations through the border were too formal and there were a lot of difficulties in their establishment and development.

### **3. Third type: open borders**

After the beginning of the Central European changes, the introduction of an open border system is one of the major political and economic programs. Its political aspects have a greater importance in Hungary than in any countries of East Central Europe. This may be explained by more reasons.

One is that during the Kádár regime - despite or because living conditions were the best in Hungary - Hungarians liked to travel to the

countries of Western Europe very much. They wanted to see an economic and political system in Hungary that is similar to the Western type.

One is that during the past 45 years the rate of those who were criticizing the political system in semi-public places, like employment sites, friends, cafés, etc. and were strongly for the cooperation with Western Europe was the greatest in Poland and in Hungary. Hungarians wanted to open their borders not only for Western countries, like Austria, but for all countries with Hungarian population. After the beginning of the change of the political system, Hungary had the best contacts with Ukraine, Croatia and Slovenia. In case of Czechoslovakia the contacts with Bohemia are good but they are bad with Slovakia. Hungary has also bad contacts with Rumania and Serbia. The media and the political organizations of Hungary and these latter two states are paying large attention to each other's declarations and they strongly criticize them if they do not meet their requirements.

In the 1980s, before the change of the political system, when Hungarians started to be interested in the living conditions of Hungarians living on the other side of border, a general opinion was formed. It said that minorities living in Hungary should have equal rights with Hungarians and neighbours. Those who were for it thought that following the Hungarian example, our neighbours will do the same with Hungarian minorities. The neighbours had a similar opinion from the other end. They said Hungarians should grant the same rights to the minorities living in Hungary as they demand for the Hungarian minorities abroad. For example, it was Iliescu who said that Rumanians living in Hungary (their number is 12 thousand) should have the same rights as Hungarians living in Rumania have (their number is 2.5 million in Rumania).

The Serb government is also going to grant only those rights for the education of Hungarians (their number is 400 thousand there), which are granted to Serbs living in Hungary (their number is 5 thousand in Hungary). This is a false interpretation of the whole problem, for the needs of a community of 12 thousand and of 2.5 million are different. For example the previous group cannot demand university education on native language, because there will not be enough students even for the starting of this program. However a community of 2.5 million is enough to establish and maintain a university where students are educated on their mother tongue.

Apart from these problems, the model of reciprocity is against any bourgeois democratic principles based on international conventions, for they do not demand that any rights granted to minorities should depend on rights granted in their home country. The rights of ethnic minorities should not depend on certain conditions.

The present situation of our region will follow this tendency and there are already some facts that make us believe this. With the introduction of multiple party system in Slovakia, Rumania and Serbia Hungarians have formed their corporate systems there, functioning as parties during parliamentary elections. There are also some of them that have been transformed into a political party. Due to the fact that in these states Hungarians have formed a majority on a certain geographical area that may be easily defined, they have a full representation in the parliament. Representatives can report on the problems, ideas and proposals of Hungarian minorities there.

During local elections in the areas with Hungarian population, it was the Hungarians who got the majority of votes. Thus, in local government system the Hungarian representatives form a majority. After some time the activity of local governments and the development of local democracy will give a basis to see that instead of thinking of what is good for the majority against minority, the central government will have an opposite way of thinking. It will try to consider how the minority wants to live with the majority. Slovaks, Rumanians and Serbs will only be happy in their home country if they see that Hungarians are also happy to live there. At this moment it will not be a problem any longer what Hungary wants to do for Hungarian minorities. There will also be no necessity for borders, for everybody will intend to stay where he has lived so far. However we must see that before this there will be a lot of troubles and quarrels between Hungary and these states about the problems of Hungarian minorities.

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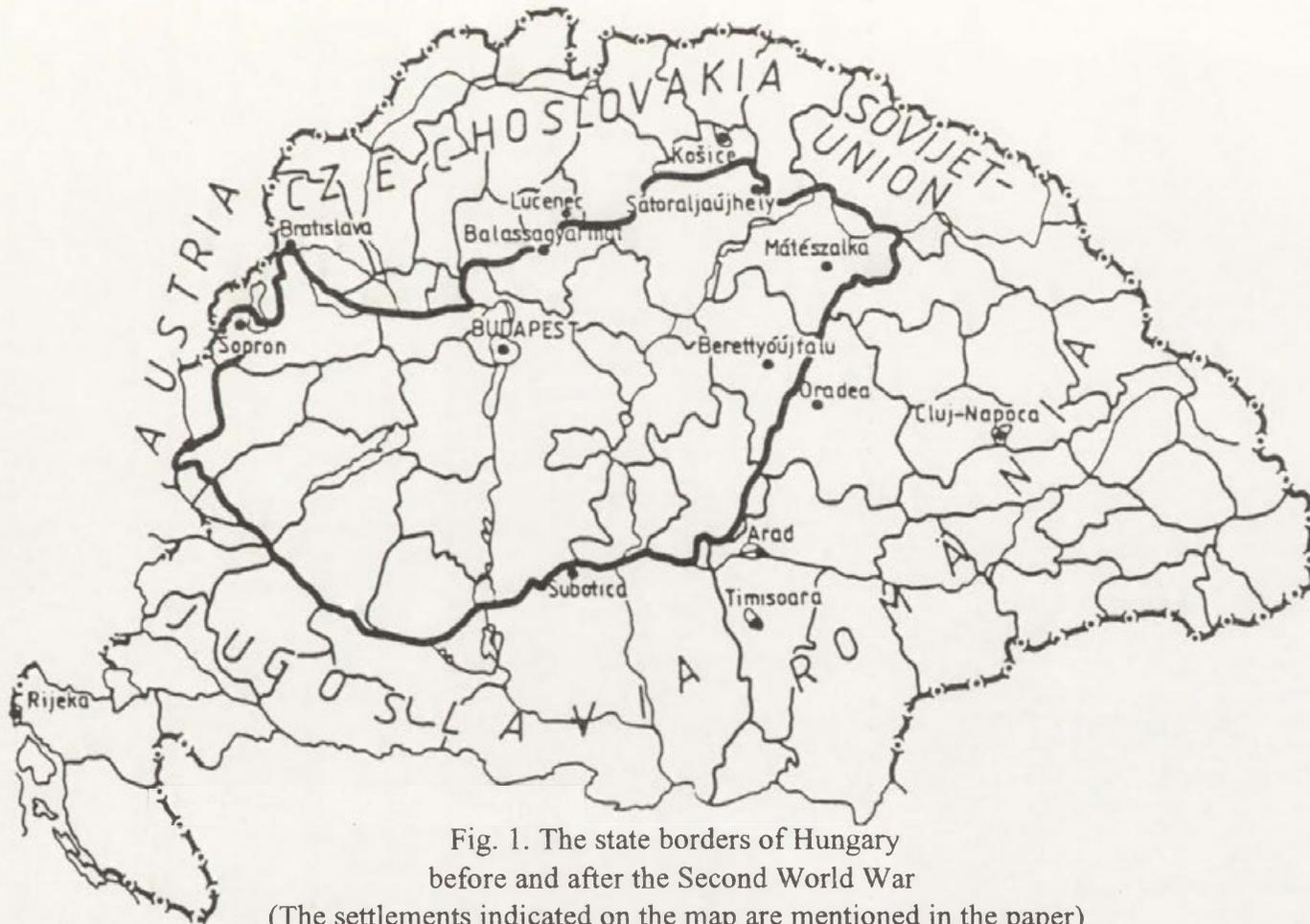


Fig. 1. The state borders of Hungary before and after the Second World War  
 (The settlements indicated on the map are mentioned in the paper)



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## **TRANSPORT NETWORK IN EUROPE**

The European political and economic system has increasingly evolved from a set of relatively independent states into a collection of interacting economies connected by means of various types of network infrastructures. Because of this transport and communications infrastructure has played a critical role in the history of Europe, not only many centuries ago but also in recent years.

The world economy is in full dynamics, especially in recent years. Traditional patterns of competition - within national borders - are being increasingly replaced by vigorous competition on a multi-national and even worldwide scale. Because of this and other factors (including the need for higher and sustained economic growth), transport in Europe has grown enormously, especially in recent years. As the supply in infrastructure - for various reasons - followed this trend only in part, existing infrastructure bottlenecks have been accentuated. This is very serious problem, since economic development and infrastructural development have always been strongly interlinked.

Transport and communications provide a stimulus for economic development and any additional economic growth is critically dependent now on the physical exchange capacity of Europe. Improvements in transport and communications systems are thus a critical success factor in generating highly significant dynamic integration effects. And that is an urgent need for such a strategic improvement.

This paper deals with infrastructure networks in Europe. Such networks may be defined here as physical infrastructure configuration related to transport and communication interactions at the European level.

The European transport scene exhibits a remarkable spectrum of diversities, conflicts and concerns among all countries. The European transport system does not exist; there is a variety of segmented systems. It is not possible to assess within reasonable limits the socio-economic losses caused by the absence of coherent networks, but it needs no imagination to recognize that such costs are formidable in a European context.

Networks in general refer to all physical infrastructure configurations related to transport and communications interactions. They are based on technical equipment, information processing and control, organization and management. The quality of services of networks has to be judged on the basis of their financial, socio-economic and environmental performance.

Networks consist of nodes and links but transport and communication networks are multi-modal and multi-functional and they extend across national borders. For this reason, a map of physical infrastructure does not tell the story of what happens on these links and at these nodes. The problems are met when trying to analyze the capacity and performance of these networks relate very often to the non-physical sphere. For this reason a broader view is taken in this paper on missing networks. The notion of missing networks refers to the absence of strategic layers or components of Europe's transport and communication infrastructure.

The demand for the network services in Europe is rapidly increasing in recent years. At the same time we observe a lack of capacity and malfunctioning in almost all components of European networks. Missing networks exist, because transport systems are developed in a segmented way, each country seeking for its own solution for each transport mode without keeping an eye on the synergetic effects of a coordinated design and use of advanced infrastructures.

In the past, the problems created by the reduced efficiency of infrastructure, caused by missing links or missing networks have been viewed as pure infrastructure bottlenecks with only two dimensions: physical infrastructure and funding. To realize the foreseen level of spatial interaction in an open Europe, more comprehensive way of looking at networks

is necessary. It should be taken in account also: logistics and informatics, institutional and organizational setting environmental impacts. The existence of these constraints has led to a growing concern for network quality. For instance, instead of extending the road network with another 100 kilometres in response to congestion - which would soon also become congested - the question is how to increase the quality of services of transport arteries. As each transporter or passenger may have different needs, different transport modes and networks should in fact have a base quality, in order to provide a free choice and to increase capacity of all networks. In some circumstances, the need for physical transport might even be reduced as the use of telecommunications is growing. In all modes and countries of Europe we observe severe shortcomings in the size and quality of networks.

The current bias towards passenger transport (e.g. high speed trains) may prove to be fatal if it reduces awareness of the forthcoming problems in the domain of goods transport. A continuation of the vast growth of freight transport by road vehicles must be expected. These increase will be amplified by the liberalization of trade in Europe. Because of these, urgent attention must be given to this area in the light of the existing bottlenecks in freight transport in Europe.

## 1. Trends

The first trend that can be isolated is the functional/spatial division of labour, which results in an increasingly complex European network of production and service units with growing share of inter-industry trade. It can be expected that this trends will be significantly reinforced by European integration. The goods produced and transported in Europe gain in value per weight. Hence the trend towards transport of high value goods will persist. Another characteristic of transport that will be increasingly asked for its flexibility. The demand in freight transport will be for small deliveries at irregular time intervals. The quality of services will depend more on reliability and less on transport speed. Overnight delivery services (already introduced in Germany) may then gain importance.

Besides these demand side trends some other developments clearly show up in goods transport. While the spread of just-in-time production there is an increase in on-line calls for goods stocked somewhere on a rolling transport vehicle. An increasing demand for informatics services in the transport sector will be the consequence. Another problem linked to just-in-time production is the problem of half empty trucks which have to take a trip because a specific load is being ordered "just in time". In view of the modal split the railway companies will be asked more and more to act as European wide suppliers of services which in addition are not restricted to their own mode but comprise door to door services.

## **2. European high speed rail networks**

High-speed travel on rail is an excellent solution for many of the passenger transport problems in Europe. The Community of European Railways Companies of the twelve EC members plus Austria and Switzerland presented in 1989 a project for a European high speed network. This project redraws the European railway network map. Such a project, in principle, introduces a network which has so far been missing. However, taking a multi-layer-multi-national perspective some problems become immediately obvious. It is true that most technical problems have been solved, but the existing solutions are national ones. The only regularly running rapid train network - the French TGV - is running on tracks exclusively for rapid passenger transport, while the German ICE is planned for both passenger and freight transport. Hence the effort of putting, the national plans for improvement of rail transport in Europe onto a map does not in itself guarantee the achievement of a European network solution. To reach such a solution, important problems have to be solved on the organizational level. It is doubtful whether a European rapid train system will ever come into being if its planning is left in the hand of the national railway companies. A solution to the incompatibility of the different national systems must be found. Otherwise the new wave will experience the same difficulties as the traditional trains with all the problems which arise at border crossings.

### 3. European common carriage

From the economic point of view the idea of separating carriage and infrastructure in high-speed rail transport is based on the idea that networks have many of the characteristics of a natural monopoly. Consequently, if competition within a given mode is to be favoured, they should be separated from the use of the infrastructure, thereby realizing a European concept of common carriage. This concept can only be realized for transport between high ranking central places in Europe. Regional and national transport will be organized at the appropriate levels.

Common carriage implies an integrative view to additions to the European train network, the closing of gaps, the retooling of certain tracks, especially with a view to the Eastern European countries.

Combined transport is often regarded as a major new development in Europe. The foreseen trend in combined transport is that the current market share of a 4% may double before the turn of the century. Major factors behind this trend are the following:

- growing congestion and costly delays in road transport;
- environmental restrictions, especially at the Alpine barrier and in densely populated areas in Europe.

It is uncertain whether the combined transport sector will be able to create sufficient and efficient capacity in time. The trend in road transport is strongly upward, whereas the trend in freight transport by rail shows signs of downward movement. The change in modal split is thus for the time being strongly in favour of road transport.

Even a doubling of the market share of combined transport will be insufficient however to cope with the foreseen strong growth of freight transport in Europe. Combined transport is likely therefore only to make a partial contribution towards solving the capacity problems in road transport.

In road transport the major problem is in fact not only one of missing networks, but also of the existence of congestion at major international traffic arteries and the problem of the Alpine barrier. The first of these problems is caused by lack of capacity on the existing network. The construction of new roads however faces environmental constraints and

seems to be only desirable and environmentally feasible in Eastern Europe. European flows of freight transport show that the cost of road haulage is considerably lower and the capacity higher than for competing modes.

#### **4. European airline system**

The European airline sector is characterized by fast dynamics. The most important trends in aviation are strong growth of aviation in the past, whereas current estimations show not signs that this pattern will change in the future. On the contrary, plans for deregulation/liberalization and the globalization of trade and industry will surely trigger additional demand for air transport. Although there was a strong growth of supply in the past, current facilities (both on the ground and in the air) show increasing signs of congestion and ground space is becoming scarcer, and extensions of this facilities will be very difficult.

The European airline system consists of a series overlapping networks. These are the product of bilateral inter-governmental agreements.

#### **5. Coastal transport and inland waterways in Europe**

Changes in the international division of labour are concomitant with a new pattern of international trade flows, especially by sea and waterways. Existing natural barriers though seem to impede the development of a European unitarian vision of inland waterways, while issues of strong competition between harbours within the European region have failed to develop the idea that they are part of a European network.

There are three different types of network: inland waterways, coastal transport, and Mediterranean transport.

From the large number of bottlenecks in this field one can mention - inter alia - lack of standardization and network integration (e.g. lack of standardized vessels in transit areas); lack of harmonization of regulations (cabotage) - also because national regulation is used to support national firms -; lack of investment and planning of new networks or upgrading existing ones; lack of investments in fleet modernization and

so on. And if new infrastructure is eventually being built - as is currently the case with the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal - both planning and investment periods are very long.

## 6. Conclusions

Instead of a systemic view, in which the transport sector would be looked at from the viewpoint of coherence and positive synergetics, policy makers and planners have tended to develop segmented solutions to emerging bottlenecks by looking for specific local or modal solutions without due regard to the interwovenness of the transport system across different regions, sectors and modes. One of the main frictions in European transport policy is the absence of a strategic view on the "wholeness" of the European transport system at all geographic levels.

The actual practice of both commodity and passenger transport is disappointing and often frustrating. Severe traffic congestion phenomena at the urban or metropolitan level, unacceptable delays in medium and long distance transport during peak hours, unsatisfactory service levels of European railway systems and public transport in general, unreliable airline connections due to limited airport capacity, and the slow technical and institutional renewal of air traffic control in Europe; all these phenomena illustrate the difficult lesson facing of the European transport sector. And there is no clear perspective for a drastic improvement of this situation. On the contrary, it is increasingly claimed that a free European market and a further deregulation of the European transport may lead to unacceptable accessibility conditions in major regions in Europe.

Another important factor will be environmental policy. In contrast to the deregulation trend regarding transport, environmental policy is critically dependent on regulations and interventions at both the supply and demand sides. In particular, technical restrictions are likely to be imposed, such as limited emission levels for motocars or maybe even a selective prohibition of the use of certain transport modes. Recently, even a plan for car-less city has been made.

Transport policy makers in most European countries find themselves in extremely complicated situations. A large number of interest groups, ranging from multi-national companies to local environmental-

ists are urging them to take action, often in quite different directions. On the one hand it has become obvious that the environment poses its limits on the volume, character and pace of the extension of transport infrastructure. On the other hand many business firms in Western Europe are concerned about their competitiveness in a global context due to an inadequate infrastructure.

For these reason Europe must improve its transport and communications infrastructure to increase its competitive power, while at the same time sufficient care should be given to environmental considerations. This raises an extra difficulty, as due care is usually incompatible with swift action. Short term solutions, as advocated by some business-oriented interest groups, tend to rely heavily on a further massive extension of the European motorway system. This option may make sense in Southern and Eastern Europe, but for Western Europe this option does not seem viable in the long run. Since supply tends to generate its own demand, network extensions beyond the level of relieving unacceptable bottlenecks will create a new era of congestion at a higher level.

The following plans for action to remove bottlenecks in transport network in Europe have to be implemented:

1) To pursue a combined transport strategy for rail and road with several layers of networks, including a system of big European freight terminals linked by block trains on a higher level, and soft technology piggyback transport facilities on a lower level. This would ask for organizational and logistic innovations on a European level.

2) To create an integrated European air traffic control system. In order to improve the capacity of the European sky traffic, corridors would have to be enlarged, air traffic control systems would have to be coordinated, and ground control technology will need improvement. In addition a coordination between the regional air traffic system and the rapid train network is needed.

3) To create a genuine European railway network. The concept of common carriage has to be realized with a European public transport agency which owns the infrastructure and coordinates the activities. Investments are necessary in terminal capacity, transshipment facilities and logistic solutions.

4) To improve the quality and use of the European network. Road capacity can be significantly revised by implementing logistic systems.

5) To invest in inland waterways and costal transport systems. A European waterway network for mass transport and containerized transport has to foresee multimodal solutions including rail and road transport.

6) To ensure a stronger market orientation in transport in Europe where infrastructure users have to pay the full social marginal cost and the same time foresee a flexible regulations in order to guarantee coordinated European solutions.



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## **THE CHANCES OF POLAND IN DEVELOPMENT OF UNCONVENTIONAL TOURISM**

Poland is one of the less visited countries in terms of the international tourism. It is strange because Poland lies almost in the centre of Europe and is easily accessible. There are 40 international roads crossing the border of Poland, 20 railway lines with passenger traffic across the borders, about 40 international flights to Poland daily and 5 ferry lines to Polish ports.

Probably the main reason why Poland is not well known was the political situation in the past. Until 1989 Poland belonged to the communist bloc of states dominated by Soviet Union. Western tourists had to have entry visas which were rather expensive. Earlier the visitors, especially the individual ones, were treated as suspicious persons. Even taking pictures was dangerous because photographs of many installations, such as bridges, railway stations, ports or post offices were forbidden.

Another restriction was the compulsory change of money in the state banks below the market rate of exchange. Practically after changing the foreign currency into Polish money it was impossible to change it back.

Now all these inconveniences disappeared. The tourists from England, Germany, France, Benelux, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries, United States and all former communist countries do not need entry visas any more. The exchange of money is free, in any bank or private exchange office at one's choice, and to a rate which is advanta-

geous for Western tourists. Actually this rate makes Poland one of the cheapest countries in the world.

Now, it seems, the main reason of insufficient tourism is the lack of information and the conviction of the low attractivity of the country. Most people going for vacation seek countries with long summer, sunny weather and warm sea. They like to spend most of the time on the beach or swimming pools.

For those people Poland is less attractive. The bathing season lasts only about 3 months and is interrupted by cloudy, rainy or cold days. The water temperature in open sea seldom exceeds 20°C. The swimming pools are rare.

But Poland has other advantages, less appreciated by ordinary tourists but more valuable for individual unconventional sightseeing. And this is first of all the Polish landscape with its variety of fields, meadows, pastures, forests, villages and towns. Poland has almost all types of landscapes which occur in Europe: maritime coasts, glacial lakes, morainic hills, plains, river valleys, loess gorges, limestone, sandstone and granite mountains.

Nearly all the area of Poland is open for tourists and practically there are no fences, wires or notice-boards to keep them away from entering private fields, meadows, and woods, unless it is an area of cultivated plants being under special care. It is an ideal country for hiking or cycling. A dense network of field and forest paths makes it easy.

The use of motor-cars should be limited to public roads only. There are many public roads running across forests, and numerous parking lots where people can leave their cars and take a walk in the forest.

Polish forests cover 28% of the total area of the country. The most widespread tree is the pine which occupies 69% of the forest area. In the mountains the pine is replaced by spruces and firs. The leaved forests, which shed the leaves in winter, occupy 22% of the forest area. Most common are oaks, beeches, birches and alders. Besides these there are also ashes, maples, sycamores, hornbeams and elms. All the larger forests are state owned. They are open for public with the exception of small areas which are natural reservations or refuges of wild animals. It is allowed to pick berries and mushrooms (besides national parks).

Outside the forests one can often meet single trees or groups of them, such as willows, poplars and lime-trees. Picturesque are the alleys rows of trees along the highways. Another type of grounds which favours the tourism are the meadows and pastures. They cover 13% of the land, and the largest are generally along the river valleys. Most meadows and pastures are not fenced and may be crossed freely by tourists. They are often used for picnics or camping, actually.

Even the cultivated grounds are accessible and can attract the visitors because of the variety of crops and the many picturesque field paths. It's worth noticing that Polish agriculture was the only one in the communist bloc that remained private, with domination of small farms. The average size of a private farm is only 7 hectares and it is usually divided into small plots of different crops. Thus, the landscape is manifold, it looks just like patchwork of different colours. Single trees and bushes add greatly to the variety of the landscape and heaps of stones often mark the boundaries of ownership.

Northern part of Poland presents a postglacial landscape with morainic hills and lakes. No other country in Europe, besides Scandinavia and northern Russia, has so many lakes as Poland. There are 9300 lakes of more than 1 hectare surface. Most of them are surrounded by forests, trees or bushes. The largest lakes in Masuria have over 100 km<sup>2</sup>.

Numerous lakes form chains along rivers or glacial valleys. They are convenient waterways for canoes, boats and yachts. The same can be said about rivers that may also be safely used as waterways as there is hardly any shipping and very few dams and sluices. On the Vistula, for instance, tourist shipping is possible on a length of 900 km. It is attractive because the river has preserved its natural character and beauty of its islands, sandbanks, sandy beaches and osier-beds. The tributaries of the Vistula, the rivers San, Pilica, Bug and Narew have also preserved their natural character and their waters are cleaner than the Oder and its tributaries.

Southern Poland offers good opportunities for mountain and upland hiking. In the upland zone the typical landmarks are rocky hills, often crowned with castles or their ruins. The rocks - mostly limestones - form bizarre figures. Inside there are caves, in some of which stalagmites and stalactites have been found as well as remnants of prehistoric animals.

The mountain zone extends along the southern border of Poland and is 50-80 km wide. The western part, the Sudetes, consists of different rocks which form different shapes of mountains. Most attractive are the rocky labyrinths in sandstones. The eastern part, the Carpathians, is higher and larger on the Polish territory but more even in its character, it consists of sandstones and slakes. The hills are easy to access, cultivated up to about 1000 m above sea level.

An exception are the Tatra and Pieniny Mountains. The small range of the Tatras, divided between Poland and Slovakia, reaches 2500 m above sea level, is built of limestones and granites and has typical Alpine forms. Even a smaller range of the Pieniny, built of limestones, is famous for the gorge of the river Dunajec. Special raft flows are organized here for tourists.

Most attractive and valuable areas have been declared national parks, where the economic activity and traffic are limited or forbidden. In Poland there are now 19 national parks of a total surface of 2435 km<sup>2</sup>. Besides, there are less strictly protected 81 landscape parks and 251 areas of protected landscape, scattered all over the country.

Poland can also be attractive for its cultural and historical values. In this economically less developed country many customs and techniques have survived, which in Western Europe or United States already disappeared. Poland may play the role of a historical museum in natural scale.

Polish small peasants' farms resemble West European farms from the beginning of this century. The farmers grow different crops and keep cattle, pigs and poultry, some of them horses. They are used in small farms for field work instead of tractors. Many farmers have not got cars and they use horse carts as means of transport.

Extremely picturesque are the markets in small towns where the peasants bring their products for sale. There are stands with grain, fruits, vegetables and meat beside living animals, vans and horse carts which are also used as pitches. Earlier the village people used to wear their traditional regional costumes, actually they have survived only in some regions and are used on Sundays and during church holidays.

In the country and in small towns one can also find ancient craftsmen: smiths, wheelwrights and coopers. Among the country people there

are self-made artists perfect in wood sculpturing and making pottery. Women specialize in weaving kilims and lace works.

Ancient techniques may be found as well in many industrial estates. In numerous glass manufactures each piece is blowed separately, similarly in the factories of China each ceramic pot is formed individually. In other plants metal tools are made in the open fire. Some textile factories are equipped with machines dating from the beginning of this century. Unfortunately, the old windmills and water-mills are closed, and very little have remained of them.

The old technics is used on some railway routes. Several steam engines, 40 or 50 years old, still haul some local passenger trains. Hundreds of steam engines stand on side tracts as a reserve, and this is surely the biggest number in Europe. Some of them are used for special purposes as museum trains, meant for tourists. Besides standard railways there exist about 20 separate networks of narrow gauge railways.

Poland was several times occupied by enemies and destroyed. And yet many historical monuments have remained in good condition or have been reconstructed. In numerous places one can find old buildings, most of them in baroque and classicistic style, less frequently in Renaissance, Gothic or Romanesque style. The majority of historical buildings, castles and palaces house public institutions, such as schools, offices, museums, exhibition and concert halls. In many localities the only historical building is the church, usually intensively frequented on Sundays.

The number of museums exceeds 560, among them 161 regional ones, 84 historical and 71 art galleries. They present not only Polish culture, bur also foreign masterpieces. The ethnographic museums show the life in Poland in past time, some of them have outdoor extension in the form of Skansen, where old village buildings have been gathered.

Most historical monuments may be found in cities and towns. Altogether there are 851 localities which have the administrative status of a town. Among them about 550 were founded already in the medieval times. Most of them have preserved their ancient market square, though now often converted into a lawn or park, and the grid of old narrow streets in the historical quarter. Some small towns are still surrounded by medieval walls, in most towns the walls were completely or partly de-

molished during the 19th c., but their line is still visible in the town plan. Now the walls are, in many cases, replaced by trees and lawns.

Also the outskirts of the cities are covered by extensive parks and forests so that the urban inhabitants can have a close contact with the nature. An unique situation is around Warsaw: from the boundary of the city a national park extends, 50 km long, with forests, dunes, meadows, marshes and wild animal refuges; an ideal area for hiking, with no automobile traffic.

So in a nutshell, Poland may be recommended as a country with much advantages, where various types of tourism are possible, among them hiking, cycling, motor-car and motor-cycle sightseeing, canoeing, boating, yachting, angling, horse-riding, hunting, mountaineering and exploration of caves.

But even more than for typical tourists, Poland is interesting for unconventional tourism, for people who do not seek sunny beaches and swimming pools but want to learn something about the country and its people, their life, occupations, customs and culture. They should not stay in the international hotels and restaurants of the big cities, but go to ordinary people, to smaller towns and villages, to observe the countryside and the nature not changed and polluted by aggressive economy. This is the chance of Poland which remained a rather backward country, different from the over-industrialized, over-invested and congested countries in Western Europe.

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## **TRANSFORMATIONS IN POLISH RETAILING IN THE YEARS 1989-1991**

In the year 1982 in Poland there started the so-called economical reform, which mainly based on operations simulating a rationalization of the country economy, not aiming however on its real improvement, for which the dominating in East and Central Europe political doctrine did not allow. This apparent reform nevertheless, brought about in services a certain liberalisation of the existing regulations concerning their organization principles. This allowed for a more free activity in private distribution. The number of private enterprises in retailing rose in Poland from 21 thousand in 1980, to 37 thousand in 1985. In the following years however, the growth rate of private retailing diminished (Table 1). In result, the organizational and property structure of Polish retailing remained unchanged, the same as it was about the year 1980, dominated by monopolistic in their essence state owned and semi-cooperative organizations, in reality controlled also by the state. This socialized sector dominated in retailing both in cities and in the country. Private retail enterprises at the end of 1989, i.e. half a year after the abolishment of the *ancien regime* constituted only 28.8% of all retail enterprises existing in the country. It should also be mentioned that most of the private retail enterprises were localized in cities, while in the country they were a rarity. Since the beginning of the year 1990 there began a process of demopolisation, restructuring and privatization of Polish economy, comprising also distribution and which in a relatively short period completely changed the situation as described above.

## 1. Demonopolization, restructuring and privatization of the distribution

The collapse, fast above all expectations, of the totalitarian rules in Poland after the parliamentary election in June 1989, brought about a necessity of a decision on the political economic future of the country. The decision was univocal, especially in respect of the economy. To improve it meant an immediate departure from the so-called commanding-and-distributive system of management and a turn towards the market economy. It was much simpler however to undertake such a decision than to implement it. For the country was unprepared for such changes. There were missing both, the legal foundations for them, as well as private capitals. The existing legal system made any basic transformation difficult, while existing private financial resources were inadequate for the transformations needed. At the beginning, therefore, it was necessary to build a new legal basis for the transformations aimed. The amendment of the bill of cooperatives in January 1990, the first important step towards it, abolished the still obligatory home wide cooperative unions being *de facto* monopolistic associations allowing the state authorities for an absolute control of activities of cooperatives. Together with the anti-monopolistic bill liquidating among others also the state monopoly on foreign trade, as well as for the wholesale and distribution of fuels, vehicles, textiles, etc., the mentioned amendment became a basis for the demonopolisation and restructuring of Polish retailing. The liquidation of the central cooperative unions was by no means accepted without hesitation, for it deprived cooperatives of a protective governmental umbrella. It was true in the respect of both: their responsibility of decisions undertaken, and of possible state subsidies allowing them for different activities not directly connected with the main one. The amendment bringing real autonomy to cooperatives deprived them at the same time from their monopoly on different activities and extorted admission of competitors. With the pression on keeping the economic calculus this forced cooperatives to rationalize their activities.

The amendment of the bill on economic activity and the bill of privatization of state owned enterprises, both resolved in the year 1990, formed the ground for the so-called small privatization which contained also distribution. An essential control means of the process of privatiza-

tion of the distribution became also a new law of premisses, which replaced the old officially regulated rents by free ones, settled by the landowner. The very progress of privatization was a double lined one. The first one represented a process of taking over shops premisses by private entrepreneurs from the socialized sector, while the other - an opening of new shops and stands. There were many obstacles in the taking over of premisses. The process is far from being completed, therefore. Until the end of April 1991 from the country total of 124 thousand of socialized retailing units existing at the end of 1989 there have been taken over only about 39 thousand, i.e. about 31%. There were two reasons for that. First of all, the hitherto users of shops defended their assets assisted by unclear ownership status of premisses which made the rationalization of rents difficult. The second reason was the size of premisses. Modern shops, localized in city centres, as built for the socialized sector, are in general very large. In case of new fixed free rents, they are too expensive for most of new entrepreneurs undertaking retail activity. The more such big premisses had a city, the smaller in it is the progress of privatization. In Warsaw for example, in which most of the city had to be reconstructed after the Second World War, the size of shop premisses is generally big what caused that till the end of April 1991 privatization of shops comprised only 20% of their total number in the socialized sector. At the same time in the cities of Upper Silesian Coal Basin where the old pre-socialistic network of shop premisses has been preserved, private retailers took over 55% of the previously socialized shops. Low percent of shops taken over by private retailers was also typical for regions less developed economically. The process discussed had however a very limited influence on the number of actually working retailing spots. The partition of big shops into smaller was usually balanced by the falling out of use of some others. A tremendous rise of the number of private retailing spots resulted from the opening of absolutely new enterprises. It based not only on the abolishment of the previously existing legal barriers, but also on the rising volume of consumer goods supplied. The abolishment of the state monopoly on foreign trade and wholesale, together with the internal exchangeability of the Polish Zloty into foreign currencies caused a development of new distribution channels by way of which started to flow into country streams of foreign goods, among which many such ones, which previously were obtainable only by owners of hard currencies. The rising supply of consumer goods resulted also from the cri-

sis of the foreign trade with the ones Comecon countries, especially with the USSR and the flow to the home market also goods previously exported.

New retail enterprises, where it was possible, opened their selling spots in existing shop premisses unused by the socialized sector or in flats adopted for retailing activity. Where such opportunities were missing and local market was absorbent, there appeared pathological phenomena in a form of the in-street retailing. The bigger was the city, the more developed was such type of retailing. In Warsaw, for example, in the Parade Square, the central one of the city, there developed the biggest probably in Europe bazaar, on which a trade has been carried through not only of goods from different countries, but also by representants of different nations, both European and Asiatic. Before the action aiming at an establishing of control over the bazaar, in June 1991, I have registered on it about 1200 permanent selling spots, of which about a thousand were units dealing exclusively or mainly with non-food products. The retailing activity was carried through in timber pavilions or in the so-called jaws i.e. big metal cases disposed vertically, with an opening front, when lifted during working hours, forming a roof over the counter. Stands under tents were the third kind of selling spots. Above all there were numerous persons engaged in hawker's trade or selling goods on garden tables arranged every day in a different place. The number of this group of retailers may be estimated for the weekend days on several hundreds, of which about a half were foreigners.

On the eastern side of the Parade Square, on footpaths along the row of the biggest department stores in the country, the "Centrum" stores, until the end of February 1991 there had been also trading more than 500 sellers of which about 200 had permanent stands, mostly in the form of the earlier described jaws. At the same time, on the southern end of this row, in a subway under the main street crossing of the city, there were active another 200 retailers, mostly hawkers. Together on this huge bazaar in the climax of its activity there worked more than 2500 selling spots, i.e. twice as much as in Warsaw till that moment previously socialized shops had been made private. Above all this bazaar was not the only market in Warsaw. It is necessary to add that the market dealers without a permanent stand were active without any licence. They payed no taxes: neither the turnover none the market one. This became the main reason

of the efforts to close the bazaar. The other reasons were the epidemiological ones. In on other city in Poland rose the in-street retailing to such a scale as in Warsaw.

## 2. Present potential of Polish retailing

The record of the Central Statistical Office says, that in the end of 1990 there were in Poland more than 469 thousand licenced selling spots, i.e. 88% more than the year before (Table 1). At the same time when the number of socialized selling spots dropped by 30%, their number in private sector grew almost fourfold. From a marginal position private retailing advanced to the dominating one managing in 1990 more than 73% of all existing in the country selling spots. Not everywhere however in the country was the rate of privatization equal. In its Western part not less than 70% of all selling units were already under private control, while in some regions of its Eastern part the share of private selling spots rarely reached the value of 60% (Fig. 1). As the Table 1 shows, in private retailing regular shops made up to only 44.5% of all selling spots, while in the socialized one - 67.9%. Pavilions, kiosks and stands made the remaining part. The above quoted data do not contain however the selling spots of wilde in-street and market dealers neither registered by the local, nor by the revenue authorities. Since 1988 there are also missing reliable data on the branch structure of retail enterprises and on their trading space. Incomparable also because of permanent inflation are the data on the size of turnover. Therefore the situation described below concerns unfortunately only numbers of officially registered selling spots, devoid also of precise information on their branch structure.

In the year 1985 there existed in Poland 60 selling spots per each 10 thousand inhabitants, i.e. similarly as in the then existing German Democratic Republic, in Hungary and also in the United Kingdom. It means that one selling spot existed per every 168 inhabitants. Already at that time Polish retailing was very comminuted. Privatization brought about a further comminution. At the end of 1990 there existed in Poland 124 retailing spots per 10 thousand inhabitants, i.e. they were more numerous than in most of the economically developed countries. Larger number of spelling spots per 10 thousand inhabitants had at that time only Spain. To the small size of the retailing spots in Poland indicated

also the volume of their turnover. In the socialized sector of retailing, represented then by 26.3% of the country total number of retailing spots, the volume of turnover amounted to 42.8% of the country total. This gave for one selling spot a value of 411.4 million Zloties, while in private retailing the turnover per one selling spot amounted only to 196 million Zloties. The regional distribution of retailing selling spots was equally deversified as the index of privatization (Fig. 2). In the Western regions of the country there were usually more than 120 spots per 10 thousand inhabitants. In areas highly urbanized and industrialized even more than 140 spots. At the same time in the Eastern regions of the country, in which the share of privately owned selling spots was lower than the country mean, per 10 thousand inhabitants there usually existed less than 120 spots, often even less than 100. This allows for a formulation of a conclusion that the density of retailing selling spots depends nowadays on the level of privatization of retail trade.

The incomplete data on the branch structure of retailing in Poland, the only one existing (Table 2) show that in 1990 in the socialized sector of retailing as much as 65% of shops were selling foodstuff only. In 1985 only 38%. In private retailing in 1988 food shops constituted 69.4% of their total, while the non-food ones about 30%. Shops selling a mixed profile of goods constituted in the socialized sector about 23%. In private sector they were very rare. Nowadays as observation indicates, shops of this type are much more frequent, especially in small towns and villages and also on the bazaars. They are particularly numerous among the non-licenced selling spots. On this ground and on the basis of frequent appearance of private food shops one may estimate that the share of non-food ones in private retailing is now much lower than previously. There is an additional characteristic of the situation in private retailing at the end of 1990: it was dealing mostly with imported goods and luxury products while the socialized sector distributed home products mainly. During the years 1991-1992 the privatization of the retailing network continued. Directly state owned enterprises ceased to exist, while the size of the cooperative sector became much smaller. At the end of 1992 in retailing there dominated the private sector with a larger share of cooperative enterprises only in rural areas.

Polish distribution experienced in the discussed period a general transition from a situation dominated by the socialized sector to a normal

tion causes a comminutement of the retailing network on the one hand and on the other, the appearance of pathological phenomena in form of uncontrolled bazaars and wilde in-streets retailing. At the same time however, there takes place a true reform of the economy which made distribution free from the state monopolies as well as caused a tremendous growth in number of retailing spots, and also, what is much more important, a liquidation of the earlier permanent deficit of consumer goods and the predominance of demand over supply. In this way Polish distribution changed into an ordinary economic activity bringing profits to dealers and satisfaction of demand on consumer goods to population.

Table 1

Selling spots in Polish retailing in the years 1985-1990

Year	Total number of spots	socialised sector			' private sector		
		total	spots	total trading space, thousands of sq. meters	total	shops	total trading space, thousands of sq. meters
1985 total	219,214	182,214	121,394	13,269	37,545	20,690	798
cities	*	111,139	74,746	9,750	*	*	*
villages	*	71,075	46,648	3,519	*	*	*
1988 total	226,993	183,928	125,821	14,333	43,065	24,065	*
cities	*	114,457	78,925	*	*	*	*
villages	*	69,471	46,340	*	*	*	*
1989 total	249,493	177,691	124,071	14,414	71,802	*	*
cities	*	111,357	77,731	*	*	*	*
villages	*	66,334	46,340	*	*	*	*
1990 total	469,709	123,415	83,836	*	346,294	153,589	*
cities	*	*	47,473	*	*	*	*
villages	*	*	36,363	*	*	*	*

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Central Statistical Office for 1986, 1989 and 1990; Department of Home Market of the Central Statistical Office, data for 1990

Table 2

Shops according branches 1985-1990

	1985	1988	1989	1990
Total number of shops	142,084	149,893	*	237,425
socialised retailing total	121,394	125,821	124,071	83,836
shops selling:				
foodstuff	46,544	*	74,287	55,039
nonfoodstuff goods	46,601	*	*	*
mixed goods	28,249	*	*	*
private retailing total	20,690	24,064	*	153,589
shops selling:				
foodstuff	6,281	7,247	*	*
nonfoodstuff goods	14,302	16,693	*	*
mixed goods	107	125	*	*

Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Central Statistical Office for 1986, 1989 and 1990;

Department of Home Market of the Central Statistical Office, data for 1990

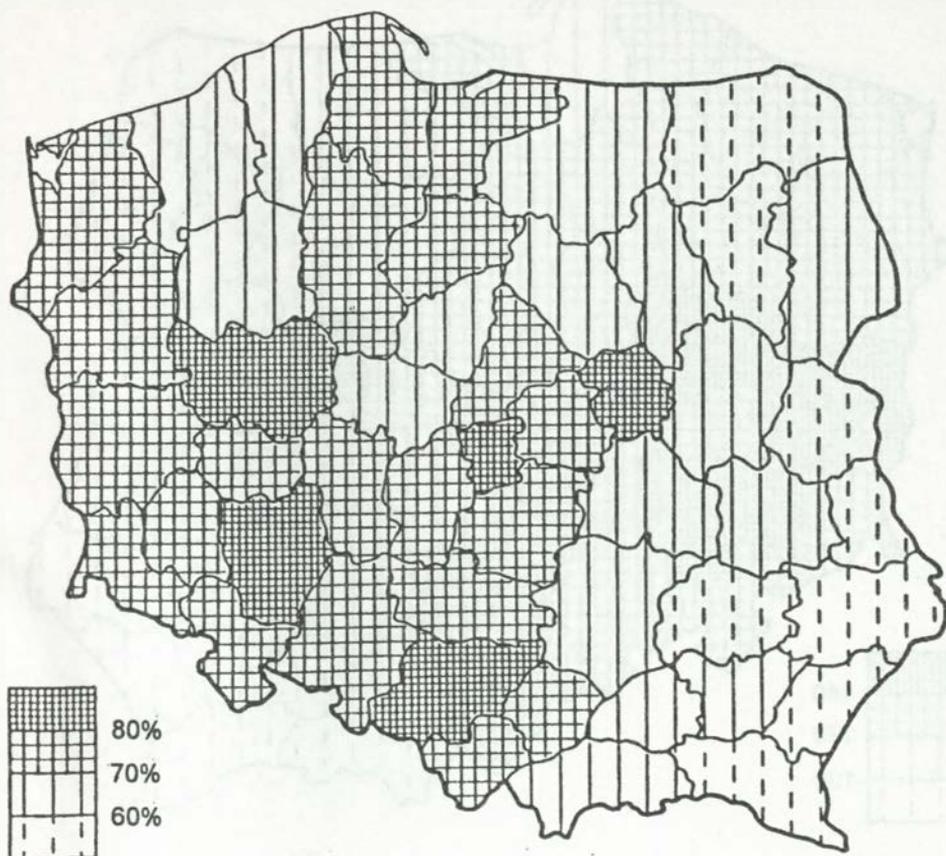


Fig. 1. Share of private retailing spots in Poland according to voivodships (31.12.1990)

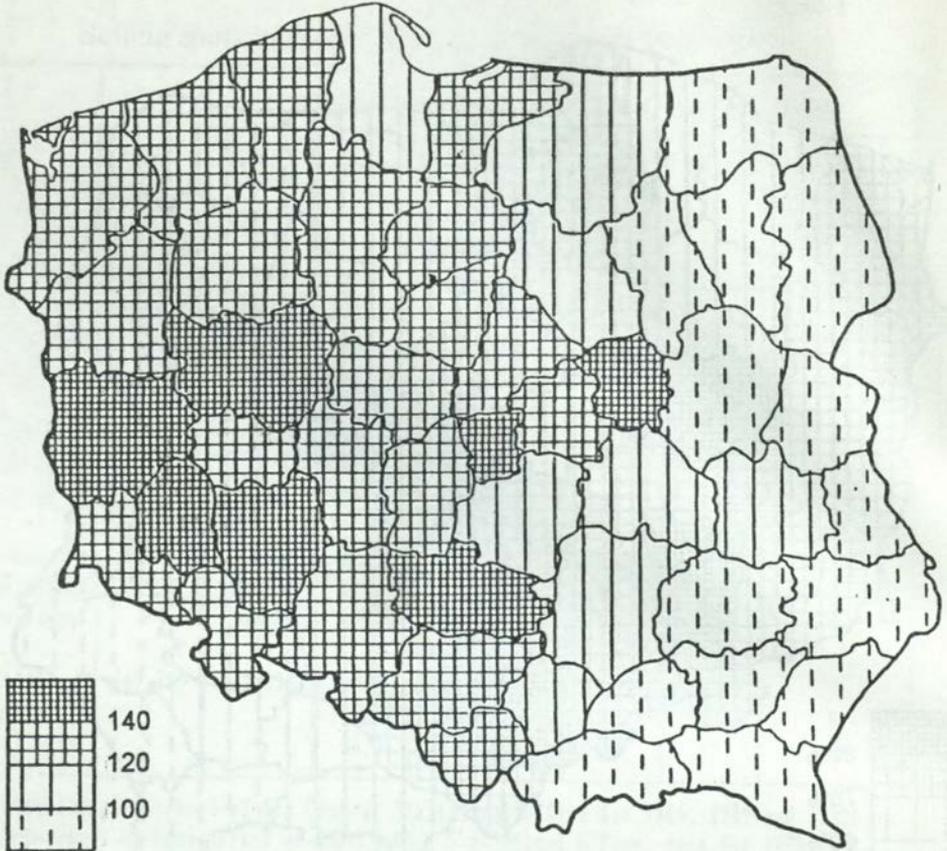


Fig. 2. Number of retailing spots in Poland per 10 thousand inhabitants according to voivodhips (31.12.1990)



