

DOES HISTORY MATTER? DEVELOPMENT DIFFERENCES IN POLAND

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Re-thinking geography after the digital turn:
changes and challenges in Central Europe

The 12th Polish-Czech-Slovak geographical seminar

Łochów, Poland 12-14 June 2019



New regional policy challenges in shaping
the socio-economic development factors
of less developed regions

NCN PROJECT(2015/19/B/HS5/00012)

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Agenda

1. Introduction
2. Relict boundaries and their significance for spatial differences in development processes in Central and Eastern Europe
3. Relict boundaries in contemporary Poland
4. Socio-economic development at the commune level
5. Spatial diversity of political preferences
6. Spatial interdependencies
7. Summary





Introduction



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Introduction

- a lot of path-breaking, historical events and development shocks which affect the present differences in European socio-economic space,
- **historical events are an important determinant differentiating development opportunities**

(Huntington, 1998; Prescott and Triggs, 2008)

- Central and Eastern Europe is unique in this respect (great number and scale of war conflicts and their consequences in the form of changes in the political borders)

- importance of historical determinants of development is currently **increasing in the absence of satisfactory effects of cohesion policy interventions**, both at the EU level and within individual Member States

(Fratesi and Rodríguez-Pose, 2016)





Introduction

- increasingly evident relationship between political preferences and the level of economic and social development, which are often based on common historical conditions

(Rodríguez-Pose, 2017)

- assumption: so-called relict borders represent the historical systems which are well-established in social and economic life, and which determine to a large extent the current spatial differences in the level of social and economic development and political preferences.

- as a result, the spatial structure of political support becomes an indicator of the economic and social situation determined by historical conditions





Introduction

AIM

Presentation and assessment the impact of historical factors on the differences in socio-economic development of Poland at the local level

SPATIAL
SCOPE

2478 communes (local level)

TIME
FRAMES

2004-2016



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Introduction

RESEARCH ALGORITHM – 5 STAGES

STAGE
1

a review of the research on the relict boundaries and their importance in the spatial differentiation of socio-economic developments in Central and Eastern Europe

STAGE
2

discussion on division of Poland's today's territory by the relict borders;

STAGE
3

analysis of differentiation of the level of social and economic development of local units, taking into account the map of relict borders



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Introduction

RESEARCH ALGORITHM – 5 STAGES

STAGE
4

description of the spatial distribution of political preferences in the system of local units in the context of historical conditions

STAGE
5

discussion on regularities and relationships between the relict borders and the spatial distribution of the socio-economic development level and political preferences



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Relict boundaries and their importance in the spatial differentiation of socio-economic development in Central and Eastern Europe



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Relict boundaries in Central and Eastern Europe

EXAMPLES OF SUB-AREAS WHICH ARE THE SUBJECT OF RESEARCHES CONCERNING RELICT BOUNDARIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

UKRAINE

an example of a country divided by a developmental gap, which is especially caused by history

(Huntington, 1998; Magocsi, 2010; Putrenko, 2013)

FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

impact of phantom borders between various national groups within a single federal state on its rapid disintegration during the transformation of the economic and political system

(Biondich, 2011; Gow, 2000; Mungiu-Pippidi, 2006; Rossos, 2008)

TRANSYLVANIA

conflict-generation potential of changes in the administrative divisions of the area

(Kürti, 2001)



EXAMPLES OF SUB-AREAS WHICH ARE THE SUBJECT OF RESEARCHES CONCERNING RELICT BOUNDARIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

SLOVAKIA

Czech and Slovak territories, separated in administrative terms in 1993 - different ways of the spatial diversity of socio-economic processes determined by the persistence of previous divisions.

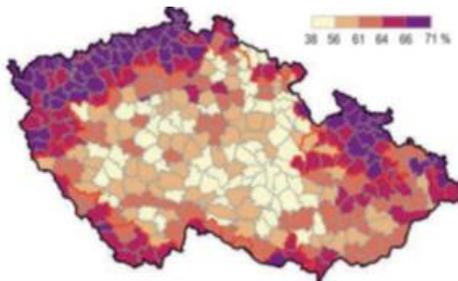
(Buček, 2006; Daněk, 1995)

CZECH REPUBLIC

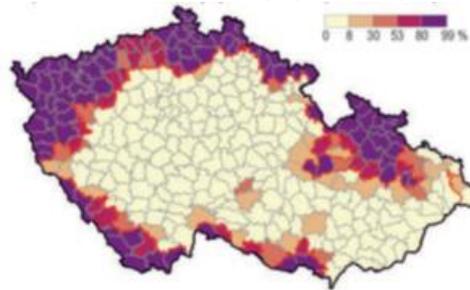
relict borders of the historical Sudetenland within the borders of the present-day Czech Republic manifests itself in different electoral behaviours.

(Šimon, 2015)

Electoral non-turnout in the presidential election (2013)



Share of the German population (1930)



Area, which after World War II experienced **mass repatriation and was inhabited by migrant population**, is characterized by a **much lower election turnout** in comparison with regions which have not experienced population resettlement.

Source: Šimon (2015, p. 144).





Relict boundaries in contemporary Poland



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POLAND:

- its external borders have undergone **frequent changes**,
- a very good example of the **formation and persistence of relict boundaries**,
- lack of independence for a period of **123 years** (1795-1918),
- (I)** Polish territory was divided among three European powers: **Prussia, Russian Empire and Austria**,
- (II)** the borders of the **Second Republic of Poland** formed after **regaining independence** and in force during the interwar period (1918-1939)



Source: own study.





Socio-economic development at the commune level



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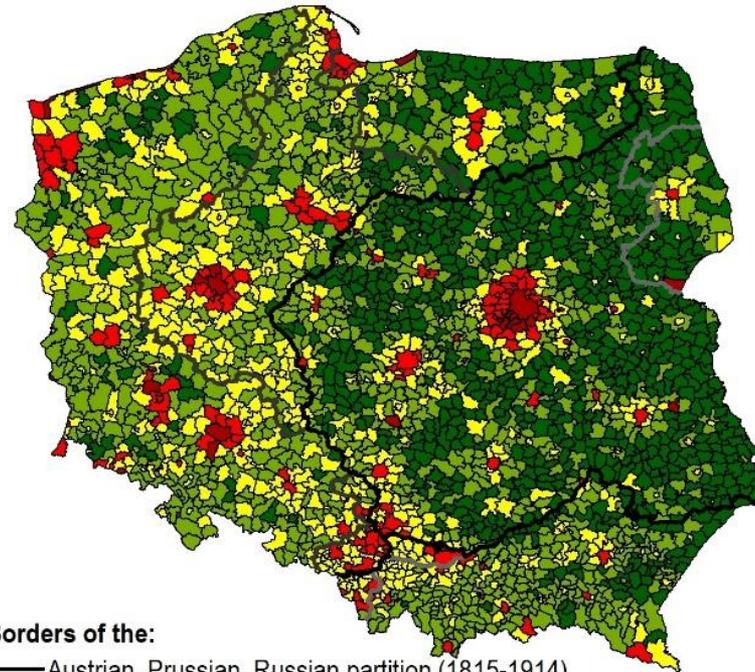
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THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNES LOCATED IN PARTICULAR PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, FUNCTIONING UNTIL 1918 IN VARIOUS POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, IS EVIDENT IN CONTEMPORARY DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

development level	Austrian partition		Prussian partition		Russian partition		Total	
	total		total		total			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
very high	0	0,0	16	1,6	12	1,1	28	1,1
high	22	6,2	97	9,6	63	5,6	182	7,3
average	97	27,5	341	33,9	177	15,8	615	24,8
low	172	48,7	433	43,0	304	27,2	909	36,7
very low	62	17,6	119	11,8	563	50,3	744	30,0
sum	353	100,0	1006	100,0	1119	100,0	2478	100,0



Development level:

- very high
- high
- average
- low
- very low

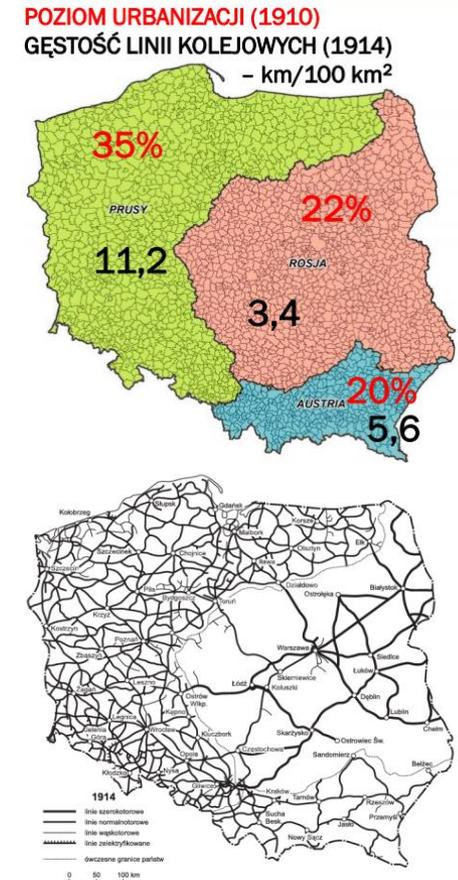
Borders of the:

- Austrian, Prussian, Russian partition (1815-1914)
- autonomous units in Austrian partition and Grodno Governorate in Russian partition (~1914)
- Second Republic of Poland (1922-1939)



Socio-economic development at the commune level

- The differences may stem from over one hundred years of operation of individual communes in different political and economic systems.
- Importantly, the time of partitions coincided with the first industrial revolution in Europe and with the dynamic growth of new sectors of the economy.
- **The area partitioned between the three superpowers was greatly diversified as to the level of urbanisation and infrastructure development (Jelonek, 1967, Taylor, 2007).**
 - In the **Prussian** partition, in 1910, **35%** of the population lived in towns and the density of railway lines in 1914 was **11.2 km/100 km²**.
 - In the **Russia**: **22%** and **3.4 km/100 km²**.
 - In the **Austrian** only **20%** and **5.6 km/100 km²**.



Ryc. 6. Sieć kolejowa w roku 1914 na obecnym terytorium Polski
 Źródła: (1) Koleje Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1925); (2) T. Lijewski, S. Kozłowski (1995).





Socio-economic development at the commune level

APART FROM THE CURRENT LEVEL OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE TERRITORIES WITHIN THE BORDERS OF THE FORMER PARTITIONS DIFFER TODAY ALSO IN THE FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE OF TERRITORIAL UNITS (INDEPENDENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS).

- In the territories formerly annexed by **Prussia**, relative to the other partitions, there is the biggest number of urban communes (58%), urban-rural communes (50%) and rural-urban ones (56%).
- In the former **Prussian** partition the participation of rural communes is relatively the lowest (47%) in the structure of this area
- In the former **Russian** partition the participation of such communes is the highest – close to 74%

Partition		urban	urban-rural	rural-urban	rural	total
AUSTRIA	Number	3	32	112	206	353
	% of the column	3.90	12.96	17.23	13.70	14.25
	% of the line	0.85	9.07	31.73	58.36	
PRUSSIA	Number	45	124	363	474	1006
	% of the column	58.44	50.20	55.85	31.52	40.60
	% of the line	4.47	12.33	36.08	47.12	
RUSSIA	Number	29	91	175	824	1119
	% of the column	37.66	36.84	26.92	54.79	45.16
	% of the line	2.59	8.13	15.64	73.64	
Total	Number	77	247	650	1504	2478
	% of the line	3.11	9.97	26.23	60.69	



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Spatial diversity of political preferences



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Spatial diversity of political preferences

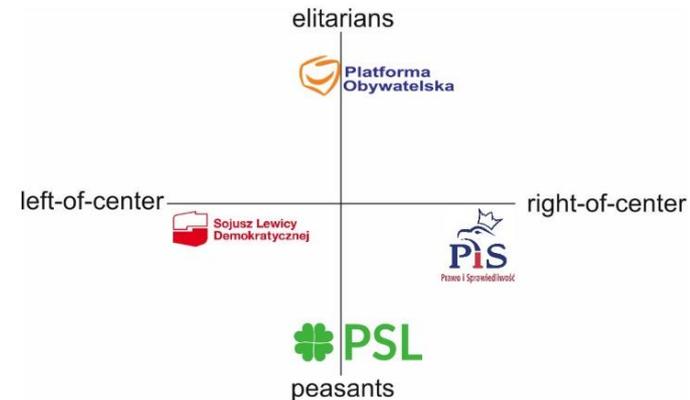
ANALYSES OF THE DIVERSITY OF POLITICAL PREFERENCES IN POLAND ON A REGIONAL AND LOCAL SCALE INDICATE VERY SIGNIFICANT AND PERSISTENT DISPROPORTIONS IN ELECTORAL DECISIONS (ZARYCKI, 2015; KOWALSKI, 2016; GRABOWSKI, 2018).

- Poland belongs to the group of four countries, next to Romania, Spain and Ukraine, where the historical past continues to exert a significant impact on the sustainability of the spatial diversity of voting results (Haydukiewicz, 2011)
- Analysis of the results of elections held in Poland since 1989 indicates the persistence of relict boundaries as to political preferences (Grabowski, 2018)
- This means that the structure of electoral support in neighbouring municipalities does not differ significantly from each other provided the administrative units concerned lie within the same former partition. There are marked differences between neighbouring administrative units located within areas which formerly belonged to different partitions.



Spatial diversity of political preferences

- studies show that, in a generalised perspective, the inhabitants of the former **Prussian** partition are more willing to support liberal parties (left-wing, modern), while the inhabitants of the former **Russian or Austrian** partitions tend to vote for conservative, right-wing parties (Matykowski, 2007; Zarycki, 2015)



„...division in Poland into a Western part – more pragmatic but less sophisticated in terms of cultural ambitions, and a South-Eastern part – more backward and rural in economic terms but having higher intellectual ambitions, possibly influenced by intelligentsia dominated social elites...” (Zarycki, 2015, s. 121).

- different political preferences, related to a higher level of support for liberal parties, can be observed in the strongly urbanised (i.e. with a higher level of development) areas of the former Russian and Austrian partitions and in the autonomous units of those partitions.



Spatial diversity of political preferences

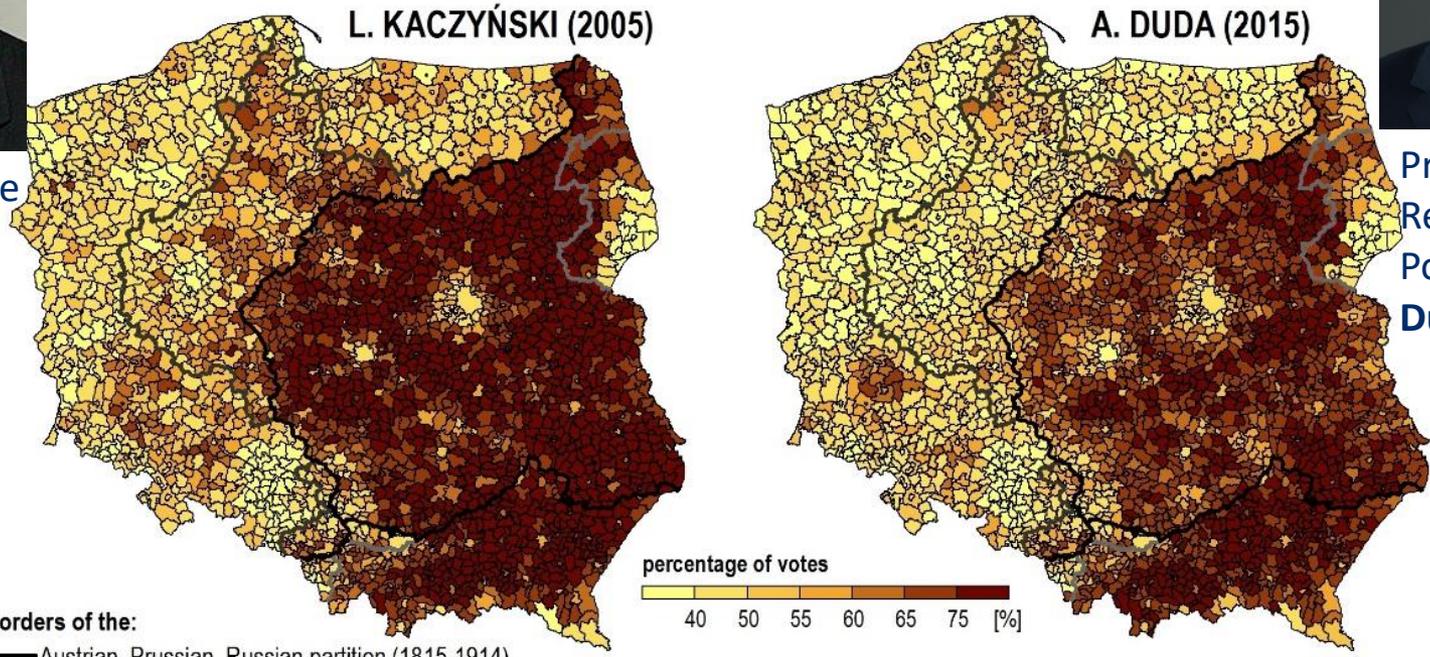
Level of political support and layout of relict boundaries the second round of the presidential elections in 2005 and 2015 for the victorious candidates representing the conservative-right electorate



President of the Republic of Poland: **Lech Kaczyński**



President of the Republic of Poland: **Andrzej Duda**



- Borders of the:**
- Austrian, Prussian, Russian partition (1815-1914)
 - autonomous units in Austrian partition and Grodno Governorate in Russian partition (~1914)
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Spatial interdependencies



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THE PROCEDURE OF REGRESSION MODELLING – 3 STAGES

STAGE 1

simple and multiple regression method was used, in which structural parameters of the model were estimated with the use of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) method

STAGE 2

spatial regression models were used, in particular the Spatial Lag Models (SLM) and Spatial Error Models (SEM) models (Anselin 1988, Rogerson 2001)

STAGE 3

local models of spatial regression were used in the form of Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) (Fotheringham et al. 2002)





Spatial interdependencies

Wartość współczynników korelacji między zmiennymi

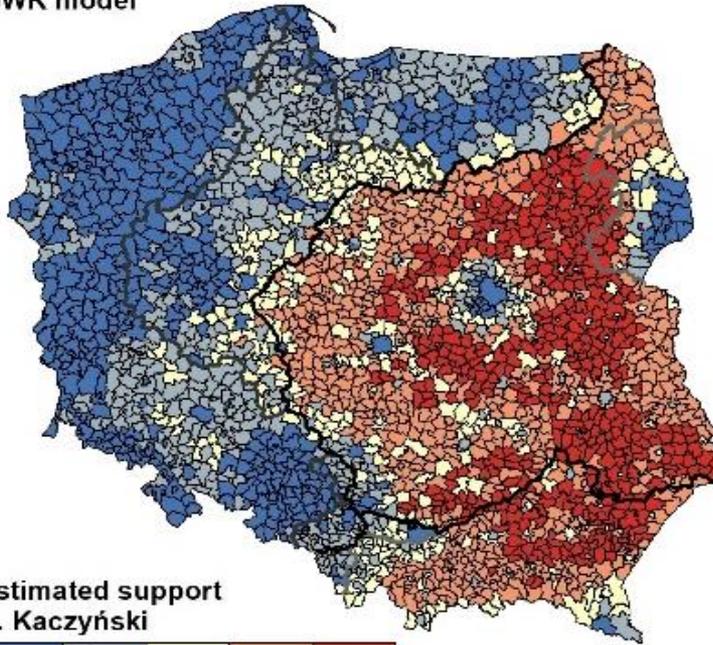
	AUST	PRUS	RUS	ZAB3	IIRP	LLxx	SYNT	TADM	TFUN
KACZ	0.204	-0.716	0.564	-0.684	0.603	-0.551	-0.557	-0.421	-0.489
DUDA	0.349	-0.733	0.478	-0.647	0.546	-0.427	-0.472	-0.344	-0.393

The level of support for L. Kaczyński [KACZ] and A. Duda [DUDA] is:

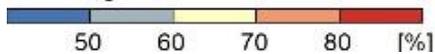
- (1) negatively correlated with the position of communes in the territories formerly annexed by Prussia (ca. -0.72 each) and positively correlated with the position within the boundaries of the Second Republic (II RP; respectively, 0.60 and 0.55). In other words, a higher support of conservative and right-wing options can be found in the communes which are not located in the former Prussia-annexed territories but were within the boundaries of the Second Republic;
- (2) negatively correlated with the development level measured by the class of growth level [LLxx] for 2005 and 2015 (respectively, -0.55 and -0.43). The persistence of these interlinks is confirmed by the high negative correlation with the synthetic indicator of growth (respectively, -0.56 and -0.47);
- (3) negatively correlated with the administrative type of communes [TADM] and with the functional type [TFUN], i.e. a higher support of conservative and right-wing options can be found in rural and rural-urban communes, while a lower support in urban and urban-rural communes.



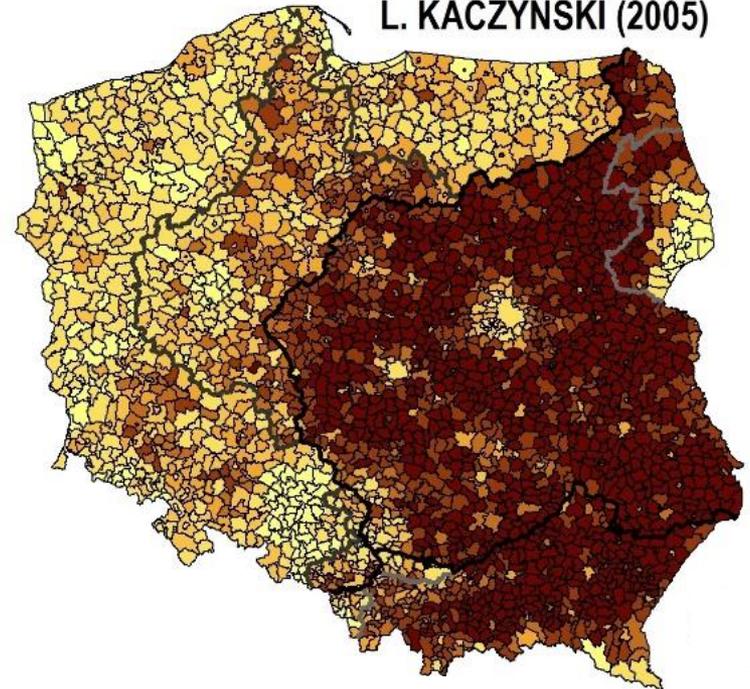
the predicted value of the dependent variable based on GWR model



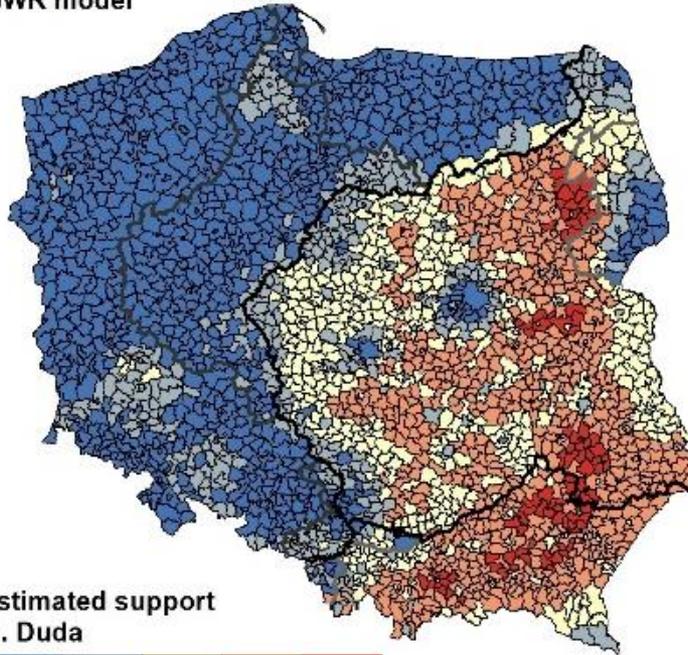
estimated support
L. Kaczyński



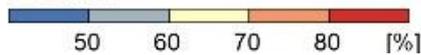
L. KACZYŃSKI (2005)



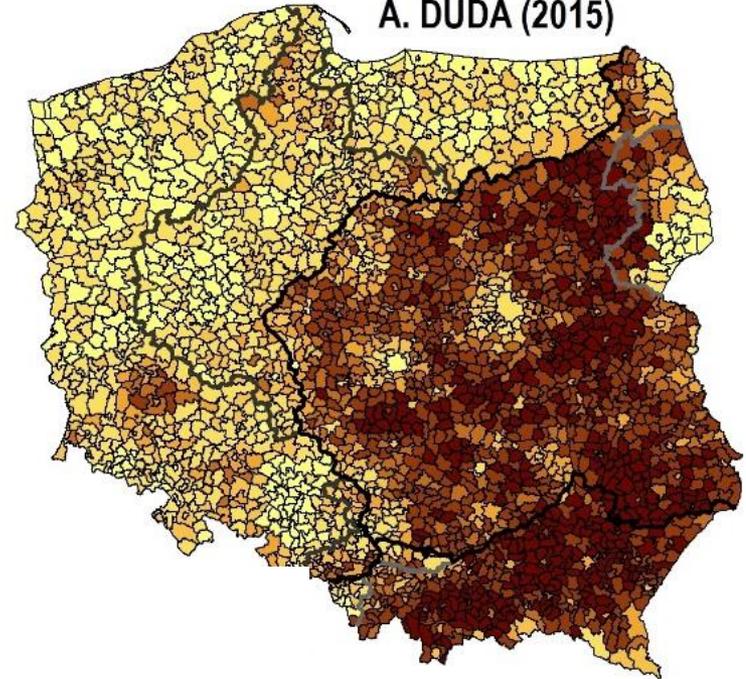
the predicted value of the dependent variable based on GWR model



estimated support
A. Duda



A. DUDA (2015)





Summary



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Summary

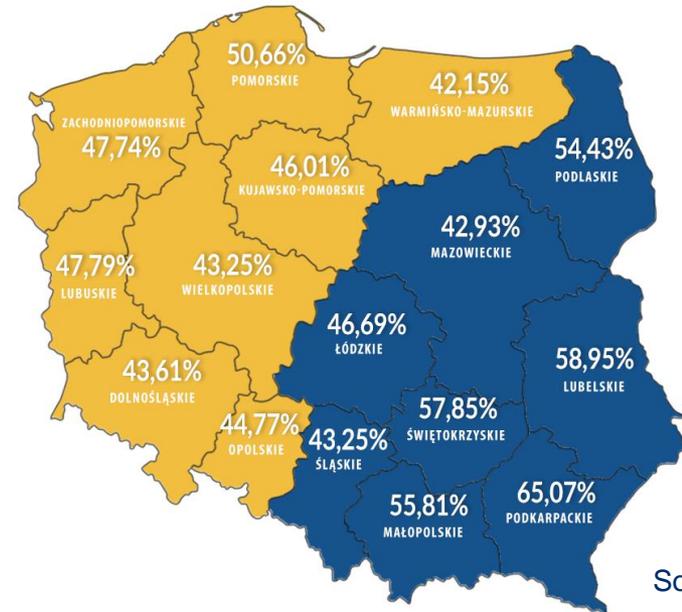
- Poland is **one of the most important testing grounds for studying the impact of historical determinants** on the contemporary differentiation of development processes.
- Research findings confirm the **existence of strong and statistically significant relations between the size and spatial structure of political preferences and spatial diversity of the level of social and economic growth in systems related to the course of relict borders** in the area of today's Poland (Hurtshorne, 1933).
- Relict borders in Poland **have no longer a political function, but are evident** in the cultural diversity in economic, social and spatial terms (Prescott, Triggs, 2008).
- Results confirm the regularities underlined by L. O'Dowd and T. Wilson (2002), drawing attention to the fact that **in times of advancing economic integration, which weakens the importance of political borders, an increase in the importance of their relict counterparts can be observed.**
- application of GWR models allowed to **confirm the incidence of relict boundaries**, especially between the liberal and progressive lands of the former Prussian partition and the conservative-right part of the country within the Russian and Austrian partition on the other (see Zarycki 2015).
- **radicalization of the inhabitants of the economically weakest areas** and their increased susceptibility to populist suggestions of conservative political groups, which is reflected in their electoral preferences. This takes the form of a symbolic opposition to the current situation, which Rodríguez-Pose (2017) calls a **revenge of “places that don’t have a future” and which do not want to remain “places that don’t matter.”**

One more proof for relict borders persistence:

Results of elections to European Parliament (2019)

 **Law and Justice - PiS**
(more conservative-right)

 **European Coalition**
(more liberal-left)



Source: PKW

~~ HISTORY MATTERS ~~



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Thank you for your attention



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