

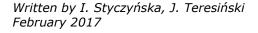
Easing legal and administrative obstacles in EU border regions

Case Study No. 7

Transport infrastructure

Policy frameworks hampering development of regional transport infrastructure

(Germany - Poland)



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Abstract

Transport infrastructure plays an important role in regional development and in ensuring territorial cohesion of the European Union (EU). Unfortunately, border regions, frequently peripheral, suffer from underdeveloped transport infrastructure and its unsatisfactory maintenance. Among the reasons for this are inadequate national policy frameworks, which include lack of cross-border-oriented regulations governing cross-border activities, divergence of provisions in existing legal frameworks, insufficient cooperation and coordination and lack of human and institutional capacities on both sides of the border.

This case study is aimed at showing how these barriers hinder the development and maintenance of local, regional and cross-border transport infrastructures in the German-Polish border region. Discrepancies in regulations related to technical requirements, signalling and safety systems, public procurement, construction law, environmental protection and taxes cause a number of issues. These include: inconsistencies and limited interoperability of developed transport connections; the need for duplicative permits, licenses and procedures; and additional effort in tax settlements.

The difficulties for the development of transport infrastructure in border regions lead to a limited cross-border mobility and trade, as well as to sub-optimal access to labour market and education. All together this decreases growth and reduces the attractiveness of the border regions. However, these effects have not been quantified for the DE-PL border up to now.

1 Outline of the obstacle (legal and administrative) and the policy context

The need to ensure the territorial cohesion of the EU and reducing disparities between its regions is recognized in article 174 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Among the regions that require particular attention are border regions facing various obstacles, which hinder their development. In particular, border regions suffer from underdeveloped transport infrastructure¹. Development of regional transport infrastructure is largely a competency of the Member States and depends in each region on the respective (national) policy framework. For border regions, this means that the policy framework of the neighbouring country has relevance for the development of the transport infrastructure. The development of border-regional transport infrastructure requires engaging - to a certain extent - partners from all countries involved. In return, this involvement needs to bring benefits beyond those that can be achieved through uncoordinated national transport infrastructure projects. infrastructure allows for better integration of markets interconnection between communities, which is crucial for EU territorial cohesion. It is important to remember, though, that the level of development of local and regional infrastructure in border regions, besides cross-border initiatives, also plays a crucial role in the integration of EU Member States.

For the purposes of this case study, we will focus on land transport infrastructure and concentrate on roads because another case study² covers rail transport infrastructure extensively. To develop such infrastructure in border regions one faces various challenges arising for instance from consumer preferences, existing regulations and institutions, information and transport costs³. In this case study, we will concentrate only on legal and administrative obstacles, i.e. those arising from legal frameworks or institutional mechanisms.

Starting off from the inventory's obstacle N 115, which found at the German-Polish border that differences between the national policy frameworks concerning land transport infrastructure development were considerably hindering the development of the respective infrastructure in both of the adjacent border regions, we found that this obstacle is of rather multi-faceted character. The elements of the obstacle in the polish-german case are both legal and administrative. They are summarized in Box 1 below.

Four main obstacles hindering the development and maintenance of transport infrastructure in border regions were identified during the examination of the topic and are summarized in Box 1 below:

- Box 1. Inadequate (national) policy frameworks hampering the development of regional transport infrastructure consist of the following elements
 - · Lack of cross-border-oriented regulations;
 - Divergence in administrative rules and technical standards;
 - Insufficient cooperation and coordination between regions;
 - Lack of human and institutional capacity.

Since these obstacles are entirely rooted in the national or sub-national government systems, they can only be described in the particular context of the DE-PL border region. To which degree these obstacles are also prevalent in other border regions

 $^{^1}$ ESPON (2012), GEOSPECS: European Perspective on Specific Types of Territories. Applied Research 2013/1/12, 20 December 2012

 $^{^2}$ Case study N 103/AT-SI/Different national railway systems hampering rail transport services in border regions

³ Rietveld, P. (2012), Barrier Effects of Borders: Implications for Border-Crossing Infrastructures, European Journal of Transport and Infrastructure Research, 12:2, pp. 150-166

remains open. It can be assumed though that at least in cases of longer borders (in relation to the functional border regions) we would find comparable situations in many other cases.

In all cases, the role of the TEN-T policy will be different depending on the relation of the border region in question to the projects of the individual corridor(s).

2 Case Study Context

As indicated in the previous section, the regions around the border between Poland and Germany are one example of the negative impact of legal and administrative obstacles barriers on the development (and maintenance) of regional transport infrastructure. For these border regions the obstacles are detailed in this section:

2.1 Elements of the border specific obstacles related to the inadequate policy framework

2.1.1 Lack of cross-border-oriented regulations

The basic barrier to the efficient development of cross-border transport infrastructure is a lack of relevant regulations governing cross-border activities. In the case of German-Polish relations, a bilateral treaty on cooperation in cross-border communication was signed in 1971, between then-communist Poland and East Germany. The necessity to update its provisions was identified by the two countries, which signed a new agreement on cooperation in rail communication in 2012, though this is still not ratified⁴. There are several other bilateral agreements in the area of transport infrastructure existing between Poland and Germany but many of them are aimed at improving the transport at national level and to a lesser extent at regional or cross-border cooperation. (E. g. departmental agreements between the ministries in Germany and Poland to expand individual routes: Berlin-Angermunde-Szczecin, Berlin-Warsaw, Hoyerwerda-Horka-Wegliniec and Dresden-Gorlitz, the contract between rail companies on the operation of railway infrastructure to ensure cross-border rail services⁵, the treaties on building and maintenance of road bridges (in force since 2003) and, on building and maintenance of rail bridges (in force since 2009))⁶.

At local level, there is an abundance of bilateral initiatives and platforms of cooperation (see Section 4) which are based on various local arrangements. However, the state level provides the principal framework for cooperation. It should be highlighted that both in Germany and in Poland rail infrastructure is developed at national level; the same is also true for national and transnational routes. That is why, despite local activities, the lack of relevant regulations causes important problems. For example, authorities in the Nysa region (The Nysa region is a cross-border area at the borders between Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic) insist on the ratification of a new agreement on cooperation in rail communication, since they see it as the main reason for why they do not have a rail connection with Berlin and Dresden⁷. The main problem caused by the lack of the aforementioned regulations is poor cooperation in joint development of transport infrastructure between Poland and Germany (especially at regional level). This, in turn, leads to insufficient accessibility across the border, such as low number of cross-border rail connections⁸.

2.1.2 Divergence in administrative rules and technical standards

Another obstacle hindering the development of cross-border infrastructure is the divergence in rules and standards on the different sides of the border. Both road and rail cross-border connections require the same technical parameters on both sides of the border and the same rules concerning maintenance. Discrepancies in these provisions means that keeping these parameters consistent is not possible which has a negative impact on the quality of cross-border connections and their effective maintenance. Representatives of DB Netz during the interview pointed out that the main obstacles for them in providing rail infrastructure effectively are

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⁴ http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druki8ka.nsf/0/CBC023D942DCFA0FC1257F5600457903/%24File/244.pdf

 $^{^{5}}$ Contract between DB Netz AG and PKP Polskie Linie Kolejowe SA on the operation of railway infrastructure to ensure cross-border rail services.

⁶ Agreements related to specific investments include the agreements on building a road connection in Euroregion Nysa (in force since 2005) and rail connection Szczecin-Berlin (in force since 2012).

⁷ http://www.euroregion-nysa.eu/wolna-trybuna/co-z-transportem-kolejowym

^{8 (}ESPON, 2012, p. 117)

- different regulations for the planning and approval procedures in Germany and Poland regarding the construction measures on the border service routes;
- different assessment criteria and requirements,
- different legal regulations for the planning and timing of construction works on German and Polish side.
- Additionally, differences in signalling and safety systems contribute to the limited interoperability of railways.

Discrepancies in public procurement law were also mentioned as an obstacle to developing the transport infrastructure in the cross-border regions. There is a need to have two public procurement procedures to build a single cross-border connection. Interviewees from the Polish road transportation development sector indicated that the diverging regulations were a major obstacle to common projects. In particular, they pointed the divergence in the country-specific construction laws and environmental protection regulations, which lead to the need of duplicative permits and administrative decisions⁹. For Poland, the problem of road connections development is still a major issue, while it is not as crucial for the German partners. Therefore, the obstacles arise also due to different long-term strategies.

Interviews with rail transport representatives pointed out the different level of infrastructure development and in consequence different standards for the use and development of transport infrastructure¹⁰. The problem that arises because of that is differences in technical requirements for vehicles, which result in a lack of interoperability of railways. Because the regulations on traction systems, electrification systems, signal lights, train radio and brakes differ in Germany and Poland, it is often the case that vehicles are not able to cross the border¹¹. When the vehicles cannot operate in both countries due to technical specifications and hence cannot cross the border, the passengers are forced to change trains at border stations. This lowers the quality of cross-border connections. Furthermore, divergence of regulations requires additional rolling stock and more time to change trains at the stations, which brings about an additional cost burden.

It should be noted that incoherent regulations are not only a problem at cross-border level, but also at a national level. As indicated during the interviews, the national and regional transport infrastructure-related provisions (especially on the Polish side) are inconsistent with each other and change too often making them difficult to follow. Moreover, the interviewees from the road infrastructure development sector claim that there is also too much unnecessary regulation in the infrastructure sector. This certainly hampers the development of transport infrastructure all over the country, but these problems are magnified in border regions where in principle there is a need to follow two.

2.1.3 Insufficient cooperation and coordination between regions

Despite the fact that all interviewees pointed out to very good cross-border cooperation with their peer counter-parts from the neighbouring country, there were some issues raised, which make the cooperation problematic at some levels. The first problem raised consisted in the two-fold, time-consuming decision-making process. There is a lack of a single decision-making body found, which leads to insufficient cooperation and coordination of activities concerning transport infrastructure development. Although many regional institutions involved in cross-border transport

⁹ Lentz, S. et al (2009), The German-Polish Border Region from a German Perspective – quo vadis? in W. Strubelt, W. (ed.), Guiding Principles for Spatial Development in Germany. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag

¹⁰ The strech class (SK) of a lin eis the maximum permissible axle and meter load of vehicles. In Germany, D4 is generally valid, while the PKP usually has different standard.

 $^{^{11}}$ INTER-Regio-Rail (2013) Removing barriers to regional rail transport. VBB Cross-border railcars Core Output, 2013

infrastructure-related activities exist (see Section 4), the current level of collaboration is not sufficient¹². This is confirmed by transport planning departments in border regions. For example, German interviewees pointed out that the agreement of 14 November 2012 on cooperation on rail transport across the German-Polish border must be defined and agreed based on the involvement of all interested stakeholders, stating that stronger collaboration is desired. Transport infrastructure projects are long-term and involve heavy investment, and therefore, require better planning and coordination of activities¹³.

The lack of a single decision-making body means that decisions concerning single transport infrastructure projects need to be taken on both sides of the border. This duplicative process is time-consuming and translates into higher transaction costs. Moreover, the priorities of the institutions responsible for transport infrastructure in border regions may also differ which brings about competitive or at least incoherent long-term strategies¹⁴. Insufficient coordination of infrastructure-related activities leads also to incoherent budget planning which hinders the development of regional cross-border connections.

Most interviewees indicated that the cooperation between the two countries flourishes, especially in recent years. Nevertheless, some interviewees indicated that in reality, at least in the area of transport infrastructure, the cooperation is rather fragmented, occasional and project-based. An important factor hindering cooperation is the economic inequality of the regions on both sides of the border, which translates into differences in needs related to transport infrastructure projects¹⁵. At the local level the situation is even worse: when local roads do not connect with cross-border routes, the need for cooperation and coordination of actions is not even considered. During the interviews it was indicated that at this level, an "every man for himself" approach dominates¹⁶. Cooperation takes place only at very specific occasions like for instance floods.

The situation is significantly better at the urban level of twin towns. One of their main goals is long-term oriented cross-border development of the whole urban area, which translates into mutual special development plans and enhanced cooperation in transport infrastructure development. In this case, the proximity of the municipalities apparently allows for excellent coordination of infrastructure-related activities on both sides of the border. Unfortunately, this is not always true for larger territories.

2.1.4 Lack of human and institutional capacity

Finally, another administrative obstacle pointed out by almost all interviewees is a lack of human and institutional capacity. When it comes to human capital, the interviewees on both sides of the border indicated that nowadays fewer young people have the knowledge necessary for managing transport infrastructure. This is because many vocational schools and infrastructure-related courses were closed down (especially in peripheral areas), while at the same time numerous well-qualified specialists emigrated. Due to this, there is a lack of qualified and experienced personnel able to take care of transport infrastructure. This problem is particularly important at the local level and in the case of medium-level technical personnel on both sides of the border¹⁷.

¹² Lentz, S. et al (2009), The German-Polish Border Region from a German Perspective – quo vadis? in W. Strubelt, W. (ed.), Guiding Principles for Spatial Development in Germany. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag

¹³ (Council of Europe, 2011)

 $^{^{14}}$ Lentz, S. et al (2009), The German-Polish Border Region from a German Perspective – quo vadis? in W. Strubelt, W. (ed.), Guiding Principles for Spatial Development in Germany. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag

¹⁵ It should be noted that the sample of interviewees is not representative.

¹⁶ See also: Madajczyk, P. (2012), Współpraca transgraniczna i międzyregionalna między Polską a Niemcami, Rocznik Lubuski, Tom 38:1, pp. 163-176

¹⁷ Lentz et al. (2009), Węcławowicz et al. (2009), Ranger (2009)

Concerning the flaws of institutional mechanisms, the most important cause of such problems is a lack of sufficient funds, especially in border regions that are usually poorer. Frequently infrastructure projects compete with other areas and there are not enough resources for proper infrastructure development and maintenance. Interviewees from border regions responsible for managing regional and local infrastructure indicated that they often face serious financial constraints and even if the number of connections is sufficient, they are not working properly, because there are not enough funds for maintenance. A different aspect is also the fact that road and rail development compete with each other (while rail connections have the geographical priority) and sometimes it is difficult for people responsible for the development of both types of land infrastructure to reach agreement.

2.2 The border region and its transport infrastructure

The German-Polish border is 472 km long and follows the course of the rivers Oder and Neisse, thus it is often called the "Oder-Neisse" line. After the reunification of Germany, the treaty on the German-Polish border was signed between Germany and Poland, confirming the Zgorzelec arrangements¹⁸ of 1950 between German Democratic Republic and Poland.

The final confirmation of the border by both countries allowed for re-invigorating cross-border cooperation between Germany and Poland. In 1991, the two countries signed the treaty on good neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation in which they committed themselves to supporting regional and cross-border cooperation. In 1992, the German-Polish Intergovernmental Commission for Regional and Cross-border Cooperation was established.

The German-Polish border regions at NUTS 3 level are located in three German Länder: Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg, Sachsen and three Polish Voivodeships. Unfortunately, detailed comparable data on the development of road and rail transport infrastructure are not available at NUTS3 level. Hence, we provide such statistics at the level of Länder and Voivodeships in Table 1.

Table 1. Development of road and rail infrastructure in the neighbouring German Länder and Polish Voivodeships (country average = 100)

Region	Roads in km per 100 km2	Motorways in km per 100 km2	Rail lines in km per 100 km2
Brandenburg	64	74	87
Mecklenburg- Vorpommern	67	66	68
Sachsen	113	85	124
Dolnośląskie	89	223	143
Lubuskie	79	128	107
Zachodniopomorskie	64	22	84

Source: Own elaboration based on the data from Statistisches Bundesamt and GUS.

From the data provided in Table 1, we can infer that the regions have relatively fewer road and rail connections compared to the average for their countries. In Germany, the exception is Sachsen, which performs better than the average, because of its smaller size, but this is not the case with motorways. In Poland, Dolnośląskie and Lubuskie have relatively more rail connections than the average, but they are not in a very good condition. These two regions also have relatively more motorways than the average, but this is because the two longest Polish motorways are located there. In general, the motorway system is much less developed in Polish regions than in their German counterparts. Although there are relatively more roads in Polish border

¹⁸ http://www.espaces-transfrontaliers.org/en/bdd-borders/frontiers/frontier/show/allemagne-pologne/

regions than in Germany, their condition and maintenance are still a serious concern (see below).

Insufficient development and maintenance of transport infrastructure in the regions around the German-Polish border is a direct consequence of the history of this area. These regions, on both sides of the river Oder, had for a very long time only a peripheral role. Following the re-unification of Germany, large infrastructure investments in former East Germany were oriented more towards greater integration across Germany, rather than improving the connections with Poland. On the Polish side, especially in the first years after transition, infrastructural projects in border regions were not treated as any priority¹⁹. Only recently have such investments been realized, mainly thanks to the EU structural funds.

Although the interviewees indicated that the system of road connections in the German-Polish border regions is nowadays sufficiently developed, it still requires investments, especially relating to modernization. Local roads on the border areas for instance are characterized by small width and insufficient load-bearing capacity, while only 50% of national roads in Poland are in good condition²⁰.

A serious problem also arises from the insufficient number of bridges over the Oder and Neisse rivers. In the case of the latter, before the World War II there were 50 bridges across the river, now there are only five²¹. Other challenges are related to maintenance, especially at regional and local level, where the institutions responsible for this activity face serious financial constraints. It is often the case that the status of the road changes upwards (e.g. a regional route becomes a national road), which requires more financial resources for maintenance according to higher-level standards. Further development of the transport infrastructure is also constrained by environmental regulations and the prevalence of protected natural areas on the potential course of future connections.

Rail transport infrastructure is lagging behind on both sides of the border. Contrarily to road infrastructure, the western side of the border does not perform much better than the eastern side. Moreover, the German side is much less active in developing rail connections between the two countries and investments in this area are insufficient²². In Poland, the main problems occur in the southern parts of the border region. The lack of investments in first two decades after the transition resulted in suspension and liquidation of many rail connections. Nowadays, around half of the district towns in the Polish part of the border area do not have an operating railway station²³. Because of the inadequate development of rail infrastructure, travelers usually decide to use cars or buses.

Important undertakings helping to make up for this situation in the area of transport infrastructure include a new agreement on cooperation in rail communication and an agreement on building rail connection Szczecin-Berlin (both signed in 2012).

A way to ease the obstacles presented and as a result, to improve the development and maintenance of transport infrastructure on the border of Germany and Poland is to enhance further cooperation between the partners from the two countries such as local authorities and infrastructure developers. Such collaboration does exist (see Section 4), but as indicated above, it needs to be improved. This better coordination

¹⁹ Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową (2014) Współpraca gospodarcza Polska-Niemcy, 2014, http://ahk.pl/fileadmin/ahk_polen/OA/Polska-Niemcy_2014-www.pdf (accessed in November 2016)

²⁰ Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego (2013), Studium integracji przestrzennej pogranicza Polski i Niemiec (IPPON), June 2013, http://www.e-ippon.net/ (accessed in November 2016)

²¹ MKW Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH, Munich Empirica Kft. (2009), Scientific Report on the Mobility of Cross-Border Workers within the EU-27/EEA/EFTA Countries - Final Report, January 2009, ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=3459&langId=en (accessed in November 2016)

²² Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową (2014) Współpraca gospodarcza Polska-Niemcy, 2014, http://ahk.pl/fileadmin/ahk_polen/OA/Polska-Niemcy_2014-www.pdf (accessed in November 2016)

²³ Ministerstwo Rozwoju Regionalnego (2013), Studium integracji przestrzennej pogranicza Polski i Niemiec (IPPON), June 2013, http://www.e-ippon.net/ (accessed in November 2016)

should lead to creating new and better regulations, updating the existing provisions, harmonizing the legal frameworks on both parts of the border, increasing the level of coordination of infrastructure-related activities and improving human and institutional capacities of the actors involved.

3 Impact analysis

Infrastructure, including transport infrastructure, is an important element contributing to economic growth and development. Its direct impact comes from the sector's contribution to GDP formation, while its indirect impact stems from the improvements in infrastructure which raise total factor of productivity by allowing for more efficient use of inputs, which can be seen as complementary factor for economic growth²⁴. The importance of this growth determinant is confirmed by the estimates presented in the 2013 World Economic Forum report: ambitious improvements in transport and communications infrastructure, and border administration all over the world could increase global GDP by almost 5%²⁵.

The level of development and maintenance of transport infrastructure is also significant for regional development due to numerous spill-over effects²⁶. By increasing the potential for mobility and reducing transportation time, it improves the accessibility of the region which increases the market size for manufacturing, tourism and labour. Construction, operation and maintenance directly contribute to the creation and relocation of jobs in a given region. The regional industries can enjoy productivity gains resulting from improved production and distribution links thanks to time and cost savings. Wider market access directly translates into new business opportunities.

Inadequate policy frameworks for the development of regional/local and cross-border transport infrastructure (and related maintenance services), contribute to the underdevelopment and insufficient maintenance of transport infrastructure in border regions. This obstacle has a serious negative impact on cross-border activities in in the German-Polish border. It is often indicated that if it were not for the widely acknowledged legal and administrative obstacles, cooperation between Germany and Poland could progress much faster²⁷. Unfortunately, the barriers still prevail and hinder cross-border activities. The direct and indirect impact of the analysed obstacles is presented in Figure 1.

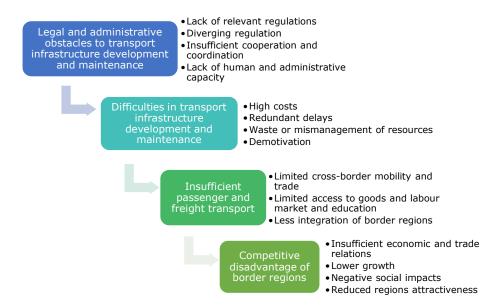
²⁴ Bottini, N. et al (2013) Infrastructure and Growth – Launch Version. London School of Economic Growth Commission,

http://www.lse.ac.uk/researchAndExpertise/units/growthCommission/documents/pdf/SecretariatPapers/Infrastructure.pdf (accessed in November 2016)

World Economic Forum (2013), Enabling Trade. Valuing Growth Opportunities, 2013, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_SCT_EnablingTrade_Report_2013.pdf (accessed in November 2016) GECD (2002), Impact of Transport Infrastructure Investment on Regional Development, May 2002, http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/transport/impact-of-transport-infrastructure-investment-on-regional-development_9789264193529-en (accessed in November 2016)

²⁷ Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową (2014) Współpraca gospodarcza Polska-Niemcy, 2014, http://ahk.pl/fileadmin/ahk_polen/OA/Polska-Niemcy_2014-www.pdf (accessed in November 2016)

Figure 1. Impact of inadequate policy framework to border-regional transport infrastructure development and maintenance



Source: Own elaboration

First of all, diverging provisions in existing legal systems result in higher costs for developing transport infrastructure and maintaining it in good condition. The necessity to follow different legal frameworks needlessly absorbs a lot of funds that could be otherwise spent in a more efficient way. In particular, interviewees emphasized that differences in tax systems and public procurement procedures on both sides of the border absorb massive amounts of financial resources and time to comprehend and comply with. The bodies responsible for transport infrastructure maintenance need to obtain duplicative permits and licenses and put a lot of effort into tax settlements procedures. Unfortunately, estimates on how these barriers increase costs are not available.

Discrepancies in the administrative divisions of Germany and Poland and consequently in the responsibilities of the authorities in charge of transport infrastructure also increase administrative costs. They also make administrative procedures longer and, as a result, lead to delays in infrastructure projects²⁸. Such projects are also slowed down by the fact that it takes a lot of time for bilateral agreements between Germany and Poland to be implemented after they have been signed.

The lack of coordination of actions related to the development and maintenance of transport infrastructure leads to a waste or at least to a mismanagement of resources. Although overall such activities are becoming more and more coordinated at the German-Polish border, the interviewees indicate that at local and regional level insufficient synchronization is still a serious problem. When a new connection is built, it is necessary not only to have the same technical parameters on both sides of the border, but also to follow the same rules related to maintenance. Unfortunately, due to the differences in the administrative divisions between Germany and Poland, and the responsibility distributed at different levels, there is a lack of comprehensive action in this area. Moreover, the status of road and rail connections on both sides of the border also is different which makes coordination of the activities even harder.

Another consequence of the prevalence of the aforementioned obstacles is the demotivation of people responsible for transport infrastructure development and maintenance as mentioned in the interviews. Those various legal and administrative

²⁸ Węcławowicz, G. at al (2009) Study of Spatial Developments in the Polish-German Border Region, in W. Strubelt (ed.), Guiding Principles for Spatial Development in Germany, Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag

barriers disappoint those people, especially when they see the amount of resources that are wasted because of redundant (or insufficient) regulations. Lower morale is an important effect of the obstacles since it discourages cross-border cooperation. Cooperation starts with the right attitude and willingness to open to others; the barriers under scrutiny hinder both.

As a result of unsatisfactory development of transport infrastructure and its poor condition, passenger and freight transport in border regions is insufficient. This means that the cross-border mobility of workers, students and tourists is inadequate²⁹. Hence, both ordinary people and businesses (SMEs³⁰ in particular) are affected. Underdeveloped infrastructure, therefore, leads to limited access to the goods market, the labour market and education. Certainly this has negative consequences for the economic development of the border regions, which are in a competitive disadvantage, but also for the countries as a whole.

This also has a negative social impact. First, limited mobility of workers leads to higher unemployment rates in the border regions³¹. Despite the fact that workers in border regions should have access to job opportunities at home and abroad, because of underdeveloped transport infrastructure they do not have enough access to job places in their countries (as peripheral regions) or abroad (due to insufficient cross-border connections). Second, lower economic perspectives translate into lower incomes and more inequalities between border regions and other areas which can lead to social unrest. Third, insufficient transport infrastructure prevents social cohesion within society on both sides of the border and the development of a collaborative culture. Fourth, it also decreases the attractiveness of the border regions, especially for young people who emigrate from them, which in turn diminishes regional potential even further. Literature shows that the German regions at the Eastern border feature a downward spiral of lack of growth, job losses, decline in demand, ageing population and outmigration³². Such a vicious cycle is particularly visible in the case of transport infrastructure, as there already is a lack of specialists in this area.

Insufficient transport infrastructure resulting from legal and administrative barriers negatively affects also cross-border public transport³³. This is an important problem in the regions around the German-Polish border. The interviewees indicated that it is often difficult to organize relevant cross-border transport services. Interestingly, in the case of the twin towns of Görlitz/Zgorzelec, tram communication exists only on the German part of the border, despite the fact that before World War II it functioned on both sides of the city.

Unfortunately, since the negative impact of legal and administrative obstacles to transport infrastructure development and maintenance has not been measured for the German-Polish border it is difficult to provide direct quantitative evidence on the decreased potentials of border regions in this area. The missed opportunities resulting from insufficient transport infrastructure caused by the obstacles analysed here can be examined indirectly by taking into account measurable evidence on the positive impact of transport infrastructure on regional growth.

For instance, in the case of Spanish regions, a growth rate of 10% in transport infrastructure resulted in an increase in the value of the production generated by the

²⁹ MKW Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH, Munich Empirica Kft. (2009), Scientific Report on the Mobility of Cross-Border Workers within the EU-27/EEA/EFTA Countries - Final Report, January 2009

³⁰ Small and Medium Sized Enterprises

³¹ MKW Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH, Munich Empirica Kft. (2009), Lentz et al. (2009)

³² Lentz, S. et al (2009), The German-Polish Border Region from a German Perspective – quo vadis? in W. Strubelt, W. (ed.), Guiding Principles for Spatial Development in Germany. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag

³³ MKW Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH, Munich Empirica Kft. (2009), Scientific Report on the Mobility of Cross-Border Workers within the EU-27/EEA/EFTA Countries - Final Report, January 2009

private sector of around 0.38-0.42%³⁴. Similar estimates can be found in other regions: a 10% increase in road infrastructure stock led to a 1.28% and a 0.83% increase in regional output in the case of France and Germany, respectively³⁵. In the European Commission's "Sixth report on economic, social and territorial cohesion" it is shown that a reduction of transport costs thanks to infrastructure investments in five Polish regions led to an increase of regional output by 1.04-1.57% in the short run³⁶.

All in all it appears that in one way or another, all of the above-listed negative impacts contribute to less integration across the border of Germany and Poland, of the two countries overall and of the EU as a whole. Although the obstacles affect mainly border regions, their consequences have adverse effects on a larger scale. Underdeveloped infrastructure and its unsatisfactory maintenance lead to an insufficient amount of economic and trade relations between countries, less exchange of knowledge and it limits the mobility of factors of production. This, in turn, slows down economic growth, reduces the attractiveness of regions and countries as a whole and prevents the functioning of the EU as a real Single Market.

³⁴ Cantos, P. et al (2002), Transport infrastructures and regional growth: Evidence on the Spanish case, October 2002

³⁵ Stephan, A. (2001), Regional infrastructure policy and its impact on productivity: a comparison of Germany and France. WZB Discussion Paper, No. FS IV 01-02, January 2001

³⁶ European Commission (2014), Sixth report on economic, social and territorial cohesion: investment for jobs and growth: promoting development and good governance in EU regions and cities, July 2014

4 Solutions and good practice

Legal and administrative obstacles to transport infrastructure development and maintenance are recognized to have a negative impact on cross-border activities in the area and as a result contribute to the competitive disadvantage of border regions. In the case of the German-Polish border, numerous initiatives that help find solutions to the identified obstacles are observed. Usually they take the form of platforms and channels through which such barriers are eased or even removed.

A crucial role in addressing the legal and administrative barriers to transport infrastructure development in the border regions of Germany and Poland is played by the German-Polish Intergovernmental Commission for Regional and Cross-border Cooperation (GPIC-RCBC). This bilateral body was established in 1992 to solve cross-border problems and support cooperation between private and public entities, including regional and local institutions and associations, from the two countries³⁷. The Commission meets once a year and provides recommendations on the actions necessary to improve cross-border cooperation. Although the Commission is an intergovernmental body, many of its members are the representatives of border regions' authorities.

The GPIC-RCBC consists of four committees responsible for cross-border cooperation, interregional cooperation, spatial planning and education³⁸. The first three areas are particularly important for the development and maintenance of transport infrastructure. The recommendations concerning this area are often raised by the German-Polish Commission, for example after its latest meeting, the Commission recommended fast ratification of a new agreement on cooperation in rail communication, signed in 2012. Despite the fact that they are related to a higher level of relations than the regional ones, the activities of the Commission set out the general framework which is extremely useful when it comes to removing the obstacles analysed.

The GPIC-RCBC allows for joint development of common legal framework helping to fill the gap resulting from a lack of relevant provisions and removing the discrepancies in existing legislations. This is crucial because the problems in border regions result mainly from divergence of national regulations, therefore such issues should be resolved at governmental level. This is also key in the case of bilateral agreements – their provisions, although reflecting regional needs, should be analysed by intergovernmental bodies, as the governments ratify them.

The consultations within the GPIC-RCBC have proven to be an effective way of exchanging ideas and identifying key problems to solve, thus its activity can be considered as a successful tool to address barriers hindering cross-border actions related to transport infrastructure. This body might also be seen as an overarching institution of cross-border cooperation. However, it does not have any decision-making powers; therefore, its actual impact is somewhat limited.

Another important platform for the overcoming of the barriers analysed is the initiative "Partnership Oder". This interregional network of German and Polish regions around the common border is an important channel of cooperation. The mutual projects realized by these territories allow for better integration of the area around the borders creating one meta-region. The goal of the initiative is to build an effective regional community integrating the territories around the river Oder in terms of infrastructure and the political sphere³⁹. This aim explicitly addresses the problem of developing and maintaining transport infrastructure in border regions, which is not possible without tackling the existing obstacles in the legal frameworks and institutional mechanisms.

³⁷ Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs (1991), Communication to German Foreign Affairs Minister, 17 June

³⁸ Polish Embassy in Berlin (2012), Bilateral Relations Polish-German: Cross-border and interregional, 2012

³⁹ Oder Partnership (no date), What is the Oder Partnership, (no date)

The arrangements reached at the regular meetings of regional politicians become reality through various projects realized by partners on both sides of the border. Transport and communication are one of the four main themes of cooperation⁴⁰. Examples of projects in this area include: Via Regia Plus⁴¹ seeking to improve transport connection between Germany and Poland, consisting of over 40 local, regional and cross-border infrastructural projects; INTER-Regio-Rail⁴² aiming at removing existing barriers to regional rail transport; Rail Baltica Growth Corridor⁴³ with the goal of improving rail connection between Berlin and Warsaw (among others); e-Kom⁴⁴, an integrated system of passenger information on timetables and schedules in both languages and e-Coach⁴⁵, a system of information on long-distance coach connections.

The implementation of these projects has enabled improvements in the cooperation between German and Polish partners and better coordination of the activities in the field of transport infrastructure. It is not only the functioning of existing institutions that was improved, but also a new one was created. In 2006, "the Round Table for Communication in the framework of Partnership Oder" was established the Communication and the exchange of information, the Round Table serves as a coordination body between different entities engaged in development and maintenance of transport infrastructure.

The EU's INTERREG programmes are other significant vehicles for addressing the aforementioned obstacles. Over the last 25 years, INTERREG has become the key EU instrument to support cooperation between partners across borders. The goal of these programmes is for the participants to tackle common challenges together and find shared solutions⁴⁷. Among others, this also relates to transport infrastructure development and maintenance. Currently, there are three cross-border programmes involving a significant infrastructure component realized both in the German and Polish border regions: the Poland-Sachsen programme⁴⁸, the Brandenburg-Poland programme⁴⁹, and the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern/Brandenburg-Poland programme "Transport and mobility"⁵⁰.

In each of the three cross-border programmes, the second priority axis is directly related to transport infrastructure. All of them seek to improve the connections of tertiary and secondary transport nodes (i.e. regional and local routes) with the Trans-European Transport Network infrastructure and to enhance the quality of road connections in border crossings. These programmes are implemented via joint German-Polish projects requiring significant cooperation and coordination of actions from both partners. They also allow for the identification of any important discrepancies in legal frameworks and institutional arrangements and their gradual removal.

⁴⁰ http://www.oder-partnerschaft.eu/

 $^{^{41}}$ Oder Partnership (no date), Via Regia Plus - Sustainable Mobility and Regional Cooperation along the Pan-European Transport Corridor III

⁴² Oder Partnership (no date), INTER-Regio-Rail - Removing barriers to regional rail transport, (no date)

⁴³ Oder Partnership (no date), Rail Baltica Growth Corridor, (no date)

http://www.oder-partnerschaft.eu/e-kom_neu.php?newln=DE&sid=7ea08377dfb13b661f40dafefc7e3764
 Oder Partnership (no date), ECoach - Improvements in bus travel to and from Central and Eastern

⁴³ Oder Partnership (no date), ECoach - Improvements in bus travel to and from Central and Easterr Europe, (no date)

⁴⁶ Oder Partnership (no date), Transport Roundtable: goals and tasks, (no date)

⁴⁷ For more information about INTERREG, please visit:

http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/pl/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/

⁴⁸ INTERREG (2015), Cooperation Programme INTERREG Poland - Saxony 2014-2020 Programme under the "European Territorial Cooperation" / European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), June 2015)

⁴⁹ INTERREG (2014), Cooperation Programme INTERREG V A Brandenburg - Poland 2014-2020 under the "European Territorial Cooperation" / European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), December 2014, http://www.ewt.gov.pl/media/10571/Program_Brandenburgia_Polska_2014_2020_PL.pdf (accessed in November 2016) (in Polish)

⁵⁰ INTERREG (2015), Cooperation Programme INTERREG V-A Germany / Mecklenburg-Vorpommern / Brandenburg – Poland under the "European Territorial Cooperation" / European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), July, 2015

It is also important to mention the fourth priority axis of the INTERREG programmes on the German-Polish border which directly addresses the issue of institutional and human potential for cross-border cooperation. The priority here is to improve the institutional capacities of public institutions and relevant stakeholders by supporting legal and administrative cooperation between appropriate institutions and citizens. The aim is to create sustainable platforms of cooperation. The expected effect of these actions is to better understand the legal and administrative system of the neighbour country and initiating activities aiming at simplification and harmonization of relevant procedures. Therefore, this initiative directly addresses legal and administrative barriers analysed here.

At regional and local level, Euroregions also play an important role in seeking solutions for the easing or removing of the barriers analysed. These transnational structures of cooperation allow for promoting the territories involved in the initiative as one cross-border region. Euroregions function as voluntary communities of interests of border counties, municipalities and towns. Relevant activities in which the members of Euroregions on the German-Polish border engage in include cross-border communication, exchange of information and best practices, as well as outlining and elaborating development priorities of the region (including harmonized cross-border development plans). Thanks to these activities, the regions on both sides of the border know each other better, develop in parallel and integrate with each other faster. Over the last 25 years, the Euroregions framework have become an important platform of cross-border activities coordination at regional level, including mutual transport infrastructure development.

Finally, at the urban level, the legal and administrative obstacles to transport infrastructure development and maintenance are addressed by city partnerships. Such initiatives are particularly fruitful in the case of the towns located on the German-Polish border that before World War II used to be a single city, such as Frankfurt/Słubice, Guben/Gubin and Gorlitz/Zgorzelec. Despite being divided since 1945, these cities maintain close relations and have actively cooperated in the post-1989 period. One of the areas of such cooperation is transport infrastructure; for instance, the cities prepare their spatial development plans together. This allows for excellent coordination of infrastructure-related activities on both sides of the border.

To conclude, many initiatives, platforms and channels are available through which the obstacles to transport infrastructure development and maintenance on the German-Polish border can be addressed. Overall, the answer to all of these barriers is enhanced cooperation between the two countries at every level and the development of common patterns of activities in the field of transport infrastructure. It is necessary to look for such solutions that can be applied on both sides of the border and to develop and follow mutual documents, which clearly indicate common goals and directions of development.

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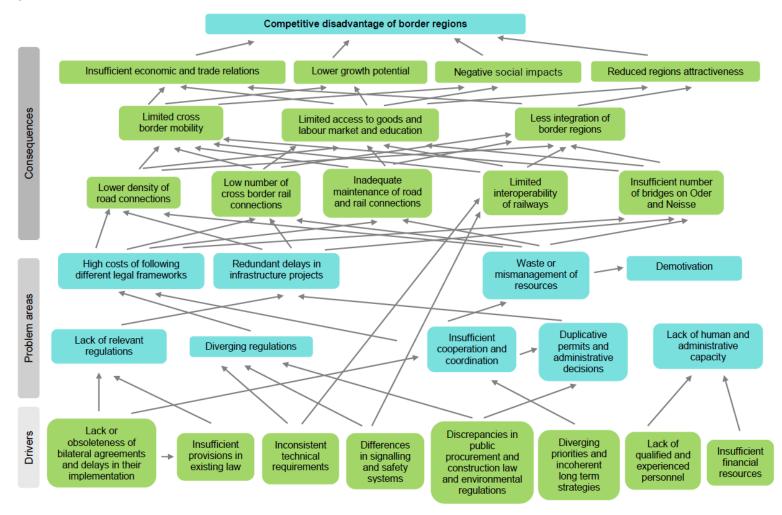
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The elaboration of the present case study involved a first step implying emails requested an interview with the representatives of local and regional authorities of all institutions involved in the regional, local and cross-border transport infrastructure and related maintenance services in both countries. Special attention was paid to keep the representativeness of all stakeholders from diverse transport infrastructure institutions from both countries. The questionnaire was attached to the email. The questions were divided into four sections: 1) identification of the obstacles to cross-border cooperation, 2) causes of the existence of those obstacles, 3) impact and consequences of those obstacles, and 4) measures taken to address those obstacles. Around 30 emails were sent, out of which ten expressed their interest in taking part in the research.

The second step of the interview request implied phone contact with the entities that agreed to take part in the interview. The 30-40 minutes discussions took place with all 10 people presented in Table above. Some of them (like DB Netz AG) agreed to take part in the research only in the written form. Therefore, they sent the fulfilled questionnaires in German.

Annex

Figure 2. Problem tree



Source: Own elaboration











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