

We understand phantom borders as political borders, which politically/legally do not exist anymore but seem to appear in different forms and modes of social action and practices today, as for example voting as one part of political behaviour. Considering the visibility of historical borders in the territorial distribution of election results in Poland – many more countries in Europe and the world could be mentioned – the question occurs if or if not this visibility indicates a persistence of historical (social or political) spaces or why else these phantom borders seem to be visible.

Within the conference we want to elaborate on different territorial particularities concerning cultural, historical, social, linguistic, religious and economic aspects which may affect political behaviour and electoral geography.

The presentations will focus on the following questions:

*In what way is history reflected in political behaviour, as in election results?*

*At which scales and in which way phantom borders appear and disappear?*

*How does the national and regional governance context affect political behaviour?*

*How does the external governance / foreign affairs context / transnational networks affect political behaviour?*

*What role do (Geo)Political Images play in (re)constructing phantom borders?*

## Scientific Coordination of the Conference

**Dr. Sabine v. Löwis**, Centre Marc Bloch Berlin, Research Fellow of the Phantom Border Research Project

**Dr. Thomas Serrier**, Université Paris 8, Visiting Professor at European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder

**Dr. Jarosław Jańczak**, Research Fellow European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder and Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

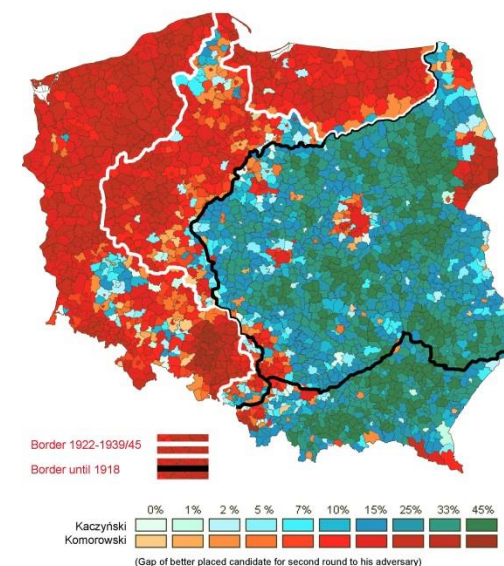
A conference of the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin, funded by the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research, in cooperation with the Viadrina Center B/ORDERS IN MOTION, the European University Viadrina, the Collegium Polonicum, the Université Paris 8 and the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.



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Mapping of results in the presidential elections in Poland 2010 (first round)



Map source: Shilly (<http://uselectionatlas.org/FORUM/index.php?topic=106075.135>)  
Map design: Michael G. Esch

## Conference

### Phantom Borders in the Political Behaviour and Electoral Geography in East Central Europe

November 14-15, 2013

European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder  
Collegium Polonicum, Słubice

## **Thursday, November 14**

European University Viadrina, Senatssaal, Große  
Scharnstr. 59, 15230 Frankfurt/Oder

09:00 Arrival

09:15 Welcome address

Gunter Pleuger (President of the European University  
Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder))

Kerstin Schoor (Head of the Viadrina Center B/ORDERS  
IN MOTION)

09:30 Opening

Béatrice v. Hirschhausen (Head of the Phantom Borders  
Research Project)

Sabine v. Löwis (Research Fellow of the Phantom Borders  
Research Project)

**10:00-10:45 Keynote Speech**

**Vladimir Kolossov (Moscow)**

**Phantom Borders: Methodological Approaches and an  
Attempt of Classification**

**10:45-11:00 Coffee Break**

**11:00-13:30 Panel 1: Phantom Borders in Electoral  
Behaviour at Different Scales**

Chair: Timm Beichelt (Frankfurt/Oder)

**Ionel Boamfă, Gabriel Camară, Alina Munteanu (Iasi)**

National and Regional Patterns and Breaks in the Voting  
Behaviour of European Electors

**Martin Šimon, Tomáš Kostecký (Prague)**

Measuring Phantom Borders: The Case of Czech /  
Czechoslovakian Electoral Geography

**Viktor Putrenko (Kiev)**

Spatial Relationships of Electoral Behaviour and Phantom  
Borders in Ukraine

**Jarosław Jańczak (Frankfurt/Oder, Poznań)**

Phantom Borders and Electoral Behaviour in Poland at  
Regional and Local Level. Historical Legacies and their  
Influence on Contemporary Politics

**Discussion of the Papers in Panel 1 by Tomasz Zarycki  
(Warsaw)**

**13:30-15:00 Lunch**

**15:00-17:50 Panel 2: (Geo) Political Images and  
Phantom Borders**

Chair: Andreas Umland (Kiev)

**Antje Schlottmann, Roger Baars (Frankfurt/Main)**

Regional Governance and the "Phantom Region"  
Mitteldeutschland. The Political Dimension of Spatial  
Concepts

**Anna Zadora (Strasbourg)**

The Phantom Borders between Belarusians and Poles:  
History, Mental and Political Controversial Border

**15:40-16:00 Coffee Break**

**Dimitrii Sidorov (Long Beach/California, London)**

Phantom Geopolitics of Russia's Border with Europe

**Thomas Serrier (Frankfurt/Oder, Paris)**

Prisoners of History? West European Imaginations of  
East Central European Phantom Borders

**Discussion of the Papers in Panel 2 by Judith  
Miggelbrink (Leipzig)**

**19:00 Dinner**

## **Friday, November 15**

Collegium Polonicum, Ul. Kościuszki 1, 69-100 Słubice,  
Room 13

09:00 Arrival

09:15 Welcome address

Krzysztof Wojciechowski (Director of Administration,  
Collegium Polonicum, Słubice)

**09:30-12:00 Panel 3: Cultural, Historical, Ethnic and  
Social Backgrounds of Electoral Phantom Borders**

Chair: Jarosław Jańczak (Frankfurt/Oder, Poznań)

**Tomasz Zarycki (Warsaw)**

The Electoral Geography of Poland: Between Stable  
Spatial Structures and their Changing Interpretations

**Andreea Zamfira (Bucharest, Brussels)**

The Transposition of Different Ethnic and Interethnic  
Contexts into Different Patterns of Voting Behaviour

**Patrik Tátrai, Balázs Szabó (Budapest)**

Cultural Background and Regional Differences of Voting  
Behaviour in Slovakia - 1992-2012

**10:30- 10:50 Coffee Break**

**Discussion of the Papers in Panel 3 by Kai Olaf Lang  
(Berlin)**

**12:00-13:30 Lunch**

**13:30-16:00 Panel 4: Phantom Borders in Economic,  
Social and Political Behaviour**

Chair: Werner Benecke (Frankfurt / Oder)

**Anna Borowczak, Michał Dolata (Poznań)**

Relict Boundaries as Economic and Political Behaviour  
Differentiation Factor in Wielkopolskie Voivodeship  
(Poland)

**Zdeněk Kučera, Pavel Chromý (Prague)**

Territorial Identity of Czechia's Borderland and its  
Changes during 20th Century

**Henry Rammelt (Lyon)**

Did Recent Common History Level Social Mobilization  
within Romania? A Comparative Analysis of Mobilization  
throughout Romanian Regions with Unequal Indicators  
of Social Capital

**Saida Sirazhudinova (Rostov)**

Political and Electoral Behaviour in Russia

**Discussion of the Papers in Panel 4 by Kai Struve (Halle)**

**16:00-16:30 Coffee Break**

**16:30-18:00 Final Discussion:**

**Vladimir Kolossov, Tomasz Zarycki, Kai-Olaf Lang,  
Thomas Serrier (Chair), Jarosław Jańczak (Chair)**