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**THE POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE
CROATIAN-HUNGARIAN CROSS-BORDER RELATIONS ON DIFFERENT
TERRITORIAL LEVELS**

PhD thesis

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Introduction

Motives for choosing the theme of my dissertation were provided by my family, relatives, the proximity of my house to the border of Croatia, moreover the studies, experience gained in the Eastern Mediterranean and Balkan Studies Centre also played a significant role.

Getting to know the Hungarian-Croatian borders in details, I came to the recognition that despite of the separating role of the Drava River and its long history, despite its state border or administrative function, the two sides integrally linked. On both sides the same "kaj", "Sto" or Hungarian dialect is spoken or they have similar beliefs, the same habits, behavioural rules, they have common heroes, and they lived through together the ordeals of history. "The border areas with their common history, culture, traditions, same construction of their settlements and the specific composition of their population constitute the transition between the two countries." (I. SÜLI-ZAKAR 2003 p. 239).

The Croatian-Hungarian border section similarly to our country is in a specific situation. After the Treaty of Trianon and as a result of the amputations, many formerly well-functioning catchments are centers got into a vulnerable, marginal situation without a hinterland. Osijek (Eszék) - Pécs, Virovitica (Verőce) - Barcs, Cakovec (Csáktornya) - Nagykanizsa, Lendava (Lendva) - Lenti could enjoy together the "opportunities" provided by the "barrier and the frontier" type of borders. After the South Slav civil war the situation further complicated, the area of the former Yugoslavia is now shared by three countries, of which the Croatian and the Slovenian party currently reserve the most priority for our country. The balanced, sympathetic relationship ready for cooperation can greatly help to use the EU resources more efficiently. The states I tested represent the rural areas of the mother country, therefore it is an opportunity for them to break the cross-border relations and call down resources to support these relations..

Unlike the past decades, today the Croatian and Hungarian government leaders and other prominent figures in the business world have recognized the potential of cross-border relations. The most highly successful collaboration depends on the individuals.

1. Research Objectives and Hypotheses

In my dissertation, I present the transborder relations along the 355 km long borders of the Croatian border in Hungary and the processes taking place during the changes in their relationships. A significant transformation has taken place in the system of relations in recent years, due to the closeness of the EU and Croatia, and the connection of Hungary into the European Union in 2004. During my work, I marked out the following five objectives in connection with which one hypothesis is put up.

First objective

Observe that: How does Croatia's EU accession process affect the Croatian-Hungarian border relations?

First hypothesis: the EU accession process opened up a number of tender options, with the help of which the Croatian-Hungarian border relations can seriously be financed. Their utilization in both countries shows a changing picture.

Second objective

Check that: How do Croatian-Hungarian inter-state relations form? Is there a correlation between the development of interstate relations and the development of transborder relations?

Second hypothesis: We assume that there is a very close correlation between the conformation of Croatian-Hungarian inter-state relations and cross-border links.

Third objective

Observe that: What factors influence the intensity of the relationship?

Third hypothesis: There are several barriers, enabling and helping factors that have a significant influence on the Croatian-Hungarian transborder, and cross-border relations.

Fourth objective

Check that: What kinds of relationships have been built in Croatia since its independence?

Fourth hypothesis: Several types of relationships developed over the past 15 years, and we are assuming that they operate with different efficiency because of different effects of endogenous and exogenous factors.

Fifth Objective

Check that: Is there a cross-border or a transborder relation in the Croatian-Hungarian relation?

Fifth hypothesis: in the Croatian-Hungarian relation, we can talk about transborder relations. This is due to and explained by configuration features.

2. Research Methodology

During my research work, I used four major resource groups:

1. I reconsidered the official databases, the different publications and websites of organizations dealing with territorial – and urban development. In particular, I used and studied the county and city government issued documents, records of the Váti Public Company as a primary source. This text information belonged to the investigations without intervention. These are not surveys in the classical sense, but more like resources of information essential in the preparation of my research. The newspaper articles, records are texts of which analysis is made without affecting their creation by the intent of the researcher.
2. I used a variety of application materials. Until recently, there were no significant EU funds to promote cooperation. As a result of the depressive nature of cross-border areas, weak willingness to tender was shown. I tried to find out its reasons and the problems during the tender procedure by studying the application system and certain applications. I followed the implementation of these projects from the beginning until the status of implementation throughout all the stages. During examining a project a number of specific factors can also be explored, which remained from mentality, different social commitments and the "Yugoslav" era!
3. Besides the processing of secondary resources, I intended a significant role for the primary collection of data as well. I started my job with a partial field-work, I spent about thirty days in the research area settlements from Lenti to Mohácsi, Lakócsa to Tótszerdahely. Seven or eight times I did a detailed review visit in Barcs and Lenti, while Pécs is already well known for me for nine years. Similarly, I also made a trip around the Croatian side, visiting Osijek (Eszék), Virovitica (Verőce), Murska Središće (Muraszerdahely) Čakovec (Csáktornya), Koprivnica (Kapronca), Lendava (Lendva). In the above-mentioned cities, I managed to make a deep interview with a competent professional from the point of view of transborder relations. Over the past four years, I spent three times a semester in Zagreb. So many times during the preparation, I managed to consult several colleagues of ITD Hungary and the embassy staff about dissertation problems and issues. The sum of these impressions also had a significant impact on the development of the thesis and in setting out my views. The experiences and attitudes gained during my field-work are well applied to study the subtle shades of small phenomena. The essence of the method lies in the exceptional depth of understanding makes it possible. This is particularly well suited to examining the areas where relatively narrow set of secondary sources available (G, HERA, GY. LIGETI 2005).

4. I made my examinations with inductive methods. Social and economic geography analysis concerning some border areas was carried out. No comprehensive study has ever been born to analyze the Croatian-Hungarian transborder relations. Several investigations have already been carried out about the Hungarian side of the border, these, in particular dealt with area – and townplanning, urban activities and problems. I relied on these particular results and my collection of data in order to outline the state of the situation.

3. History of literature

I do not examine the two decades after Trianon up until World War II, because they did not directly address the issue of transborder relations. From the point of view of the Croatian-Hungarian relations, it was not even necessary, because of the very weak dividing nature of the state border. The researchers were primarily interested in the creation of “mezo-integrational” opportunities in the Carpathian-Balkan region.

After World War II Hungary, like other states in the Soviet sphere of influence was seeking a declared friendly relationship with all its neighbours. With the operation of a “centralized organizational management” model, such a situation developed in which the boundaries were almost treated as fetishes. Co-operation on the two sides of the border that were developing uniformly in earlier centuries, was only possible with the knowledge and permission of the capital cities (J. TÓTH 2008 p. 130.) (*Figure 1*). "In the spirit of this concept, research concerning borders started, which became intense from the late seventies onwards. We can primarily speak about basic researches, which are designed to demonstrate the socio-economic changes of the past socialist period in the border regions. Most of these studies were social geographical and economic works. Of course, just because of the opportunities only the mainland side of the area was studied.

The representatives of Hungarian geography began to deal actively with the socio-economic problems of border areas from the 1980's. At this point, we could talk less about the assessment of transborder relations, usually only reports on situations were made. Several research workshops of a localized area tried to carry out social geographical examinations of border areas close to their operational area.

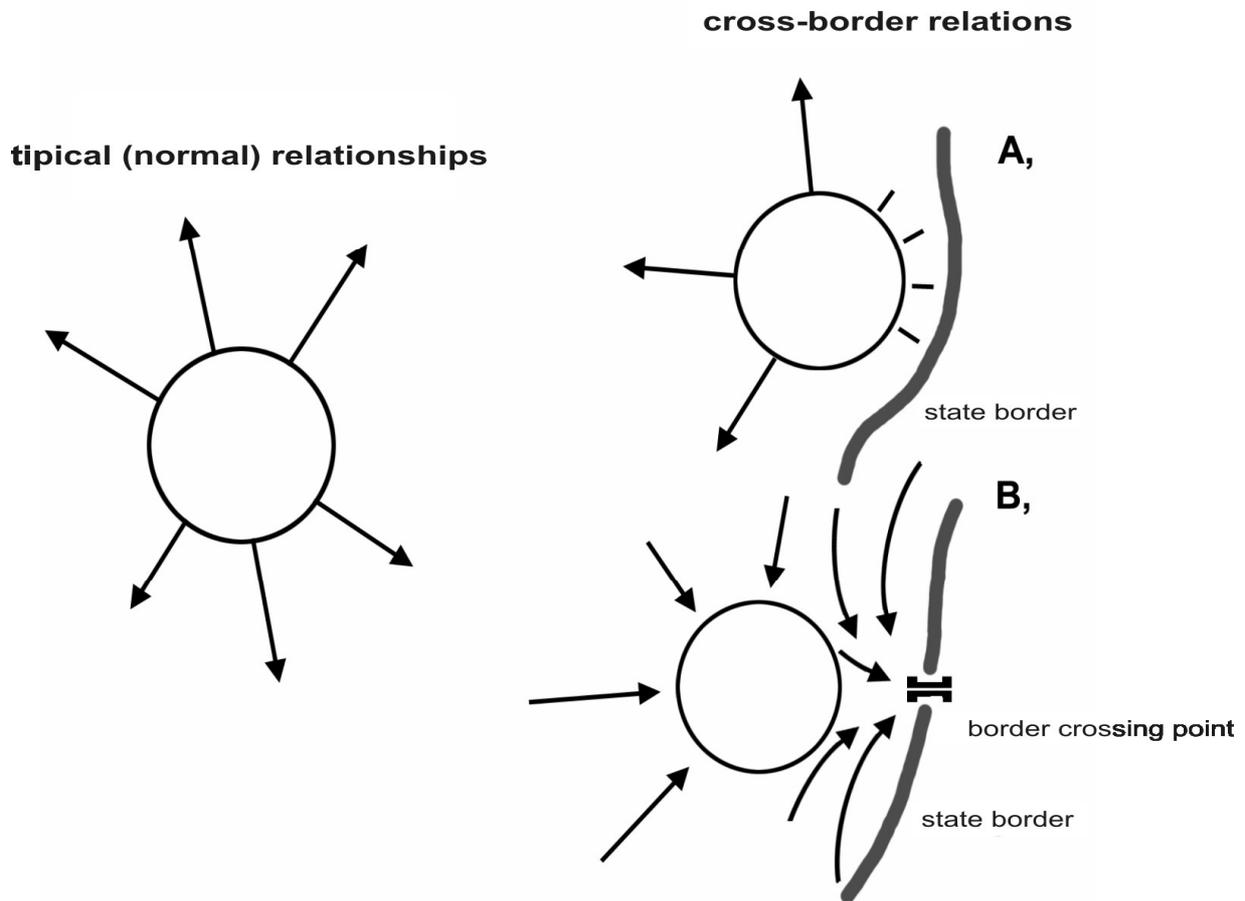
While in most areas research was written in a fine-scale, research along the border in Hungary did not possess a precise area impoundment. In addition, from references used in the works of this period, we can come to the conclusion that these studies were pioneering in nature, and were fed upon other reports concerning transborder issues.

During the period of the state socialism the first overall analysis was published in 1986, with the title "The area – and urbanplanning problems of areas with specific situation" as a work of the MTA Regional Research Center (Pécs) and TS-2 / 2 Program Office. On a Hungarian level, the most theoretical problems of science concerning frontier research were raised, an entire section of more than 20 researchers explained their opinion as representatives of several disciplines represented.

They studied the opportunities lying in the co-operation of neighboring cities on both sides of the border, and drew attention to the role of cross-border ethnic minorities, as emotional, generating factors (GY. ZALA 1988).

In the second half of the eighties the renaissance of a frontier research started. This work showed a significant difference compared to the later ones. Generally, they were social geographical analyses dealing with cross-border areas. In addition, the first attempts to precisely impound the border areas appeared (the researchers still have not been able to fully meet the requirements). We met a number of attempts in designing certain crossborder zones and the establishment of catchment areas.

Figure 1. Forms of crossborder space relations



Source: J. Tóth (ed.) 2008. p. 130.

Another characteristic aspect of the period that the research in the border areas was linked with the testing of the periphery. Arising from the operation of the system of state socialism and space structural relations of our homeland, this result is perfectly understandable. Peripheral areas coincided and, also coincide today in a large number with border regions. The cross-border nature in itself was not considered as the cause of the peripheral character. Some areas and cities of the country close to the border serve as port cities and are at an average level of development, so it is clearly not always possible to talk about under-developed areas (*Figure 2*). Identifying the density and space structural effects of border crossing points and the recognition of the possibility of cooperation based on comparative advantages have also appeared (F. ERDŐSI 1988, Z. HAJDÚ 1988).

After the regime change the examination of crossborder areas and the situation of transborder cooperation and determination of further development directions begun systematically. Geographic science has started researches connected to certain border sections in accordance with the beginning of the EU accession of our neighbouring countries. Thus, the first studies undertook to explore the possibilities and problems of the western border area cooperation. Later, the focus shifted to the eastern and southern areas.

The investigation of the Austrian and Slovak cooperation was undertaken by a workshop led by John Rechnitzer, their works has tried to cover primarily the areas of regional economics, such was the collection of studies entitled "The border separates and connects" (J. RECHNITZER - M. NÁRAI 1999) as well. Large capacities were expended to the analysis of the Slovak region, as is proved by the complex issue (2008/3) of the Space and Society, in which the following issues were discussed: the space structure of the border area, the transborder relations of municipal and regional authorities, the regional features of the retail trade, the characteristics of transborder commuting and Slovak regional policy as well.

The methods of analysis were always the same. Each contained empirical studies to explore the situation of population, employment, economic, tourism; moreover, we get a detailed picture of the situation of interregional cooperation. Süli-Zakar István was among the first to have dealt with Northeastern neighbourhood conditions and problems of euroregional organizations. Studies entitled "Assessing the obstructive impact in the socio-economic progress of the state border in Northeastern-Hungarian border areas." (I. SÜLI-ZAKAR 1992) and "Possibilities to strengthen transborder relations in the Carpathian Euroregion" (I. SÜLI-ZAKAR 1996) were the first to seriously deal with the Northeastern border region of Hungary. In the future, there have also been action programs within the different sectors (ZS. LUKOVICS - I. SÜLI-ZAKAR, 2001). In his work entitled "The basics of area – and town planning" (I. SÜLI-ZAKAR 2003) we get the picture of the current situation in parallel with the presentation of the situation in Europe. "The dimensions of the cross-border nature" (B. BARANYI 2004) deals with the issue and problems of the border region as well.

The social geographical examination in the Romanian and Serbian border areas was carried out by a school under the leadership of Ágnes Pál (Á. PÁL 2000). In the field of the Yugoslav and later the Serbian relations with a number of studies were also published (G. SZÓNOKYNE ANCSIN 2000). The "Szeged school" regularly organizes conferences on the problems of Romanian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Serbian border.

In point of the Austrian, Slovak and Romanian border section a common test methodology seems to emerge, the published studies show a stronger practical and departmental orientation. By today, the investigations of the euro regional cooperation are in background, but in almost all cases, we can meet with them to the tune of a chapter. The above-mentioned common features can be explained by several factors, all three of the border section is the internal border of the EU, so is an active area for the different cross-border programs. This works are actually already the basic research necessary for generating projects. In addition, many mental health assessment and media analysis was born, under which we can get to know the Hungarian neighbourhood and its image of the border (B. BARANYI 2004, T. CSAPÓ 1999, T. DÖRY 1999).

First works appeared in the mid-1990's concerning the dilemmas in the Croatian-Hungarian border co-operation. The University of Pécs, as the active member of the former Pécs-Osijek relations undertook to investigate the problem, the majority of work began within the framework of the Geography Institute. The first studies approached the topic within the framework of the Central and Eastern European co-operation from regional policy (P. GOLOBICS 1995/a), but the socio-economic investigations on the opportunities of the euroregional and regional cooperation have been launched. The different features of Hungarian border regions and cities were analyzed from the point of view of the creation of inter-regional co-operation. Several proposals have been born to determine the scope of potent cities in transborder relations. In the investigations of the Croatian-Hungarian transborder relations the problematic of Slovenian relations and the Hungarian-Slovenian tripartite border was permanently integrated into the topic.

"The opportunities of border areas /regions for cooperation in South-Transdanubia" (P. GOLOBICS 2001) not only describes the current situation, but analyzes the processes

occurring after the regime change on a municipal and regional level as well. The author disserts the positive effects of the M9, M6 and M7 motorways in cross-border relations, and gives a deep analysis on the restructuring of occupational structure in South-Transdanubia. Significant emphasis is put on the territorial development role of territorial authorities and their situation in regional policy. The above mentioned study gives an attempt to redefine the interregional functions of certain regionally important cities, and we receive indications to a system of relations in a really well-operating, genuine euroregional cooperation as well. This study is perhaps the first, which not only presents the current situation, but also places it in a causal context.

The studies adjusted to the “economic and political developmental arch” of the border section. In the first half of the nineties, almost no study was born, but since 1996, the first major studies appear, and those were already presented above. Until the turn of the century only single political and geographical analyses were born, which appeared in parallel with the works concerning the Euroregions. In the last close decade, we can find more departmental ideas based on a more detailed analysis (A. AUBERT – M. MISZLER 2000, P. GOLOBICS 1995/b, Z. HAJDÚ 1999).

By all means, I would like to mention separately the already existing examinations of the problematic Croatian-Slovenian-Hungarian tripartite border. Apart from the study entitled "The Dilemmas of the Hungarian-Croatian cross-border co-operation" (Z. HAJDÚ 1996.), we only find little work which contains a concrete idea, concept of the problematic of the Croatian-Slovenian-Hungarian tripartite border. The author defines the following specific points and areas of cooperation: county of Dráva and Zala, besides also incorporates the potential Austrian interests.

From the point of view of my dissertation, I consider relevant to mention three more studies and say a few more ideas, all three has a practical kind.

The first was made at the University of Pécs, Faculty of Science, Institute of Geography: it is the study entitled “The special relations of Croatian-Hungarian border areas, research on higher education, minority relations, regional planning and regional policy” (Z. HAJDÚ ed. 2002). The second is the “Croat Closing study. Project-developing series of workshops, for the actors of the border counties of Croatia and of Southern Transdanubia” (Z. PÁMER (ed.) 2006). The third “The implementation of the Phare CBC and Interreg III/A Slovenia-Hungary-Croatia Neighborhood Program in South Transdanubia (P. GOLOBICS – P. MERZA- P. TASNÁDI 2005) is a feasibility study, which describes the developmental path of the transborder programs.

All three studies are complex situation analyses, which outline in detail the situation of the institutional and human resource development, their possibilities and perspectives in the Croatian-Hungarian relations. The authors deal with all counties interested in cross-border co-operation, besides we also get a detailed overview of the structure of relations in Croatian-Hungarian minority relations and they introduce the system and policy of territorial development of the independent Croatia, the knowledge of which is essential for a Hungarian project developer. A clear methodological convergence seems with the works on several border sections, with the difference that the change in research methods and content spans a shorter career.

You probably have noticed that so far I did not mention Croatian authors dealing with the transborder relations. Based on my experience of Croatian literature, I think that among Croatian studies or other works dealing specifically with cross-border and transborder relations, only one was serious. Anelko Simić gave a brief overview in 2005. on the current EU programs and up to 4-5 pages gave a detailed overview on cross-border, transborder and other bilateral relations with neighbours. Of course, analytical studies on crossborder regions have been born, but they have not served this main aim. More work was written connected to

Podravina on unemployment, population and regional space structural problems. (T. LUGARIC ROGIC 2005, M. MATICA 2003, 2005, 2006).

4. Theoretical concepts

As a result of the unfolding of the international division of labor geographical science already felt in the 1960's that with the cross-border movement of products the expenditure coefficient was undergoing significant changes. This resulted in the starting and subsequent proliferation of functional research concerning borders. These can be divided into the following groups (W. ASCHAUER 1996):

1. The overall impact of general socio-economic development on border sections.
2. The formal factors and the effects of inter-border relations.
3. The effects of the creation of borders, closing of borders and flexibility of borders with involving the time dimension.
4. The investigation of marginalization and the peripheral situation and relevant spatial planning.
5. The analysis of cross-border and border-related behaviour of border dwellers.

From the point of view of my dissertation, it is essential to clarify any notion connected to border areas and the difference between cross-border and cross-border relations and different techniques and forms of cooperation coming from their qualitative nature.

For the **definition of the border area** we must fix the following theoretical considerations. "There are two approaches in terms of spatiality to prevail in the examination of borders: Line theory and Zone theory. The border is itself a line legally and in its geographical nature but in its content and impact is a zone, a more or less big area, where the interaction of states prevails" (Z. HAJDÚ 1988).

To map this zone, it is important to determine exactly what is exactly called a border area. During the investigations different definitions of the examined geographical space were born. It is characteristic that those actors of the aggregational level of data used are (municipality, region, county) involved in the studies, which has some kind of contact with any state border. "The choice of the aggregational level is affected by the quality of our investigations, because the economic and political impacts of borders prevail on a greater field, while its impacts on social relations can only be felt in border villages nearest to the border" (T. HARDI 2000 p. 597).

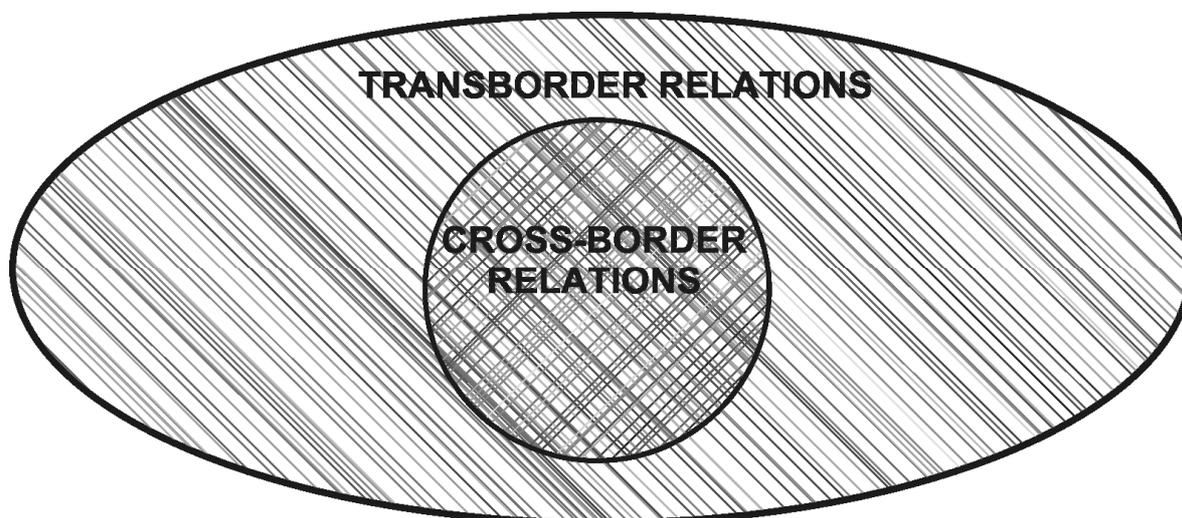
The selection of our area to be tested is strongly influenced by the political nature of the border, which is always changing. The strength of attraction through the state borders depends on this, and this can degrade transborder relationships to an organized co-operation between centres on a state level. Currently, we can calculate on the strengthening of the contact function, this may show into the direction of joint projects and the first rudimentary steps in coordinating territorial planning (J. NEMES NAGY 1998 p. 141).

The exact definition of the border areas of the country is completely a matter of country and area. In Europe, the borders of each country always had different historical developments than the country itself and bore different political and geographical characteristics. Therefore, in the following I am trying to establish definitions applied only to the Hungarian relations. By cross-border areas, I mean geographical areas next to the border, on which the complexity of all socio-economic components coming from the presence of the state border. These areas show a dynamic nature, because depending on the political and economic changes their dimensions vary considerably during a short period of time. Their impact on the network of strata on a medium distance is often static in nature. Therefore,

especially in the period of “etherealization” of borders the formerly operating new catchment areas can renew very difficultly and based on past experiences, they sometimes does not even renew! It is to be established, that the extension of the cross-border area is highly dependent on the nature of the geographical space that is influenced by historical and current political factors. Hence, the distance of this area from the state border can be estimated exactly in km-s only at the moment.

As the strength of the already mentioned attractions is variable, as a result of the loose texture of the border areas in Croatian-Hungarian cooperation we must distinguish **the transborder and cross-border relations** (Figure. 2). Due to the lack of texture, the rate of attractions in some sections of the Croatian-Hungarian border is at a statistically barely detectable level, or no longer exists. In these areas, we cannot talk about cross-border cooperation in the classic sense. The socio-economic relations on the two sides of the border are vanishing, they do not result in social and economic profit. However, between the micro – and mezoregional centres of adjacent areas, we could experience some kind of bilateral relationship in each case. In these cases, we can no longer speak of cross-border relations; these systems of relations already exhaust the existence of transborder relations.

Figure 2. Cross-border and transborder relations



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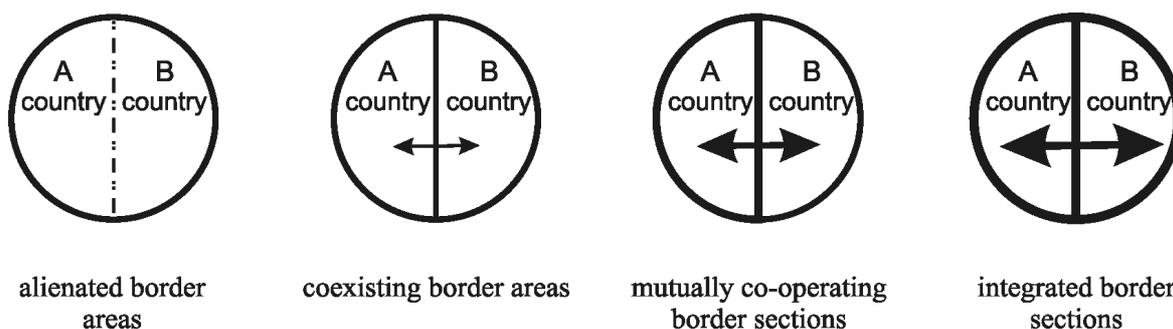
The occurrence of cross-border relations is characteristic to such segment of the space, where the totality of socio-economic components sprung from the presence of the state border is only weakly or not at all noticeable. In concerned countries, these interactions usually take place and start in an area with a central and centre nature, and the actual co-operation takes place among these actors. Transborder relations form a larger and more complex system than cross-border collaboration. Practically, cross-border relations are such kinds of transborder relations, which manifests in narrower border regions far away from the center areas, generally in the most peripheral position.

As I already mentioned, the territorial delimitation is extremely difficult and it is not possible to identify a clear area of influence. It is therefore important to demonstrate that how I delimited the test area. I did not limit my investigation only to the cross-border micro regions and the border counties; consequently, I examined the interstate and significant EU relations, since the above-mentioned centers and regional centers adjusted to them. Nor Croatia neither Hungary possesses adequate resources to enhance and deepen cooperation, both countries

have a significant chance to utilize the financial resources of the EU's regional policy hence revitalize economic development in its rural (border) areas.

As I already mentioned in the case of our country we can experience that there is no or only weak contact zone was formed directly next to the border, while in the internal areas of the country major relations have evolved. This is most in relation with the issue of “Effective state territory” is (N. PAP 2005). In the case of Somogy and Baranya county’s areas next to the Dráva River this problem has been constant since the regime change.

Figure 3. Interactions in the border areas



Source: T. HARDI 2009 pp. 30.

Nevertheless we can conclude that we witnessed a positive development process (with minor interruptions) over the past two decades. Based on Tamás Hardi’s system of border classification: in the 1990’s the Croatian-Hungarian border regions that coexisted, reached the level of mutual cooperation. Between the two countries stability is characteristic and typical social complementary factor facilitate the development of interactions. But the most advanced level, the interactive border region has not yet been achieved (*Figure 3*). In traces, on an ad hoc basis, we experienced some results, but these has not yet exhaust the "integrated" concept (T. HARDI – Z. HAJDÚ – I. MEZEI 2009. pp. 30).

From the above mentioned we could come to the conclusion, that from the point of view of cross-border relations the most pressing permanent problem is the fragmentation (decrease) of catchment areas well-functioning in the past, and the partial stabilization of the truncated situation. Therefore, I would like to mention a few ideas from Lösch. The distortion of catchment areas, or the market area can not only be caused by political boundaries with duty functions. With the „etherealization” of borders the same peripheral situation may persist, and the strengthening of relationships can only start in the center-center relations. In addition, differing economic circumstances can also initiate the activity of border areas and their centres, and some sort of specialization can start in certain activity circles as well. In the future, we will also see this in further Chapters (A. NIEBHUR – S. STILLER 2004, J. RECHNITZER 1999).

In terms of subsequent analysis in my thesis I would like to touch upon the nature of institutional relations and within these the problem of the **euroregions** will appear as well. Among the institutional relations state organizations, local governments and municipal and urban links should be mentioned. From the point of view of the analysis of cross-border relations these are also the subject of research on the basis of the above definitions. The first contacts have been built within the framework of these. In a historical view, the first Euroregional initiatives have emerged in Western Europe (Dutch, German, French-German relation) along such borders, which have gained a great geopolitical sensitivity throughout history. We can conclude that the XXI century Europe can be the Europe of the regions. The Western-European model of regionalism could become a pan-European model.

The name Euroregion, or Euregio is used more often when you want to designate an area in which mutual inter-regional, so to say cross-bridging economic, social, cultural, and other types of co-operation exists between two or more states and local governments (I. SÜLI-ZAKAR 1996).

“The formal structure of cross-border cooperation is the Euroregion, which includes representatives of local and regional authorities, and sometimes the social and economic partners. Euroregion possesses a specific structure, of which the highest level is the elected council, followed by the committee, as well as thematic working groups and the Permanent Secretariat” (GY. ÉGER 2000. p. 11).

Based on the Western-European literature sources we can summarize the key features of the Euroregion as follows: the most effective forms of cross-border cooperation in Europe help to dismantle the developmental differences in the border areas, strengthen the people's mutual trust and cooperation, they are the best test area of neighborhood and integration, they also help to eliminate the past negative political heritage, as well as the inclusion of Central Europe into the EU.

5. Research findings

I defined four aims to examine the Croatian-Hungarian cross-border relations in the first Chapter of my dissertation. These were the following:

1. *Observe that:* how does Croatia's EU accession process affect the Croatian-Hungarian border relations?
2. *Check that:* How did the Croatian-Hungarian inter-state relations form? Is there a correlation between the development of interstate relations and the development of transborder relations?
3. *Observe that:* What factors influence the intensity of relationships?
4. *Check that:* What kinds of relationships have been built in Croatia since its independence?
5. *Check that:* Are there cross-border or transborder relations between the two countries?

5.1. The first objective of the hypothesis and the results

My first hypothesis was that the EU accession process opened up a number of options to tender, which give a great help to finance the development of cross-border relations in the Croatian-Hungarian border. The utilization of these shows a changing picture in both countries.

After my examinations, I see that besides the Croatian EU integration the expansion of the Schengen zone is significant from the point of view of the development of transborder relations. With the end of administrative barriers more opportunities that have been unavailable so far will open along the Croatian-Hungarian section, for example the number of border crossings can be increased more easily on sections with a lower density.

The efficiency of cooperation may vary significantly in a positive direction in three areas, namely in the relation of Baranya and Osijek-Baranya county, and in the former historical Zala county. In these areas, the separating role of the Dráva River does not apply. Croatia's entry into the Schengen zone will bring positive changes in all socio-economic aspects of “river-utilization”. The third area is Barcs and its regions. For the city on the bank of a border river the Dráva has been a factor in separation. Today, however, Dráva no longer

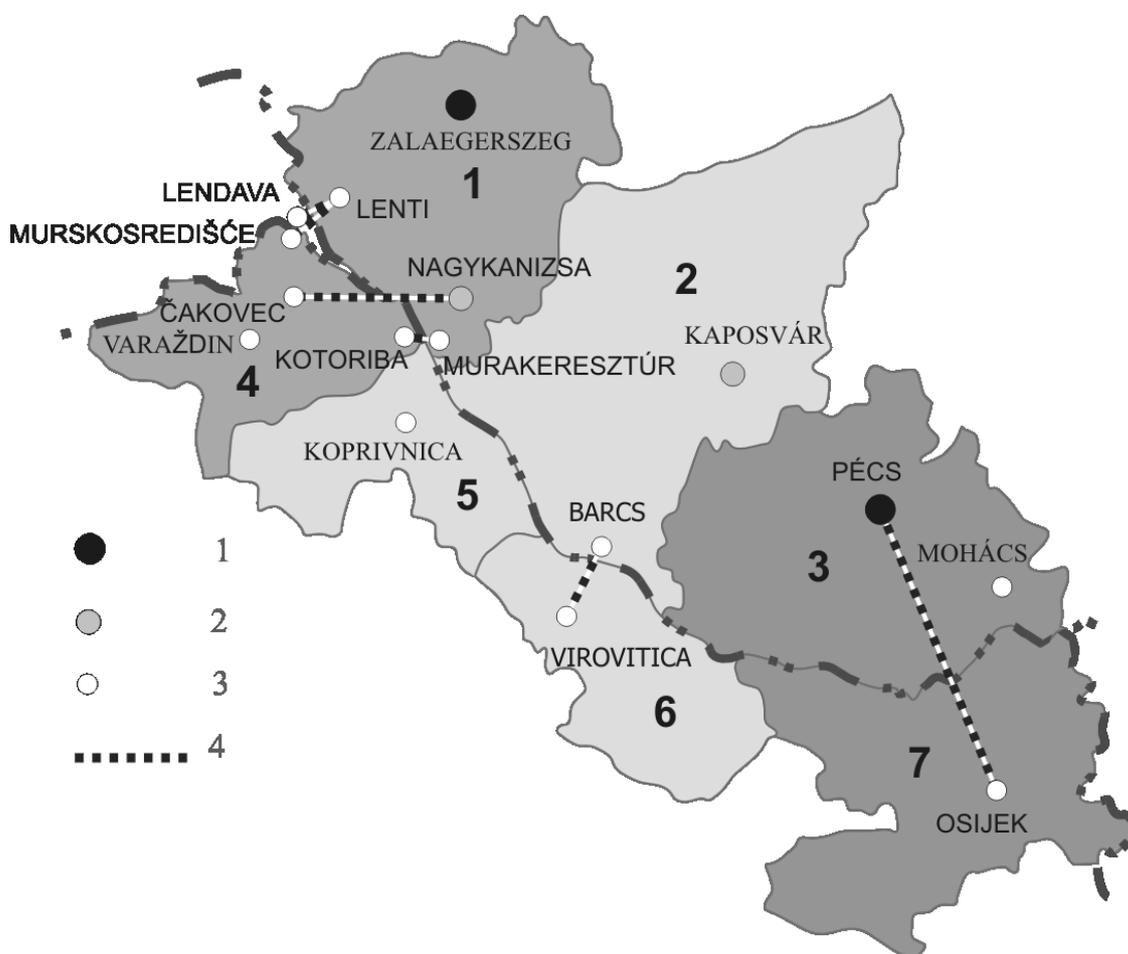
separates, but more and better connects. This is not only due to the road bridge and the border crossing point but also due to the cooperation initiatives built on the river.

If we examine the successful tenders in the past the four years, then we can draw conclusions regarding their geographical location. One is that they show a strong convergence/correlation with the space structural relations of Hungary. A number of winning proposals were received from dense texture areas. In addition, corridors that define cooperation and reach our country show a positive anomaly on the score of the occurrence of “winners” (Figure 4.).

The occurrence of winner tenders is strongly affected by the size of the given local government and the preparedness of the apparatus available. The seats of counties and regional organizations are the most successful in the tendering. The smaller municipalities are almost completely excluded from the tender money, one can find positive examples, as Murakeresztúr.

It is likely that after Croatia's EU accession and entry into the Schengen zone a modest intensification phase will begin.

Figure 4. Willingness to tender along the Croatian-Hungarian border



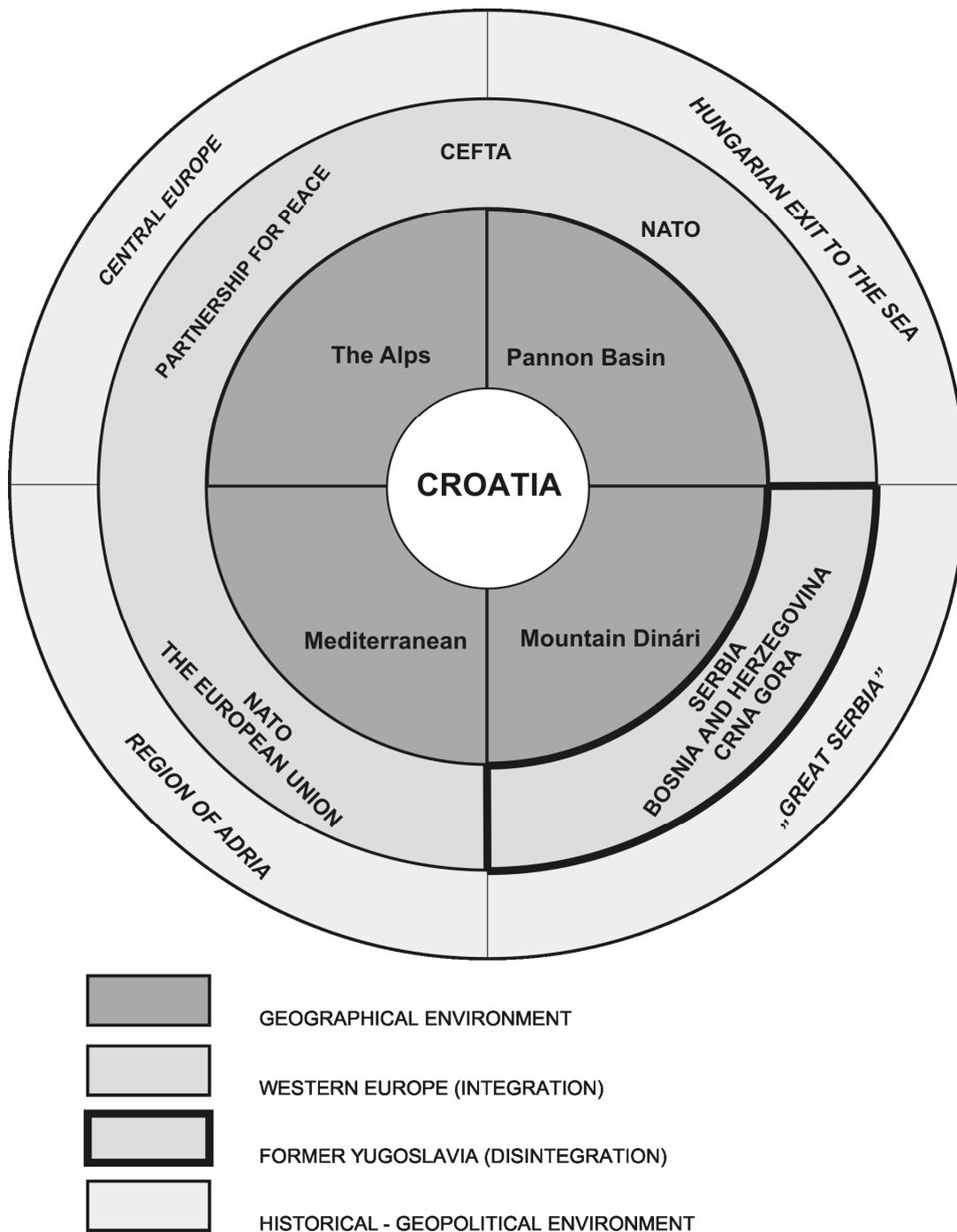
Explanation: 1. the most active villages during application procedures, 2. villages with partial activity 3. Periodic activity index matches, 4 Active relation between twin cities

Source: author's own editing, 2009.

5.2. The second objective of the hypothesis and the results

The **second hypothesis** was that there is a very close correlation between the Croatian-Hungarian inter-state relations and the development of cross-border relations. I think that the hypothesis is proved. The Croatian-Hungarian inter-state relations exerted to make a significant influence over cross-border relations of the last seventeen years.

Figure 5. Croatia's geopolitical environment after the “patriotic” war



Source: the figure is the author's own editing based on V. CVRITLA, 2000 Republika Hrvatska - gateway prema jugoistočnoj Europi.

This is mainly due to the geopolitical rearrangement in the Carpathian-Balkan region and in the narrower Carpathian Basin in the 1990's. We had to construct our neighbourhood policy and transborder relations with a completely new neighbour in a constitutional sense. Especially in the beginning, coexistence, and the doctrine of peaceful co-operation was dominant from the Hungarian side. The main reason for this was the southern Slav crisis of which our neighbour was also a part. Along almost third of the 355 km state border section, transit was impossible totally or partially, besides several conscious frontier violations took place as well. These were primarily committed by the Croatian part and not the aggressor Yugoslavia (Serbia). In the period up until 1998, the Hungarian policy about Croatia is characterized by a high degree of patience and emotions. In the beginning, this was due the fact that the ruling parties were part of one political family. In later stages, Hungary also played an active role in the reconstruction; it was manifested in human strength or only a symbolic material support (*Figure 5*).

The beginning of the upward period is related to the operation of the Orbán government. In February 2001, a free trade agreement was born, and then in 2002 the Szábor ratified the Croatian-Hungarian Minority Protection Convention. Approximately, by 2002 we managed to develop relations of cooperation supported by stable general intergovernmental agreements with our southern neighbour. Since 2004, the Hungarian government has actively assisted the success of Croatian EU integration in the European scene and during the bilateral cooperation.

The year 2006 is considered as a milestone between the two countries; it was the first joint cabinet meeting. Here we can practically talk of a bilateral strategic planning. Many problems concerning cross-border and transborder areas were also discussed, and several decent solutions have been taken. Particular attention is paid to the field of economy, infrastructure, environment, tourism, cultural co-operation and also the development of transborder relations.

It can be clearly stated that the development of Croatian-Hungarian transborder relations show a strong correlation with the development of interstate relations. This is facilitated by the different government structures of the two countries as well. The Hungarian one has a horizontal structure; it is highly fragmented and liberal, while the Croatian shows a strong verticality and it is centralized. On the one hand, it is due to the above mentioned reasons, on the other hand, it is caused by the lack of active and legitimate Hungarian middle levels, that is why problems must be solved on the level of the government.

5.3. The third objective of the hypothesis and the results

The third hypothesis was that there are a number of barriers and enabling factors that have a significant influence on the Croatian-Hungarian transborder relations.

After an in-depth exploration, my opinion was that space structural problems arising on the Hungarian side mainly affect the transborder relations. The south and south-western borderlands of Hungary belong to areas of loose texture, with a lack of functional cities. Therefore, in this region "affections through state borders" very poorly prevail. (P. GOLOBICS – P. MERZA 2002). The cross-border areas belong to the rural space on both sides; they are characterized by a loose network of settlements without a centre and a society with only a moderate ability for innovation.

From the point of view of Croatian-Hungarian cooperation depending on areas of loose texture we must make a distinction should be made in point of transborder and cross-border relations. As a result of the incomplete texture along some sections of the Croatian-Hungarian border the rate of attractions is statistically not or hardly detectable. So, in these areas we can not talk about cross-border cooperation in the classic sense of. The socio-

economic relations of areas on the two sides of the border are infinitesimal; they do not result in any social or economic profit. However, between the micro-and mezo-regional centers of adjacent areas an organic connection can be experienced in most cases. These settlements (regional and regional centers) in most cases are outside the zone where we can feel the factors coming from the presence of the state border, so here we can speak of - based on the former definition - transborder relations. Taking into consideration features of space structural capabilities it would be expedient to encourage co-operation in developing relationships along the Mohács-Pécs-Kaposvár-Nagykanizsa-line (Figure 6.).

Figure 6. A number of possible areas in the emergence of cross-border relations



The author's own editing 2009

The conditions caused by the space structural relation have a significant influence on the specific situation of bilateral relationships a potential duo of Barcs-Virovitica (Verőce). In contrast with the Pécs-Osijek duo, their co-operation should not be based on comparative advantages, but on the benefits of economic power of joint action.

5.4. The fourth objective, hypothesis and the results

The **fourth hypothesis** was that, over the past 15 years, relationships were operating with a different level of efficiency.

Concerning the Croatian-Hungarian border, we can talk about five completely or only partially operating Euroregional organizations: the Alps-Adriatic Working Community (AAMK), the Danube-Drava-Sava Euroregion (DDSZE), the Drava-Mura Euroregion, the Mura-Drava Euroregion and the Murenia Euroregion. These organizations possessed different lifecycles and went on different careers.

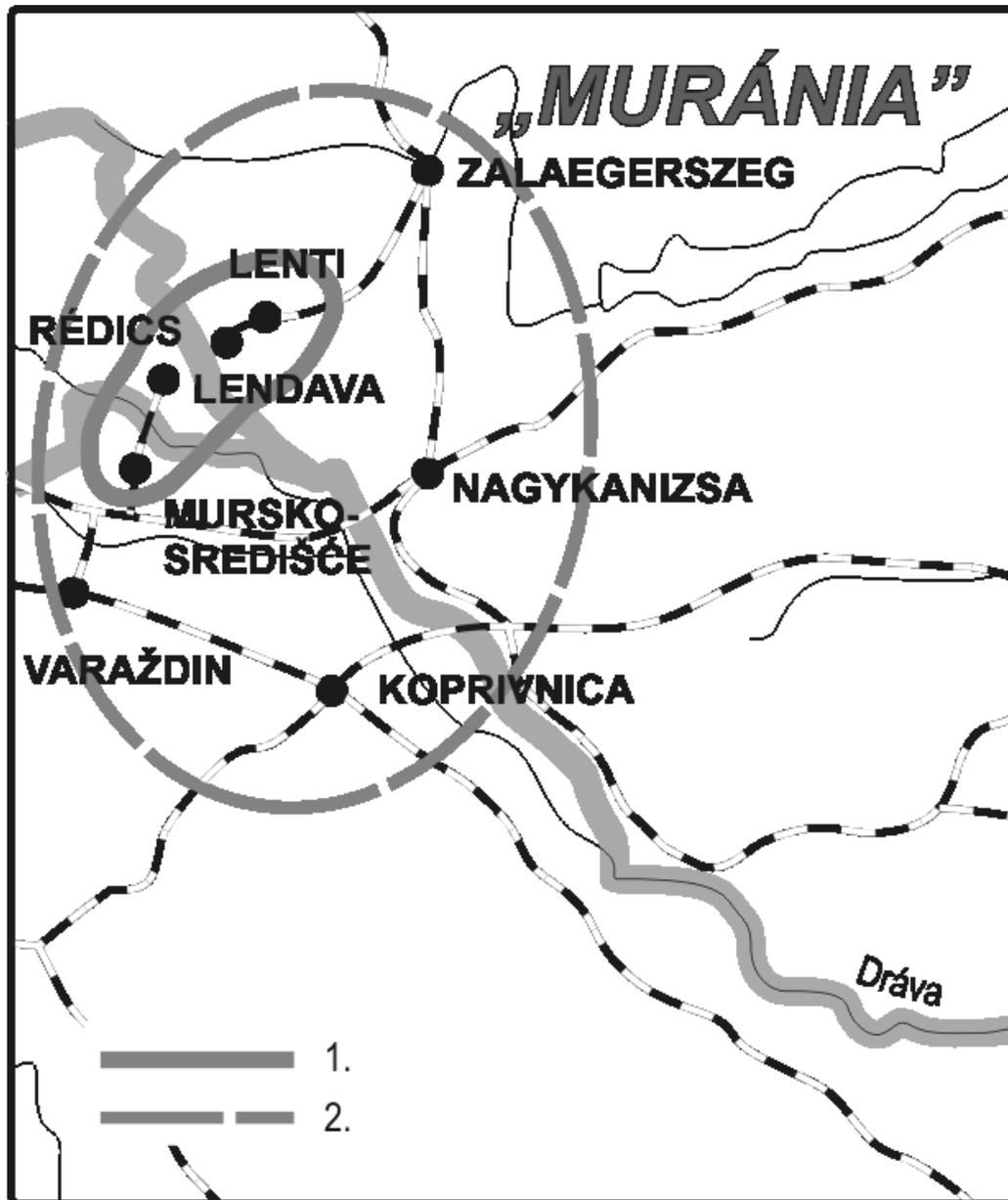
The **AAMK** founded in 1978, was the first among them, which has already perished, when in 2005, three founding provinces, and in 2006, Győr-Moson-Sopron County has also quit. In state socialism for Hungarian counties and Croatia it meant the general school of democracy and helped in the preservation of ethnic and cultural traditions and in maintaining the weak but improving relationships. In an economic sense, members were and are able to show little result that has emerged as a consequence of the operation of the organization. These were annual fairs, which were accompanied by workshop-style meetings. In the future, in favour of the effectiveness of the result the organizing of an operational body with administrative, economic, diplomatic and tender writers on a multinational basis would be reasonable, whose task would be to carry out the development and implementation of projects convergent with EU objectives. This will further enhance the flow of information and the extension of intensive discussion to mezo –and microregional levels in order to enhance and deepen co-operation.

In a broader sense, the **DDSZE** was designed to help the co-operation of municipalities and regions of a “river interstice” (Z. HAJDÚ 2009). The organization's past, present and future is organically linked to the successful co-operation of the Pécs-Osijek (Eszék) duo. Tuzla can only enrich this, but now has no influence. All is provided for the success, the V / C corridor will be complete until 2010 in Hungary, and in Croatia the work is already in the planning stage. During 2009, the sources of the Hungarian-Croatian IPA Transborder Cooperation Program opened up; more than 19 million of the amount is available. It is also important to establish one more relevant factor. Eszék and Pecs has suffered from significant urbanization deficit in the past one and a half decade. However, it can be stated in view of the national and local municipal territorial plans, that using both the comparative advantages coming from the socio-economic situation and the administrative positions in the mainland, the co-operation of the above-mentioned Osijek-Pécs Even carries significant opportunities.

We can clearly state, with no doubt that the **Mura-Drava Euroregion and Drava-Mura Euroregion** initiatives both ran aground. Later, you will only have Nagykanizsa with any kind of chance, but only as a mezoregional logistics center. In the near future, as previously it will only possess limited direct cross-border capabilities. Currently, the border mncrossing Letenye, twenty-five miles from Nagykanizsa, conduct the most traffic, of which, however, the vast majority is transit.

The situation of the **Murania Euroregion (Figure 7.)** differs significantly from the former ones. While earlier we talked about mezoregions with great and middle-size cities, in connection with the emerging "Murania Euroregion" this is not true. Here, almost all settlements with economic potential and the status of an urban settlement can only be reckoned in the small town category with even the best intentions. With the continuous development of transport infrastructure and the expansion of the Schengen area, and reproduction of crossing helping double passages (Letenye the old highway No. 7) the region creates significant opportunities to eliminate the negative consequences of the boundaries in the former historical territory of Zala County. In practice, a multicultural, peripheral area got back to the socio-economic mainstream circulation. Peripheral nature can still be experienced, as the Slovenian-Croatian Muraköz, and the Hungarian Muramente was the state of the distraction of capital and in the 1990's got little extra investment compared to its the backwardness. After the turn of the century development processes have started due to the more intense lobbying activity of local cultural and economic elite.

Figure 7. Potential areas of cooperation and possibilities of expansion in the “Murania region” in Croatian-Slovenian-Hungarian relations.



Explanation: 1.the border of the Euroregion, 2.the potential border of expansion

Source: the author's own editing, 2009

5.5. The fifth objective of the hypothesis and the results

The **fifth hypothesis** was that in the Croatian-Hungarian relation transborder and not cross-border relations are concerned in particular.

This hypothesis was confirmed, it was the combined impact of several factors. Relationship between the two countries was accompanied by a paradoxical situation until Trianon as a result of the historical characteristics of the border from which a few more mental factors passed on. Although after the 1868 Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, the border was only an administrative one, nevertheless, it stayed an ethnic and identity dividing line. People still see the neighbour as the "other side" unlike our state borders inhabited by Hungarians on

both sides. This is supported by the cognitive image of Croatia by the South Transdanubian secondary school students (K. LAKOTÁR 2009). It is clear that this is further changed, because Hungarian nationality in Croatia occurs only in a small block in Croatian- Baranya. This gives a clearly different strength from the other sections in cross-border relations, compared to Hungarian-Hungarian relationships in the Slovak and Romanian connection, the development of Hungarian-Croatian relationships is even more difficult.

Another factor, that along the Drava River a nearly 144 km long river border runs between the two countries. The river is determined to a separating role as a result of its difficult navigability, moreover this is further accompanied by the above mentioned poor transport and space structural relations on both banks of the river and the underdevelopment of human resources.

As a result of these elements directly along the Croatian-Hungarian border any sustained and intense working relationship between municipalities and organizations along the entire 355 km did not develop, the border attractions are only limited and temporary. The majority of the contacts start from regional centres far away from the border or from smaller junctions.

6. The benefits of research and future directions

The global nature of the five major results in the thesis shows that my work on the problematic of Croatian-Hungarian transborder relations is one of the first comprehensive work of art in the subject. It aimed to present the problems in a complex system of coherence. The empirical evidence gained during the research shows that those actors in the issue own a wide-range local but a narrow range of comprehensive knowledge. My aim was this combination of knowledge and a systemic examination. The work is very useful for actors wishing to deepen relations and during the calling of the increasingly available EU sources. Especially, it serves as a good starting point for the local authorities, education and administrative institutions for generating projects. In addition, if the need for a system based and at least a medium term “foreign policy” was born in the Hungarian government, it would also be a useful basis for the development of a successful policy with Croatia.

The results and the findings of my work will make a good service to students and scholars dealing with land development, regional policy, micro-region development, tourism, Croatia, the Balkans and Southeastern Europe. In addition, it might be useful for any interested in the topic.

Four main directions of further research are defined. The first is the potential for further development of inter-state relations, on such levels of cross-border cooperation, in which local actors are unable to assert their influence. The second direction is to further develop relations that are already performing. By this, I mean the Murania (Croatian-Hungarian-Slovenian tripartite border), the Barcs-Verőce, Eszék- Pécs relation. The third version would be the investigation of the Serbian-Croatian-Hungarian investigation tripartite border. For our country, it is also a priority area from the point of view of political stability and the recovery of the Danube. Hungary as the third member of the transborder cooperation can help hasten the Croatian-Serbian approach as well. The fourth direction is probably the most “topic specific”. By examining a number of projects achieved or not achieved so far, we could also make several conclusions that help creating projects henceforth.

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