ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHICAL SPATIAL STRUCTURES IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN (REGIME CHANGES, COOPERATION OPPORTUNITIES AND ABSURDITIES ON THE TURN OF THE $20^{\rm TH}$ AND $21^{\rm ST}$ CENTURIES)

Summary for final report on the research No. FT2 104801

Leader:

Hardi, Tamás PhD senior research fellow, MTA KRTK RKI NYUTO

Participants:

Hajdú, Zoltán DSc scientific counsellor, MTA KRTK RKI DTO

Mezei, István PhD research fellow, MTA KRTK RKI KÉTO

Miklósné Zakar, Andrea PhD. college lecturer, Tomori Pál Főiskola, Kalocsa

Nagy, Imre CSc senior research fellow, MTA KRTK RKI ATO

Uszkai, Andrea junior research fellow, MTA KRTK RKI NYUTO

GYŐR October 2015

1. Research objective, circumstances of the research

The Carpathian Basin as a physical geographical unit is divided among the territories of several states. Of these, Hungary and Slovakia are in the basin with their full territories, while some areas of further six states are located within the basin. The relations of these states to the Carpathian Basin as a natural, historical and political spatial unit are diverse, and changing in the function of the historical situation and the changes of the political regimes. These relations impact the formation of the spatial frameworks of inner policy (political spatial structures) of the respective states and also the external and internal political and geopolitical relationship system of the Carpathian Basin as a whole. The spatial views of the state territories that are relatively new, born after the regime changes (successor states of disintegrated federations), and of the regimes have basically changed compared to those of the previous state formations. (An analysis of historical scale was already conducted in our previous OTKA work called Hardi-Hajdú-Mezei: Határok és városok a Kárpát-medencében, Borders and cities in the Carpathian Basin. MTA RKK, Győr-Pécs 2009.) In our research we wanted to explore this new spatial view, to see in what political and spatial categories the neighbour states think, how they relate to them; how they perceive and transform the inner political spatial structures; what impact it all has on the socioeconomic spatial structure; and how it influences the political and economic cooperation opportunities in the Carpathian Basin and Central Europe. Accordingly, our work was done in the fields of political geography and regional science, also using the methodology of administrative and electoral geography and of mental mapping. Our main research result is a "cadastre of spatial views" that allows orientation in the issues of the geopolitical attitudes of the neighbour countries.

In the beginning of our work we restricted our examinations to six neighbour states of Hungary that have major territories belonging to the Carpathian Basin. During the work, however, it became clear that the research of the relationship system is incomplete without Hungary and Slovenia featuring in the research plan, so we analysed these two countries as well, *making the geographical coverage complete*.

Our methods included media research, the collection and analysis of geography schoolbooks, research interviews and of course the collection of professional literature. Our attitude was influenced by the intention to get to know the views of the inhabitants living in the neighbouring countries, and so we collected the papers of the researchers of the neighbour states and organised a researchers' forum in Győr for the Hungarian colleagues living in the neighbour countries, for Slovak colleagues in Košice (Kassa) and for Hungarian and Romanian colleagues in Cluj Napoca (Kolozsvár).

Our goal was to get to know the attitudes of the neighbour nations and so we intentionally neglected the research of the issue of the Hungarian ethnic minority. On the other hand, when looking at the geographical attitudes we first made a test questioning in Transylvania, asking persons of Hungarian ethnic minority in Hungarian language, and the first analyses showed significant differences compared to the responses given by the majority Romanian respondents and also to the expected Hungarian opinions recorded in Hungary. Thus we extended our work and we also looked at Hungarian control groups in countries that have considerable Hungarian ethnic blocks (Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, and Ukraine). This increased the number of research dimensions, but this guaranteed the unity of the findings and also added a new direction of analyses to the originally existing ones, i.e. the issues of the ethnic determinations of spatial views.

Questionnaire

The most painstaking, time and money consuming method that we used was the questionnaire survey concerning the mental map. The questionnaire (Appendix I) focused on the spatial views of the respondents: into which macro-region they locate their own countries and the neighbour countries. Although we carried out this activity in eight countries, we also extended our questions to the neighbours of the respective countries. This was necessary to be able to see the relationship systems made in our broader region and the characteristics of these systems. So in a geographical sense we conducted the research in eight countries but some of our questions were related to no less than 20 countries (Figure 1).

Our questionnaire was divided into several theme blocks. First we asked the respondents where they would categorise their own countries and the other 19 states. This clearly showed with whom they accepted a "spatial community", with which states they feel they "belong together" in a geographical sense. As our work started from the examination of the Carpathian Basin, we also asked our

respondents to indicate in a map the Carpathian Basin and the geographical concepts that are more or less synonyms of that: Middle Danube Basin and Pannonian Basin. We also asked associative questions concerning the respective spatial concepts. An important part of the questionnaire was questions about the judgements of the countries of the region and the relationship systems of the respondents: which countries they had been to, where they would/would not like to travel and with which states they saw economic cooperation as important. Interesting network charts were made from the responses.

A separate block in our questionnaire was the analysis of the inner spatial structure of the own states. In this we asked the respondents to draw the major spatial units into a map, then evaluate them and give their preferences. The questionnaire was translated into the languages of all countries and the geographical specifications were proofread by geographer colleagues living in the respective countries. In a total of 19 cities in the seven neighbour countries and in 7 cities of Hungary we asked a total of 1,294 university students (Figure 1; Table 1). This breakdown allows us to analyse the regional disparities of the responses, especially to see whether the thinking of the inhabitants living along the border areas in Hungary is similar to that of the inhabitants living in the respective state or not.



Figure 1: Research area of the questionnaire survey

Source: Questionnaires 2014

Table 1: Breakdown of the sample of the questionnaire survey by countries and ethnicity

Country	Non- Hungarian	Hungarian	Total of							
_	respondents, persons									
Romania	162	84	246							
Slovakia	194	69	263							
Austria	112	0	112							
Serbia	120	41	161							
Ukraine	45	11	56							
Croatia	146	0	146							
Slovenia	66	0	66							
Hungary	0	244	244							
TOTAL	845	449	1294							

Source: Questionnaires 2014

When defining the breakdown of our sample we took into consideration what proportion of the territory of the respective state is within the Carpathian Basin. During our work these numbers were expanded, as rationality simply required further responses and in some places the colleagues living in the neighbour states were so enthusiastic in their assistance that they had more questionnaires filled out than was required. Unfortunately, in the case of Ukraine the sample is smaller than was expected. The numbers are enough in themselves, but we wanted responses from outside Transcarpathia and a large number of Hungarian control group. This was made impossible by the crisis that broke out meantime, and we found the content of our questionnaire too risky – especially considering the interests of our assistants in Ukraine – and so we abandoned further questionings there.

The questionnaire used in Serbia had a slightly modified content, also because of the current geopolitical issues. The independence efforts of Kosovo violate the interests of Serbia; it is an important issue of internal politics and so we were asked at the locations of the questioning sessions to exclude Kosovo as a sovereign state from the questionnaire. Accordingly, Kosovo is not featured among the states asked about in questionnaires filled out by Serbs (and the Hungarian control group in Serbia).

In most places we conducted the questionnaire survey ourselves, we used our relationship system in a few places, only (Bucharest and Nagyszeben, i.e. Sibiu), asking colleagues to do the work there. The objective of our work was justified by the fact that in each country we found non-Hungarian colleagues who happily participated in the questioning sessions.

We processed the responses given to the questionnaires and made a database. A further difficulty here was the elimination of the language barriers which concerned not only Hungarian language but the content of the geographical concepts as well. This made several consultations necessary with Hungarian fellow geographers living in the neighbour countries so that we certainly understand the content and background of the respective concepts.

It was a general experience that the drawing task related to the macro-regions was beyond the level of average geography skills, and so no or only partial results that allow generalisations could be drawn from them. The majority of the questions, however, were suitable for processing, significant differences were found among the respective countries and ethnicities, the relations networks among the countries, the attitudes and prejudices were clearly indicated, which help us understand the background of the inner geopolitical relations and their mental geographical foundations in our region.

Publications

The research findings were published in a book and in several other forms (these are included in the electronic report). Our book was published in paper and also in e-book formats.

Papers in international periodicals and a books chapter will soon be published:

Hardi, T.: Various mental images about the geographical extension of Central, Southeast and Eastern Europe (a mental map survey in eight countries). To be published in: Bulletin of Geography (Poland). Expected date of publication: December 2015

The two papers below, already sent in for publication, discuss the findings of this present research together with previous findings. (Reference is made to the present research.)

Hardi, T.: Living and housing on both sides of the border. Periodical: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie. Paper written on request for a special issue on the spatial processes of Central Europe. Under review. Expected date of publication: Spring of 2016

Hardi, T. Asymmetries in the formation of the transnational borderland in the Slovak–Hungarian border region. Book chapter written on request. In: Schnuer, G. (ed.) European Borderlands: Barriers and Bridges in Everyday Life. Ashgate. Expected date of publication: 2016

Our findings are also suitable for writing further manuscripts, and so further publications will be made from them. Especially the ethnic determinations of spatial view will be analysed in further papers.

2. A brief summary of the findings

The new scientific findings achieved by the research can be classified as follows:

a) Definition and introduction of the use of the Carpathian Basin as a spatial concept, its history and functional content.

The historically changing perception of geography, the rearrangements of its concepts are present in relation with the Carpathian Basin as well. The recognition processes changing over the historical eras were always related to interests and values. The most significant impact was that of the state, not only by the support of researches but also by its expectations against education.

The geographical skills of the different nations, the geographical space experienced collectively and individually is worth attention to let us see what community legitimacy a spatial category or a certain spatial concept has. Actually geographical spaces were and still are to a large extent the carriers of spatial community issues – which people and nation accept spatial community with whom and with whom they do not want to live with and function "under" another dominant spatial perception, defined by the other party. This may be relevant for the geographical researches, education, propaganda, public speech etc.

Looking at the phases of the birth and development of the relations between Hungarian regional geography and the political space we can say that geographical science first used partly the concept of the non-differentiated "region" of public thinking and public speech, then, as a result of the development going on in international geographical science, the concept of region was gradually filled up with geographical academic content. In the beginning it was of course used as a physical geographical category, later – partly influenced by French human geography and partly because of the losses after World War I – it was also given a political and public administrative content.

Grabbing and analysing the mutual relationship and interdependence of region-based state and state-based region appeared partly as a theoretical issue but mostly as the issue of the relationship of the Hungarian state and the Carpathian Basin in Hungarian geography. After World War I, in Hungarian geography there was a strengthening belief that it is not geography that has to adjust itself to the political and administrative division but vice versa, it is the administrative division that must be built upon the objective spatial categories of geography, the natural units of existence: regions and the hierarchy of regions.

After the military defeat in 1918, Hungarian regional geography was confronted with several basic issues: once the territorial unity and coincidence of the Carpathian Basin and the historical Hungarian state ceased to exist, how should natural macro-, meso- and micro-regions be designated within the new state borders, given that the country (the new state territory) is no longer a physical geographical unit. Is it possible to perceive and examine the areas within the new state borders as physical geographical units? In what form can physical geographical regions exist in an artificial political structure, is it necessary and possible at all to make a physical geographical regional division or – as was the most popular view – is it still the historical Hungary that must be researched, processed and analysed, and not the new state created by the Trianon peace treaty?

Different political and academic questions were raised for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the historical Hungary. In the new states, the most fundamental issues of the geographical position of the

new state had to be defined, the state had to be integrated into Europe and the politically legitimated public agreement "had to be translated into the schoolbooks". In all successor states – and Hungary was no exception, either – the science of geography had an almost exclusively state-servicing character. (The curiosity of the situation is marked by the fact that academics both in Hungary and the successor states voluntarily accepted this service, mostly inspired by their national feelings and dedications.)

Between the two world wars the formerly existing approach was reinforced, i.e. that the country is a nature-based, natural entity, while state is the territory shaped by the contemporary international power relations, and so the primary task of geographical science is the research of the nature-based, natural area. The mutual relationship of physical geographical area and the political space was theoretically judged by most Hungarian geographers on the basis of geographical determinism, most of them accepted the view of mechanic physical geographical determination. It was Pál Teleki who, theoretically, dialectically judged the interrelationship of region and state, physical geographical environment and social spatial organisation. (When analysing the relationship of Hungary and the Carpathian Basin, however, he was inclined several times to use a determinist approach.) The most prominent persons of Hungarian geography almost unequivocally answered one basis question, based on the same attitude, and this was that the most stable basis of the millennium-old history and unity of the Hungarian state grown into the natural unit of the Carpathian Basin was physical geographical space itself.

After World War II – with the exception of Austria – all respective states placed the content of the academic researches and education at different levels on the basis of state socialist political system. This was true even for Yugoslavia, the country that escaped the most from the direct Soviet influences after 1948. The main framework of the researches was the respective states and the "peace camp", and the Carpathian Basin was neglected for a long time in the Hungarian geographical publications. (It could partly remain in geology.)

In academic researches, spatial view carried a sort of political determination and expectation, but the situation eased after the 1960s and definitely forbidden territorial categories ceased to exist; even if not in the schoolbooks, a gradual return process started.

The Carpathian Basin and its states were confronted by new possibilities and challenges after the accession to the European Union. The basic issue now was how and to what extent the core area would determine the character, quality and intensity of their internal relations to each other and their spatial processes, and also how they would turn towards the core area and to one another.

It seems that in the management of the macro-structures the core area will be dominant in the longer run, at the same time, the Carpathian Basin will also offer cooperation possibilities, though at most as a "meso-region" by EU level. A driving force of the cooperation can be Hungary, given its position in the bottom of the basin and so the fact that it is neighbour to all other countries in the Carpathian Basin.

Another chance and also a responsibility for Hungary is the fact that despite the decrease in the number of Hungarians, it is still the Hungarian ethnic area that is most central in the basin and Hungarians coexist in masses with all other communities of the basin. This means that the Hungarian ethnicity is the owner of the broader language relations and also a potential carrier of the network operation of the economy.

The Carpathian Basin as a unit within the European Union can only develop organically on the basis of the "joint legitimacy" by the respective states. We can eloquently stress that the "Carpathian Basin is the inner space of the Hungarian economy", but the one-sided assertion of this concept in practice is something that neither the Hungarian nation as a whole nor the contemporary Hungarian governments are capable of. The EU, on the other hand, does offer real chances for cooperation in the future by its Danube Strategy, the neighbourhood relations, the cross-border sub-systems and the cooperation of the Hungarian ethnic areas.

b) Demonstration and analysis of the attitude shaping role of the geographical school materials used in the neighbour countries.

Geographical science acted in history in the region in many respects as a "state assistant", in some cases as a science "serving the interests of the state". Geography as a school subject was categorised as a so-called "national science", i.e. it was the organic creator of the self-image of the respective national

communities. States and the contemporary governments considered geography as a quasi official mediator of their own efforts to the schools. By the curricula, the regulations of the curricula and the approval procedure of the use of the schoolbooks, the contemporary administration of education played a significant role in influencing the content of the school subject.

The research of the content of schoolbooks, the analysis and comparison of the "self-images", the "neighbourhood images" and the "accepted spatial communities" has a very long tradition in history schoolbooks and also appeared in Hungarian geography in the late 19th century. Before World War I and between the two world wars there were comprehensive researches in Hungary on the schoolbooks of the neighbour states. The large-scale expansion of the research of school materials related to Hungary was initiated by Ferenc Olay, especially for the exploration of the so-called "country enlarging" maps, qualitative analyses of the schoolbooks.

After the regime changes the education of geography was reformed in most neighbour countries, but the subject partly kept its special position. In more and more countries, the schoolbooks got away from serving direct political assignments, in most countries several geography school books were written for the same classes.

The research of schoolbooks, the comparative analysis of the secondary school educational system and the education of geography expanded in the whole region in the time of the regime change. A series of comparative analyses were made in international cooperation.

In our analysis concerning the neighbour countries we put the focus on the geographical position, the acceptance of the spatial community (belonging) and the judgement of the neighbourhood, without giving a full overview of the schoolbooks.

c) The content of the macro-regional concepts (e.g. Central Europe, Balkans, Danube Region, Carpathian Basin), different in the respective countries, and the mental background of the use of these concepts. The political and historical determinations of the interpretation of the geographical space concepts.

This broad zone of European seems to be still in motion, it has not ceased to exist; in fact, we are the witnesses of a transforming macro-region again. The accession to the Union evidently plays a role in this, as do the changes of the geopolitical circumstances and the experiences of the period of time following the regime change, just as much as the traditional historical orientation and set of problems and the objective geographical location. We asked young people, mostly university students in their twenties, about where, to which macro-region they put their own countries and their neighbours, and their answers reflected not only the current situation but also the past, the traditions and the imprinted relations. It is not accidental: their opinions about the region are influenced by the school subjects, data transferred by the media and politics, stereotypes and evidently also by what they hear in the family and from their acquaintances about this issue.

These spatial images are important as they may give the "inner political projections" of the foreign politics of the respective states, they can be easily abused or used either for creating enemies or using cooperation possibilities. Thus, these relationships are formed by society itself in the first place and not so much by geographical location.

If we want so summarise our experiences that we gained from the analysis of the information available in the questionnaires, we can say in the first place that regional identity, the acceptance of the spatial community was influenced by two important factors in the conscience of the responding youth: the hope for a better living at higher standards, and the ethnic and historical relations. The hope for a better life demonstrates that the emphasis of the macro-regional belonging appears as a tool to make us feel and seem as the part of a region that is desirable for us, and to separate us from spatial communities that we do not accept even if there is a foundation for the community on geographical or historical ground. This is especially visible in the orientation towards the western part of the region. While the respondents of the more eastern (poorer) countries accepted in high proportion spatial community with the western neighbours, this was not the case on mutual ground, vice versa. This phenomenon can be said to be traditional since the eighties when the re-discovery and interpretation of the concept of Central Europe resulted in the re-strengthening of Central European identity in almost all of the countries. This phenomenon can be registered in several countries, in Austria, the

most affluent country in the questionnaire survey, as much as in Ukraine. It is very strong in the circle of the Slovene respondents, as well as at the Romanians and the Serbs.

This relationship typical since the 1980s is broken by other new phenomena as well. How much new they are is unknown yet, as no similar research has been conducted so far, but we think that their intensity and significance are the results of the last decade. Such a phenomenon is the strengthening and renaissance of the ethnic and historical based spaces. This was strongly present in the circle of the Slovak, Hungarian, Serb and Croatian respondents but the very strong ties of the Austrian students to Germany is also part of this phenomenon. This relationship network is sometimes given reinforcement on economic basis but it may as well be opposite to that and evidently shows a kind of rearrangement of the region, different than what the inhabitants and politicians of the region thought of in the 1990s. This is not only due to the strengthening nationalism of the ex-socialist countries; we think that the characteristics of the role played by Austria are also important. While previous Central Europe images were typically of Austrian and German orientation, now the information by the Slovak, Hungarian and Croatian respondents unfurls a narrower Central Europe politically "left to its own devices". Austria did not carry out an active macro-regional politics and did not want to become the leader of the region again; it excluded from its own Central Europe image the post-socialist region that it called "Eastern Europe". At the same time, not even in the other states was Austria considered as part of the narrow spatial community (except for the totally Austria-oriented Slovenes and the Hungarian sympathy). The Slovak, Hungarian, Croatian, Romanian and Ukrainian responses described Central Europes of various sizes, but smaller and narrower, in a part of which ethnic relations play an important role. At the Slovak respondents, relationship to the Czech Republic is of primary importance, accompanied by ties to Poland and the not very favoured Hungary. The Hungarian responses are basically different from the rest, as the primary spatial image drawn by the answers are related to the Carpathian Basin and the selection of the fellow countries is done mostly on this ground. Although we can see in many places rationality coming from neighbourhood relations (e.g. the acceptance of the spatial community with Hungary by Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs and Croatians), a considerable part of the responses given by Hungarians shows that the respondents do not accept the spatial community with the neighbour state, only with the Hungarian inhabited parts of that. Besides this, Central Europe as a common macro-region appears with less intensity. The situation of the former Yugoslav member republics is particular. Slovene responses reflect a total denial, the "moving out" from the Balkans. As regards the Croatians, in addition to the Central European relations the acceptance of the spatial community with the Balkans is typical, but this probably does not mean a return to the former Yugoslav state federation but a geographical and ethnic necessity, as both Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia are among the potential relations but the Slovene-Hungarian-Italian relations dominate. Serbia, to the opposite, clearly stands out from this spatial community. The opinions of the respondents are strongly influenced by the Balkans directions, depending above all on the ethnic proximity (Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia, which are also the countries excluded from the enlargement of the Union so far), and the stronger relationships to Russia than in the other countries.

The judgement of Russia is an interesting issue. While the overwhelming majority of the respondents living in the different states reject Eastern Europeanness and evidently seem to want to get rid of that, the relationships to Russia are excluded by the respondents of Ukraine, only. In Slovakia the Slavic community too appeared as a spatial relationship, while in Serbia Russia comes up as an important spatial community in each examination.

To sum it up, we can see a transformation process going on in the region, as revealed by the opinions of the respondents. Central Europe is no longer what we had in mind in the early 1990s when we heard this expression. New relations and directions have evolved and, apart from a few strong ties, the inner cohesion of the region has not strengthened in the last decades, it seems to weaken as shown by several examples, in fact, in the case of Serbia another direction, leading outside the region, seems to be strong as well.

d) Summary of the mental aspects of the spatial division within the countries, their background in history and impacts on election outcomes.

One of the objectives of our work was to summarise those spatial units of the neighbour countries in which their inhabitants think and which they consider as parts of their countries. This can be called an "inner spatial view cadastre". These regions existing in the minds sometimes coincide with the administrative and statistical regions, but most often are designated differently. They are evidently influenced to large extent by the recognition by the place of residence and the range of movements, but history, emotions, and often the geographical, natural endowments of the area too can be seen (e.g. differences in the spatial views of mountain and plain land residents; the role of the phytogeography zones of Ukraine in the history of the country, in the birth of its regions etc.).

The inner image of Romanian, Serbs, Slovaks etc. of the location of their countries and of their regions and inner units are necessarily different from the images we Hungarians have of these countries, because, in addition to different geography education and media information, they live in other geographical places, they have different relationship systems etc. The third main chapter of our book contains the inner divisions of the respective countries, including the historical, natural or other background of them.

The significance of this inner, mental division is demonstrated in the case of several countries, not only on the economic development level but also the outcomes of political elections. Election maps are often excellent indicators of the "crypto-borders", i.e. former political borders or the boundaries of natural, ethnic or other areas.

e) Ethnic determinations of geographical view, especially the impacts of ethnic areas, ethnic based media and historical view.

During the research we had questionnaires filled out also by Hungarian ethnic students, in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine. As the original goal was the examination of the spatial perceptions of the ethnic majority of the respective countries, the total number of questionnaires filled out in the neighbour countries in Hungarian language was 205 (Romania: 84; Slovakia: 69; Serbia: 41; Ukraine: 11). These are small numbers and the information gained from them cannot be taken as representative, but their role was actually a control function, only, and they clearly demonstrate that there are ethnicity based disparities in the spatial perceptions. We have to add that the dominant part of the Hungarian respondents is taught the same geography materials as the students of the majority nation, even if they attend Hungarian language schools. The difference between the spatial perceptions of the ethnic majority and minority is then determined to a large extent by their ethnic, language and identity background. For the Hungarian ethnic minority, the acceptance of the macro-regional spatial community takes place through the mother country as well, so in addition to the impacts of the geographical position and geographical school materials of their country by nationality, the Hungarian view can also be seen, coming from the family or the spatial view of the Hungarian language media followed (almost exclusively) by them. In three out of the four cases (Romania, Serbia and Ukraine), in addition to the Carpathian Basin it is the Central European identity that is stronger at Hungarian respondents. This evidently expresses the effort to feel their place of residence closer to the mother country and express their spatial community with that.

We can also see ethnic disparities in the judgement of the inner structures of the respective countries. In Slovakia, the Hungarian and Slovak respondents drew with different precision the parts of the country according to traditional ethnic areas: Hungarians had more information on the division of the country in the south, Slovaks in the north. In Romania it was typical for both ethnic groups to think in historical regions, but, beyond this, Hungarians thought in larger spatial units (e.g. Székely Land, Partium) while Romanians focused on the micro-regions instead.

3. Conference participations

- Hajdú, Z. (2012) A Kárpát-medence fogalom újjászületése Magyarországon az 1980-as évek végétől (Rebirth of the Carpathian Basin concept in Hungary after the late 1980s). In: Kárpátmedence: természet, társadalom, gazdaság (Carpathian Basin: nature, society and economy). Szerencs. Nyíregyházi Főiskola Turizmus és Földrajztudományi Intézete – Szerencsi Bocskai István Gimnázium.
- 2. Hardi, T (2015) Változó Közép-Európa kép a 21. században (A changing image of Central Europe in the 21st century). In: Karlovitz, János Tibor (ed.) Fejlődő jogrendszer és gazdasági környezet a változó társadalomban (A developing legal system and economic environment in the changing society). 394 p. Location and date of conference: Párkány (Štúrovo), Slovakia, 26-27 April 2015. Komárno: International Research Institute
- 3. Hardi, T (2014) Great Plans, Uncertain Interests: Background of the Appearance, Disappearance and Reappearance of the Great Development Plans in the Middle Danube Valley In: Čanjevac I., Maradin M. (eds.). Water Sustainability: New Challenges and Solutions. International Scientific Conference hosted by Commission for Water Sustainability of the International Geographical Union. Location and date of conference: Dubrovnik, Croatia, 24-28 August 2014. Zagreb: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Science, Department of Geography; Croatian Geographical Society, 2014. p. 21. (ISBN:978-953-7245-14-6)
- 4. T. Hardi, A. Miklósné Zakar (2014) Changes in regional approach in Romania some results of a mental map research. The 14th 'Lodz' International Political Geography Conference and IGU CPG Workshop geographical political aspects of the transborder conservation of natural and cultural heritage. Location and date of conference: Lopuszna, Poland, 15-17 August 2014
- 5. Miklósné Zakar, A. (2014) Regionális szemlélet Romániában: egy empirikus kutatás eredményei (Regional view in Romania: findings of an empirical research). Magyar Tudomány Ünnepe konferencia. A ma kérdései a jövő tudományának alapjai címmel (Conference on the Day of Hungarian Science, called "Today's issues are the bases of future science"). Location and date of conference: Budapest, Tomori Pál Főiskola, 25 November 2014
- 6. Uszkai, A (2014) Social and economic relationships in the history of the Central-European region. The 14th 'Lodz' International Political Geography Conference and IGU CPG Workshop geographical political aspects of the transborder conservation of natural and cultural heritage. Location and date of conference: Lopuszna, Poland, 15-17 August 2014
- 7. Uszkai, A (2015) Európai országkép kutatások a mentális térképezés módszerével (European country image researches using the method of mental mapping). In: Karlovitz, János Tibor (ed.) Fejlődő jogrendszer és gazdasági környezet a változó társadalomban (A developing legal system and economic environment in the changing society). 394 p. Location and date of conference: Párkány (Štúrovo), Slovakia, 26-27 April 2015. Komárno: International Research Institute
- 8. Uszkai, A (2015) Spatial integration and identity: Cases of border regions. Prague Social Sciences Conference, Prague, Czech Republic, 6-9 September 2015

APPENDIX: Hungarian version of the questionnaire used in Slovakia

In all of the countries, the largest part of the questionnaires was recorded in the language of the state. Evidently, in the appropriate place the name of the respective country was substituted (e.g. question 2), and the contour map of the respective country was featured (question 12). At questions regarding the relations, question 8 to 10, the name of the respective country was excluded from the possible answers. For the Hungarian control group the language of the questionnaire was Hungarian, but all content elements were identical with the ones in the questionnaires recorded by the representatives of the majority nation in their own language.

Kérdőív Közép-Európa, a Duna térség lehetséges együttműködéseinek felmérésére a mental map eszközével

A válaszadás önkéntes és anonim!

A válaszokat kizárólag tudományos kutatás céljaira használjuk, azokat összesítve, feldolgozva publikáljuk.

I. Hol vagyunk Közép-Európában?
Kérem, képzelje maga elé Európa, s térségünk térképét!
1) Kérem, nevezze meg, hogy mely nagy, több országot magukba foglaló földrajzi tájakra, nagyrégiókra osztja fel Közép- és Délkelet-Európát?
2) Mely nagyrégió része Szlovákia?

3) Szlovákia mellett mely országokat sorolná még ebbe a kategóriába?

II. Nagyregionális együttműködések terei

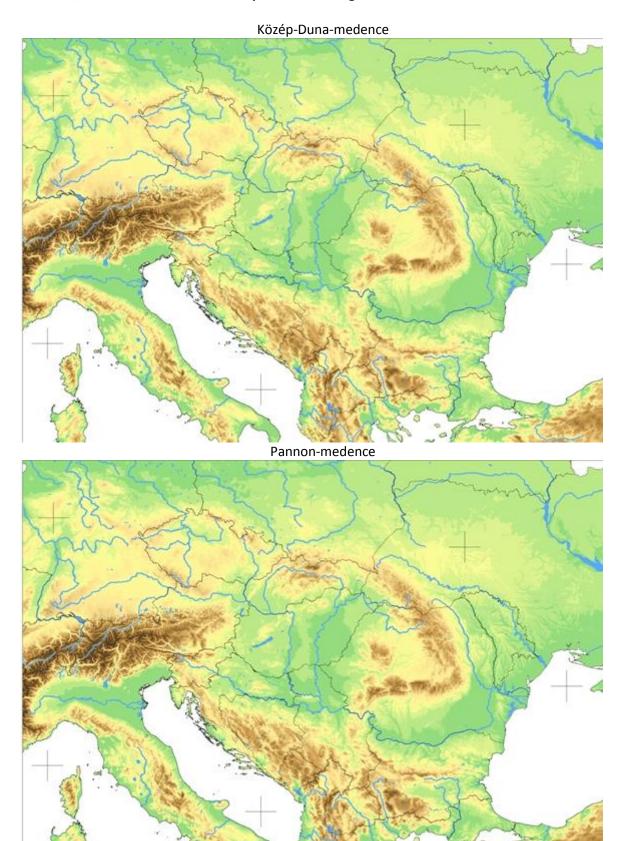
4) Melyik nagy, több országra kiterjedő földrajzi egység érinti Szlovákia területét? Kérem, jelölje be! (Több válasz is adható!)

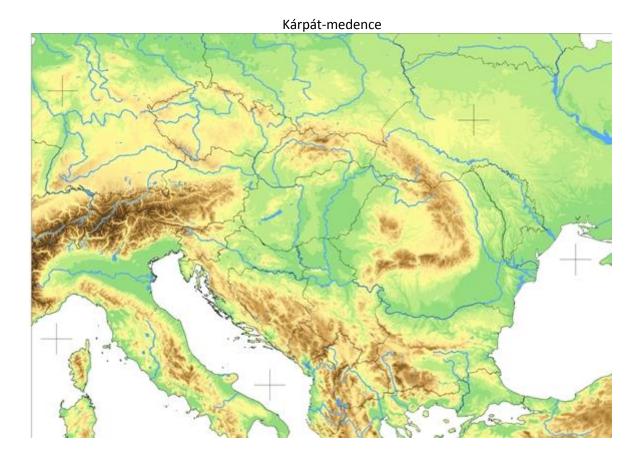
Közép-Európa							
Kelet-Európa							
Délkelet-Európa							
Balkán							
Duna térség							
Ezen belül:							
Felső-Duna							
Közép-Duna-medence							
Alsó-Duna							
Pannon-medence (térség)							
Kárpát-medence							
Kárpáti országok							
Alpok országai							

5) Kérem, jelölje be a mátrixban, hogy mely országok tartozhatnak bele az alábbi földrajzi fogalomba?

Togatottiba:	1		1	1	1				
	Közép- Európa	Kelet- Európa	Délkelet- Európa	Balkán	Közép- Duna- medence	Pannon- medence	Kárpát- medence	Kárpáti- térség	Alpok
Ausztria									
Bosznia-Hercegovina									
Bulgária									
Csehország									
Fehéroroszország									
Horvátország									
Koszovó									
Lengyelország									
Macedónia									
Magyarország									
Moldávia									
Montenegró									
Németország									
Olaszország									
Oroszország									
Románia									
Szerbia									
Szlovákia									
Szlovénia									
Ukrajna									

6) Kérem, a térképeken rajzolja be, hogy Ön szerint mely területek tartoznak a Közép-Duna-medence, a Pannon-medence és a Kárpát-medence fogalmába!





7) Kérem, írjon le két-két olyan szót vagy kifejezést, amely az alábbi földrajzi fogalmakról az eszébe jut!

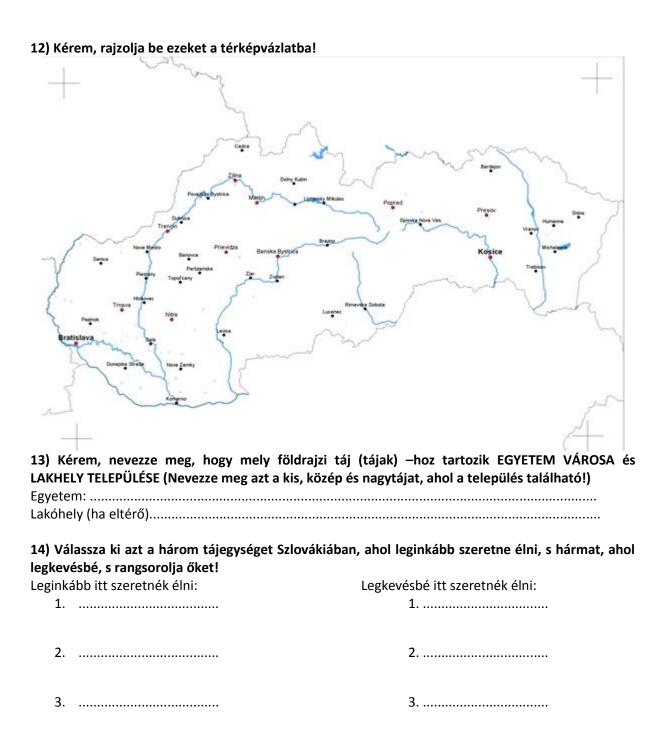
I	Közép-Európa:										
l	Kelet-Európa:										
ļ	Délkelet-Európa:										
ı	Duna-régió:										
	Közép-Duna-medence:										
	Balkán:										
	Pannon-medence:										
'	dimon mederice			•••••		••••••	•••••••				
•	rem, jelölje meg azokat az	orszá	gokat, amelyekben	az elr	núlt öt évben járt!	! (Írjon e	egy X-et az				
orszá	g neve előtti négyzetbe!)		•		7		•				
	Ausztria		Horvátország		Moldávia		Románia				
	Bosznia-Hercegovina		Koszovó		Montenegro		Szerbia				
	Bulgária		Lengyelország		Németország		Szlovénia				
	Csehország		Macedónia		Olaszország		Ukrajna				
	Fehéroroszország		Magyarország		Oroszország						

9) A felsorolásból válasszon ki öt országot, ahova legszívesebben elutazna, s ötöt, ahova legkevésbé, s rangsorolja őket! ÍRJA A SORSZÁMOT A KIVÁLASZTOTT ORSZÁGOK ELŐTTI															
NÉGYZETBE!	0.0	.,	0					•••					01.027.0	OK 220111	
						ΑI	egs	zíve	esel	bber	uta	aznék			
Ausztria				Horvátország					ág			Moldávia		Románia	
Bosznia-Herceg	ovir	na			-	osz			Ū			Montenegro Szerbia			
Bulgária						eng			ág			Németország		Szlovénia	
Csehország					_	/lace	-		6			Olaszország		Ukrajna	
Fehéroroszorsza	śa				_			_	áα			Oroszország		Okrajila	
reliefoloszorsza	ag					Magyarország						Oroszorszag			
					A	leg	kev	ésb	é s	zíves	en	utaznék			
Ausztria					Н	Horvátország						Moldávia		Románia	
Bosznia-Herceg	ovir	na			К	osz	ovó					Montenegro		Szerbia	
Bulgária					L	eng	yelo	orsz	ág			Németország		Szlovénia	
Csehország					_	/lace	edó	nia				Olaszország		Ukrajna	
Fehéroroszorsza	ág				٦,	/lag	vard	orsz	ág			Oroszország		•	
	-0		<u> </u>				,		0						
10) Kérem, értékelje a léptékű gazdasági, tár 1-egyáltalán nem font	sad	alm	i, fe	ijles	zté	si e	gyü	ttm	űkċ	idés	az a	alábbi országokkal.		onális	
Ausztria	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Bosznia-Hercegovina	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Bulgária	1	2		4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Csehország	1	_		4	5		7	8	9	10					
Fehéroroszország		2			5		7	8	9	10					
Horvátország	1	2	3		5	6	7	8	9	10					
Koszovó	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Lengyelország Macedónia	1	2	3	4 4	5	6 6	7	8	9	10					
Magyarország	1 1	2	3 3	4	5	6	7 7	8	9	10 10					
Moldávia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Montenegro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Németország	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Olaszország	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Oroszország	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Románia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Szerbia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Szlovénia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Ukrajna			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
Egyéb, éspedig:															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
	1	2				6	7	8	9	10					

III. Szlovákia belső területi egységei

Kérem, képzelje maga elé Szlovákia térképét!

11) Kérem, nevezze meg, hogy mely nagy földrajzi tájak alkotják Szlovákiát (Nem közigazgatási egységek, hanem földrajzi, történelmi, néprajzi stb. tájak)!



legkevésbé, s rangsorolja őket! Leginkább itt szeretnék élni:	Legkevésbé itt szeretnék élni:					
1	1					
2	2					
3	3					
IV. A kérdezett adatai Férfi, nő Születési év: Lakhely települése:						

15) Válasszon ki azt a három megyét/kerületet, járást, ahol leginkább szeretne élni, s hármat, ahol

Köszönjük a válaszadást!

Tanulmányi szak: