



Tésits Róbert – Alpek Levente

Some aspects of the labour force mobility of the Drava region¹

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A társadalom 21. században tapasztalható egyre fokozódó mobilitása, a munkahelyek és a lakóhelyek egyre jelentősebb térbeli eltávolodása kulcsfontosságúvá teszi a kérdést, vajon a közlekedési lehetőségek elvben tapasztalható bővülése lehetővé teszi-e a hátrányos helyzetű térségek foglalkoztatási zavarainak valamiféle megnyugtató kezelését. A tapasztalatok a foglalkoztatás leépülése következtében helyben maradó munkanélküliek tömegére, a strukturális és, ahogy az jelen téma szempontjából kiemelt fontosságú, a frikciós munkanélküliség által erőteljesen sújtott térségek számának bővülésére mutatnak rá, ami épp ellentétes azzal a jelenséggel, amelyet egyes területeken az országos, de főleg a globális trendek diktálnának. Arról nem is beszélve, hogy a vasútvonal bezárások és járatsűrűség csökkentések következtében az ingázási lehetőségek a fokozott problémákkal küzdő térségekben még csökkentek is.

Jelen tanulmány célja, hogy a mobilitási viszonyok elemzésén keresztül felmérje és bemutassa a Magyarország-Horvátország IPA Határon Átnyúló Együtműködési Programban érintett területének példáján, hogy melyek azok a tényezők, amelyek a mobilitással kapcsolatos negatívumok háttérében állnak. Hogyan alakul a munkát vállalni szándékozók ingázási lehetősége, attól függően, hogy mely közlekedési eszközök és milyen ingázási irányok állnak a munkahelykereső rendelkezésére. Mindezek során természetesen végig fokozott figyelmet kap a térbeliség, a területi sajátosságok szerepe is. A térség jellegéből kifolyólag (Dráva, határmente stb.) külön figyelmet fordít a lokálisan tapasztalható egyediségekre, figyelembe véve nem csak a magyarországi területeket, hanem a horvát oldalon rejlő mobilitási lehetőségeket, az elhelyezkedésből fakadó hátrányokat és természetesen a pozitívumokat is.

Jelen tanulmány primer és szekunder forrásokra egyaránt épít. A mobilitási vizsgálatok esetében az út-idő-költség táblák felírása az autóval történő közlekedés esetében on-line út-idő számítására alkalmas térképek segítségével történt (pl. google.maps.hu). A vasúti közlekedés esetében Magyarországon a MÁV adatbázisai (www.mav.hu), Horvátország tekintetében pedig a Horvát Államvasutak (HŽ)

¹ Készült a Dél-Dunántúli Regionális Forrásközpont Szolgáltató Nonprofit Kft. megbízásából, a Magyarország-Horvátország IPA Határon Átnyúló Együtműködési Program (Kódszám: HUHR/1001/2.1.2/0002) keretében.

hasonló adatbázisai kerültek felhasználásra (www.hznet.hr). A térképek szerkesztése a digitális térképezés módszereit felhasználva, vektoros szerkesztővel (Corel csomag, elsősorban CorelDraw X5) készültek, amelyhez a táblák az Office programcsomag megfelelő alkalmazásaival lettek csatolva. A mobilitási vizsgálatok esetében, tekintettel a horvát terület és a magyar terület között húzódó jelentős kiterjedésbeli különbségekre, bizonyos szempontból hasonló, azonban egyes pontokon eltérő módszerek kerültek felhasználásra. A horvát térség esetében a munkavállalás esetében még elfogadható ingázási távolságokat, a 10, a 20 és a 30 km-es vonzáskörzeteket szabályos körök tüntetik fel. E tekintetben a valóságban természetesen ezen körök a közlekedési útvonalak mentén változnak, azonban jelen vizsgálat léptékének megfelelően így is egy jó közelítő képet adnak a különböző központi települések elhelyezkedéséről, központi, vagy periférikus pozíciójukról. Ettől függetlenül az eredmények összevethetők, mivel a végső konklúzió tekintetében az eltérő módszerek nem hoznak változást. A primer források között elsősorban nyitott kérdéseket tartalmazó kérdőívek szerepelnek, amelyek segítségével a fő ingázási irányok, azok volumene, illetve a mobilitás mögött meghúzódó egyedi és a térségre általánosan jellemző problémák feltérképezése történt meg.

A térségre – mind horvát, mind magyar részről – jellemző a kevésbé fejlett közlekedési hálózat, az autópályák és a magasabb rendű főutak viszonylagos hiánya, illetve az ezekből fakadó mobilitási nehézségek. A közlekedési hálózat tekintetében a vasút és a jelentősebb közutak (első vagy másodrendű főutak) bírnak kiemelkedő jelentőséggel. A vasúti közlekedést a ritka hálózatsűrűség jellemzi. Magyarországon a 2007-től 2010-ig terjedő időszakban az amúgy is nehéz helyzetet tovább súlyosbította a gazdaságilag nem, vagy csak kevésbé rentábilis vonalak bezárása.

Az elemzésből kitűnnek a térség fő problémái, amelyek részint okként, részint okozatként összekapcsolódnak a terület aprófalvas településszerkezetével, a számos, rossz elérhetőségű zsákfaluvallal, illetve a rossz úthálózattal. Kiemelt probléma, hogy az egyébként is ritka vasúthálózaton a magas utazási idők és költségek a legtöbb lakos számára nem teszik lehetővé a foglalkoztatási központokba való eljutást. A területet elkerülik az autópályák, és – főleg a Dráva bal partján – az első és másodrendű főutak is. A kiemelkedően magas üzemanyagárak eleve ellehetetlenítik az autóval való közlekedést, amely csak kevesek számára és elsősorban a központok közvetlen környezetében elérhető lehetőség az egyébként is javarészt rosszabb anyagi helyzetben lévő emberek által lakott településeken. A buszközlekedés esetében – bár ez az alternatíva több település számára érhető el, mint a vasút – is kitűntek a hosszú utazási idők és a magas költségek, amelyek kiegészültek azzal a ténnyel, hogy – jelentős mértékben épp a leghátrányosabb helyzetben lévő településeken – a rossz járatsűrűség megint csak az alternatíva mindennapos használata ellen hat. Végül, nemzetközi viszonylatban a még mindig ritka, kevés csatlakozási pontot tartalmazó út- és vasúthálózat, illetve az országhatáron át történő vasúti és buszközlekedés tűnik ki, amely jelentősen megnehezíti a határ menti térség mindkét oldalán tevékenységet folytató – vagy folytatni próbáló – vállalkozások helyzetét.

1. INTRODUCTION

While one can experience the growth of mobility in the 21st century, the increasing spatial distances between the workplaces and residences make it a key question whether the theoretical broadening of transportation opportunities can treat the employment problems of disadvantageous regions. The

experiences show the broadening mass of unemployed people because of the less number of work-places, also the increasing number of regions hit by structural and frictional unemployment. This is contrary to another phenomenon what the global trends dictate in some fields in the country. Not to mention, that the closing of railway lines and frequency of the lines resulted in the narrowing opportunities of commuting in underdeveloped regions.

The aim of this study is to measure and show through the analysis of mobility relations the Dráva region, the examples of Hungarian and Croatian sides' disadvantageous regions and what kind of elements stand behind these negative features of mobility. How the opportunity of commuting transforms, depends on the transporting vehicles and the directions of commuting for the people searching for job. This study pays special attention to regional differences and the local features due to the character of the region (Dráva, borderline, etc.) considering not only the Hungarian side of it, but the opportunities of Croatian mobility, the disadvantages or advantages coming from disposition. It gives a comprehensive picture which can help for those who deal with the issue of mobility, or interested in the utilization of possibilities and liquidation of problems coming from it.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This study is based on primer and secondary sources. The way-time-cost tables in connection with car transportation for the mobility examinations were made with the help of online way-time maps. In the case of railway transport we used database from the Hungarian State Railways' website (www.mav.hu) and the same sources from the Croatian State Railways (www.hznet.hr). The maps were made with vector editors (Corel package, primarily CorelDrawX5). In the case of the examination of mobility the study was in view of the differences between the Hungarian and Croatian side of the region, which were significant. Different methods were used and in some measurements they were similar but in some points they were different. In the Croatian region the commuting distances are shown with the 10, 20 and 30 km catchment areas and these circles are acceptable in the case when people are searching a job. In this regard these circles are changing along the transport lines in the real life but this study has a scale which can give a good approximate picture about the locations of different central settlements and their central or peripheral position. Apart from these problems we can compare the solutions because differences in the methods used did not affect the results obtained. Between the primer sources there are mainly open questions in the questionnaires, which help demonstrating the main directions, size of commuting and we are mapping the individual and general problems which are behind the mobility.

3. RESULTS

3.1. The relative position of the area in relation to Hungary and Croatia

The Hungarian part of the researched area similarly to the Croatian side is situated on the peripheries of the country. The capital can be achieved the fastest from the Siklós and Sellye small regions, the former is in a 235 km distance (about two and a half hour-drive) while the latter can be reached with a 250 km-drive (within about 3 hours). In this respect the situation of the Croatian area is more favour-

able, which is substantiated by the fact that Zagreb can be reached in the shortest way within 51 km (approximately 45 minutes), while from Virovitica-Podravina County in 120 km (less than 2 hours), from Osijek-Baranja County with a 223 km-drive (within nearly 3 hours).

A part of Koprivnica-Križevci County can be regarded as the periphery of Zagreb, which fact contributes to the prestigious position that the area achieved in terms of employment (this district is characterized by the lowest unemployment rate – 16,1% – in the researched region).

The less developed transport network is a characteristic of the region – both on the Croatian and Hungarian side – the relative lack of highways and main roads, and the mobility difficulties originating from these facts. In respect of the transport network the railways and the main roads (first or second-class roads) have been given high priority.

Rail transport is characterized by a rare network density. In Hungary from 2007 to 2010 the already difficult situation was further aggravated by the closure of the economically unviable or the less profitable lines (for instance the Sellye–Villány line was closed in 2007). Kaposvár can be reached on its merits from the Csurgó small region by train at an affordable price and time, while in the case of Nagykanizsa the Csurgó small region, in the case of Pécs the Sellye and Siklós small region are in a preferred situation. In Croatia the railway lines of the researched region are less frequent in comparison with the Hungarian network; the Koprivnica–Virovitica–Osijek line means the backbone of the network. Virovitica has the worst availability by train. The railway link between the countries was solved between Zákány and Gyékényes and at Magyarbóly, crossing the border is not possible by train along the river Drava within a very long distance (nearly 160 km), so this option by definition is out of the question for most of the employees (and businesses).

The density and the quality of the road network is better than the rail network, however, due to the currently very high petrol prices (in Hungary about 440 HUF \approx 1,53 € and in Croatia about 400 HUF), car transport is only a relative alternative (it is not available for those people who are in the periphery in respect of employment). In the case of bus transportation, as it will be discussed in more details below, not only the inadequate distribution and density of the services but also the considerable costs stop the flow of commuting across the border (internationally) and within the country as well. In the Hungarian area the only motorway that approaches the region is the M6, but this does not contribute to the increased mobility of the local people. The backbone of the network is Road No. 6, road No. 61, 68 and 67 attach to this the Csurgó and Barcs small regions. A key issue is that Sellye is not in contact with any first or second-class highway, which draws the attention to the fact that this area is in isolation and has a peripheral nature, this gives answer to the question (of course among many other factors) why this area is in the most disadvantaged situation in respect of Hungary and the whole researched region. Road no.58 gives an opportunity to reach Pécs from the Sellye small region in a relatively quick way.

Although on the Croatian side the main road reaches the whole region, the comparison from this aspect is not feasible (due to the significant differences of the size of the administrative units). The backbone of the transport network is Road D2, which is supplemented by the A5, which is a less significant highway in terms of commuting. Koprivnica is easily approachable through Road D20 and D41. The latter connects the region with Zagreb from the other direction, providing a relatively easy

access to the capital, which is supplemented by the E71 motorway heading the capital, running on the outskirts of Koprivnica-Križevci County. Virovitica has the hardest to get to – in respect of both railway and road network – on the road D2 and D5. Osijek is a rail and road junction point, which only slightly counterbalances the fact that as far as Croatia is concerned it is geographically a peripheral county. The connection between the countries is provided by the Letenye (Muracsány), Berzence (Góla), Barcs (Trézenföld), Drávaszabolcs (Alsómiholiác), Beremend (Petárda), Urvar (Főherveglak) and the Ivándárda (Bányavár) country border, out of which only the Letenye, the Udvar and Ivándárda can be found out of the researched region.

3.2. The mobility conditions of the particular areas

a) Csurgó small region

As it has been previously mentioned, in terms of the employment of the population of the Csurgó small region the enterprises of Nagykanizsa and Nagyatád play a decisive role. Therefore, the key question is what opportunities there are for the residents to reach the above mentioned settlements. One possible alternative is the railway link, it is feasible only for a few settlements (almost 40% of the settlements have a station in working order), and although there is no doubt that in this respect the Csurgó sub region is in the best position. The cheapest alternative, Nagykanizsa can be achieved with the season ticket (an average of 20–30 thousand HUF), although in extreme cases (such as the Somogyudvarhely–Nagykanizsa commuting) the ticket rates may exceed 40 thousand HUF, which makes the choice of this alternative impossible. Towards Nagyatád the prices of the season tickets fluctuate between 14 and 30 thousand HUF, Somogyudvarhely (similarly to Berzence) stands out in this respect with an extremely high cost of more than 40 thousand HUF. The accessibility of the sub-regional centre, Csurgó by train – from those settlements where this alternative is available – can be solved with an average expenditure of 10, sometimes 30 thousand HUF.

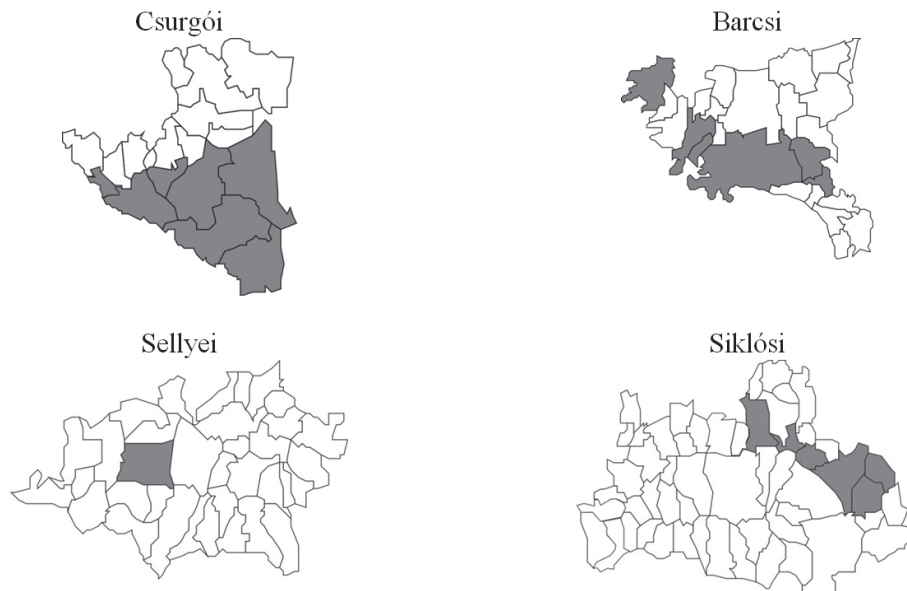
Nagykanizsa is situated within a distance of 10–40 km from the settlements of the small region, which in terms of the monthly ticket prices range between 11900 and 28500 HUF. Towards Nagyatád the distance is between 19–32 km, the ticket prices range between 14200 and 24900 HUF. If these distances would like to be covered by car, calculated with 6.5 liters average fuel consumption and 440 HUF per litre petrol price, the costs towards Nagykanizsa (on the basis of 20 days per month commuting) the price would be 11440 and 45760 HUF, while towards Nagyatád it would reach 21740 and 36610 HUF. The centre of the small region is accessible by bus with a monthly ticket which costs 10.15 thousand HUF, while it is also available by car at similar costs. However, the Csurgó small region is undoubtedly the most advantaged area in the researched Hungarian region; in terms of the Region along the river Drava (which is the subject of the whole analysis) it is considered as the second most-favoured area.

b) Barcs small region

In the small region of Barcs only 24% of the settlements have rail connections. In this case the main commuting directions become distinct towards Nagyatád and Szigetvár. The former to be reached by rail is not a viable alternative – taking into account the fact that the majority of the people living

in the region are badly off – because due to the lack of a direct line travelling is only possible with transfer and therefore it can be carried out with a significant expenditure of time and cost. Szigetvár is approachable with a monthly ticket costs barely more than 10 000 HUF, however the primarily from the western region of the area this journey costs 40 000 HUF. In the case of Barcs the ticket prices are over 20 000 HUF. The centre is easily approachable with the expenditure of 10–20 000HUF.

Figure 1. The settlements of the 4 Hungarian small regions in possession of railway connections



The bus transport to Nagyatád can be primarily considered as an alternative from those settlements, where the easy connection to road no.68 is possible (for instance Babócsa, Barcs), since commuting from these settlements can be solved within a relatively short period of time on a relatively favourable price (28500 HUF).

The most disadvantaged villages are in a deadlock situation (for instance Péterhida) or for any other reason (for instance they can be approached only on a third- or lower-level road) they are in a disadvantaged (shadow) position (e.g. Lakócsa, Tótújfalu, Szentborbás). From these settlements Nagyatád can only be reached with a transfer and with a significant (in some cases nearly three hours) expenditure of time. The latter settlements are in a somewhat more favourable situation (in comparison with the western region of the Barcs small region) in the case of commuting to Szigetvár, because of the proximity of the city neither the travel time (approximately 40 minutes) nor the costs are too high. In relation to Nagyatád the distance is at least 20 km maximum 70 km by car, which of course means a significant difference in costs (from 22800 to 81000 HUF). Getting to Szigetvár is more favourable in comparison with Nagyatád, however the distances in this direction are between 20 and 70 km. Barcs is situated in an average distance of 20.30 km from the different points of the region, so commuting to Barcs costs 20–30 000 HUF a month.

c) Sellye small region

In the Sellye small region with respect to the line closures and the discontinuation of services it is only an available alternative for 3 % of the settlements, practically for Sellye to commute by rail. In

addition to these factors train service is further complicated by the fact that the lines of the region are in a peripheral situation, reaching Pécs and Szigetvár (these are the main directions of commuting) even from the centre from Sellye can only be carried out with transfer, consequently a considerable period of time (the trip would take 2 hours a day) and expenses (25–30 thousand HUF) are needed.

The bus service is a more viable alternative, although there are also significant differences in the region from this respect. From Felsőszentmárton, the south-west periphery of the small region, Szigetvár can be reached within an hour with a cost of 21500 HUF, similarly to Sellye and Marócsa, and the western settlements of the small region which are connected with the Felsőszentmárton–Szigetvár line. This is not the case in the southern and south-eastern border section of the region (e.g. Zaláta, KISSZENTMÁRTON), from these areas commuting is almost impossible by bus because of the several transfer, long travel time (2–4 hours) and the costs (42 900 HUF). In addition, therefore, the region deals with a disadvantaged transport situation – not to mention the lack of the first and secondary-level main roads and the condition of the already existing roads – it bears with an internal dichotomy, which correlates with the distribution of the intra-regional unemployment rates which was outlined in the regional analysis. In the case of commuting towards Pécs the picture slightly differs. The north-eastern region towards Szigetvár is traditionally considered a periphery (e.g. Kisasszonyfa); from the point of view of commuting it can be considered as a more acceptable category (less than 1 hour travel time, ticket price of 21 400 HUF). In contrast, Sellye is also in a clear competitive disadvantage, notably the south-western, southern and south-eastern regions. The employees cannot afford to commute by bus day by day because of the average salary in the region. Sellye can be reached by bus within an hour from most of the settlements, but from those villages where the service is rare in frequency and the bus lines reach them only on the periphery (e.g. Zaláta, Kemse, Piskó, Lúzsok) the regional centre can be reached with difficulty, usually with one transfer (Vajszló). The distances by car towards the direction of Szigetvár from north-west to south-east increase inversely. To reach Pécs the distance is at least 25 km (North-south Sellye small region), maximum 60 km. In terms of costs it means 28600 and 68640 HUF, which is a hardly affordable or unaffordable category. In the case of Szigetvár the distances (17–43 km) and the costs are similar (19500–50000HUF), with the difference that in this respect the location of more advantaged settlements is inverse. The southern region is also in a disadvantaged situation in terms of commuting by car. Sellye can be reached from most of the settlements in a 15–20 km-ride, which is slightly more than 17 000 HUF expenses.

d) Siklós small region

Although more settlements are concerned than in Sellye, in the case of Siklós the peripheral role of railways nowadays is also notable, which is also confirmed by the fact that the rail connection to the centre of the small region was closed down. This alternative is available for 11% of the settlements. In the case of Siklós the main directions of commuting, as has previously been discussed, outside the region are Mohács and Pécs, inside the region are Siklós and Harkány. The latter are not available by railway. However, from those settlements where train is available commuting to Pécs is feasible. The travel time is less than an hour, however the ticket prices are very high (20–35 thousand HUF), they are still more favourable in comparison with the observed commuting costs of the region. Towards

Mohács the situation is similar and even from Villány and its region the city can be reached within less than half an hour. The costs are around 20 000 HUF (minimum 178000 HUF).

The accessibility of Pécs is relatively good from the northern areas of the small region (e.g. Kisdér, Peterd) – travel time is 1 hour, the costs are under 25000 HUF, however as we go to the south, the costs increase – almost reaching the limitation of mobility. It takes nearly an hour to reach Pécs from Siklós and costs are coming near to 40 thousand HUF. This is an unambiguous problem appearing in the region along the southern border. From these settlements (e.g. Cún, Matty, Ilocska) commuting is possible only with transfer, sometimes with a 2-hour travel and manageable with significant costs of 42900 HUF. Towards Mohács the northern settlements are in a preferred position. In terms of commuting the values of time/ distance/ costs range between hour/30–35km/24900 HUF (these values are typical in Villány and its vicinity) and two hours/60–70 km/ 49800 HUF (Cun and its vicinity). Commuting by bus from the latter to Mohács is almost impossible, which situation is worsened by the fact that the city can be reached only by inserting a transfer at Siklós. Harkány and Siklós are in central position in terms of employment. In general, it is possible without transfer within an hour with 17800–21400 HUF expenditure. Of course there are exceptions to this rule, such as for instance Peterd. From this point more than one hour and a transfer is needed if employees work at Siklós.

Commuting by car to Mohács means 30.70 km to Mohács and 20–35 km to Pécs. It costs 35–81 000 HUF, in the case of Pécs 23–40 thousand HUF expenditure. To the sub-regional centre and Harkány it is possible with a 20 km-drive and therefore commuting by car costs 23 thousand HUF.

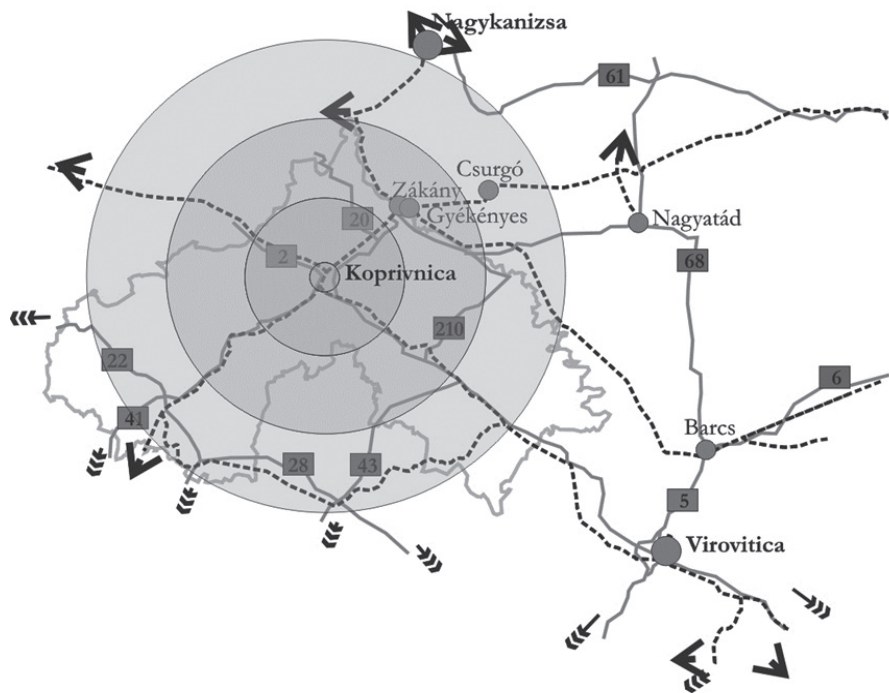
e) Koprivnica-Križevci County

The Croatian areas are much larger than the Hungarian ones, so in terms of mobility the analysis should be done not on municipal level but in the scale of the county. In the case of Koprivnica-Križevci travelling by train is on a relatively rare network, however a number of settlements are connected to the two main lines.

The centre of the railway lines is Koprivnica, has a high volume of employment in the region. The Zákány–Gyékényes crossing point in Hungary is the point where the North-eastern – South-western line connects, while Zagreb represents the other end point. The availability of the capital in the researched region is the greatest in Koprivnica-Križevci County, which requires 2 hours and 655,7 HRK costs. The cost of travelling to the center (from the outlying areas of the county calculated with employees' monthly pass) reaches its maximum price at approximately HRK 400 (Klostar–Koprivnica line), than that price decreases continually towards the centre.

As far as road transport is concerned the 10–20–30-km catchment areas of Koprivnica are shown in Figure no.15, according to these the commuting time and costs increase. Due to the Croatian favourable gasoline prices the 10-km commuting costs 11 thousand HUF, 20 km costs 22 thousand HUF, while the 33 km-long journey costs 33 thousand HUF. It is remarkable that the largest part of the county falls within the 30 km- catchment area (Figure 2).

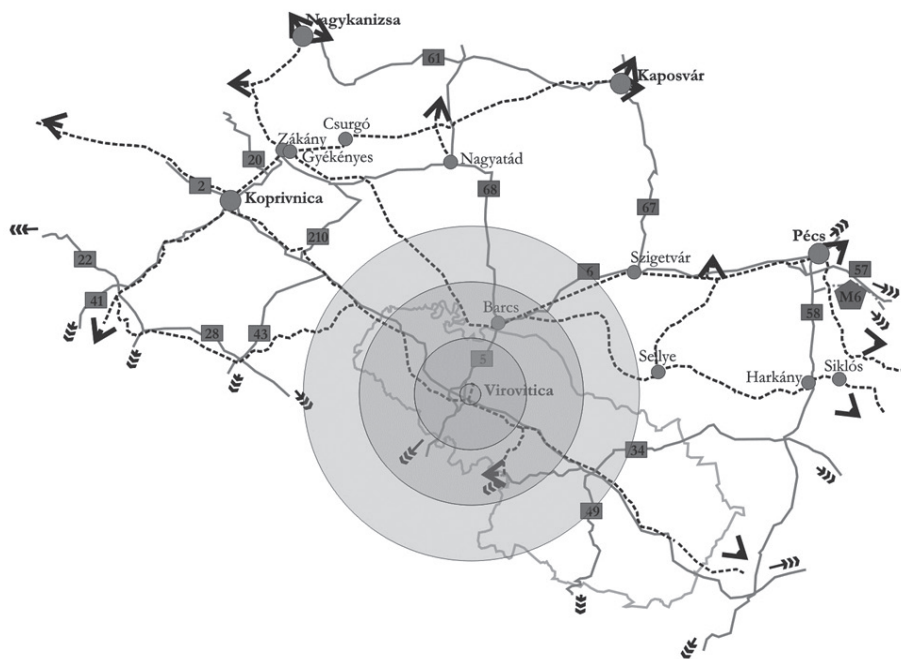
Figure 2. The transport system of Koprivnica-Križevci County and its immediate surroundings



f) Virovitica-Podravina County

Out of the Croatian counties the mobility conditions of Virovitica-Podravina County are the most disadvantaged which correlates with the fact that this ‘županija’ has the highest unemployment rates i.e. the worst employment situation. The area is only crossed by a northwest-southeast direction railway line, to the west Koprivnica, to the east Osijek is an urban connection point. However, rail commuting is provided to the east towards Zagreb, the required time and costs do not make the daily commuting to the capital possible (monthly tickets for the employees cost 1100 HRK). The centre can be reached from the periphery (for instance Pitomaca, Mikleus) at a price of 339–430 HRK. The situation of Virovitica-Podravina County is further deteriorated by the fact that this is the only Croatian county which has no direct rail connection to the small areas of Hungary along the river Dráva. As far as commuting by car is concerned the same costs belong to the same catchment areas, like in the case of Koprivnica, however in the case of Virovitica-Podravina County it is notable that there is a significant expansion of the 30-km-radius and the greater distances of major cities for the people living here (Figure 3).

Figure 3. The transport system of Virovitica-Podravina County and its immediate environment



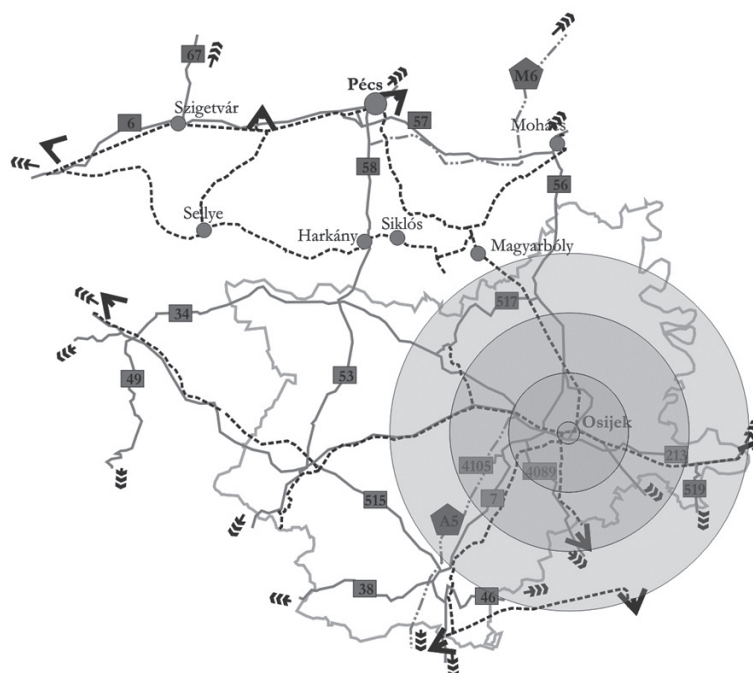
g) Osijek-Baranja County

The situation of Osijek-Baranja County is somewhat unique, because in respect of transport network it has the best conditions in the researched region, which is somewhat in contradiction with the fact that the area belongs to the lower third according to the employment features. This fact is due to the already discussed national character that this is a peripheral region geographically; the area from every side is bordered by a less favourable employment volume.

The dense and radial structure of the railway network provides a favourable accessibility towards the centre and provides this alternative for more settlements than in the other two counties of the researched region. Commuting to Osijek for the people living near the external border costs 340–600 HRK every month (e.g. Dakovo 411,2, Feričanci 569,8, Beli Manstir, Erdut 343,6).

Commuting by car is facilitated by the higher number and level of roads, A5 motorway increases the availability of Osijek, especially for the southern settlements of the County. The eastern location of the centre in relation to the county makes commuting more difficult for the people living in the western part, which means 60–70 km long distances and much higher 60–70 thousand HUF travel costs thus unambiguously excluding this alternative (Figure 4).

Figure 4. The transport system of Osijek-Baranja County and its immediate environment



3. CONCLUSIONS

The above presented analysis shed light upon the main problems of the region, which are connected partly as reasons, partly as consequences with the small village structure of the region, with the plentiful deadlock situated villages and the poor road network.

A significant problem is that the rail network does not make commuting to the employment centres possible for most of the people due to the long travel times and high costs. Highways, first and secondary main roads do not reach the area – especially on the left-hand side bank of the Drava. High fuel prices make commuting by car impossible for many; it is only relevant for a few people mainly in the immediate vicinity of the centres, in most of the cases on settlements where people live in poor financial situation. In the case of bus transport – although this option can be available for more settlements in comparison with rail – long travel times and high costs also exceeded, which fact was supplemented by the factor – significantly in the most underdeveloped settlements – the unfavourable frequency of service is against the everyday use of this alternative.

Finally, in international context the rare road and rail network with a few connection points and the rail and bus transport across the country border are still striking, which significantly worsens the situation of the enterprises continuing business activity – or trying to do so – in the border region on both sides.

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