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Reményi Péter

PhD, KRTK&PTE

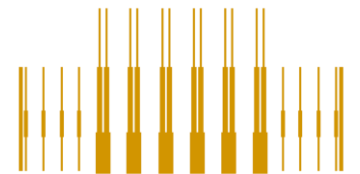
VOJVODINA AS A BORDERLAND

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R K I

Dunántúli Tudományos
Osztály



MTA

Kiváló Kutatóhely

Objectives

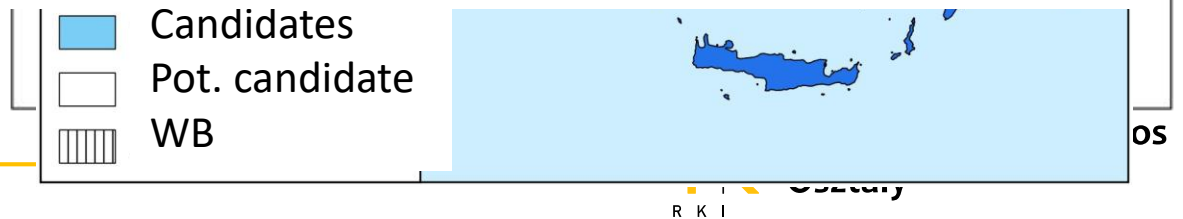
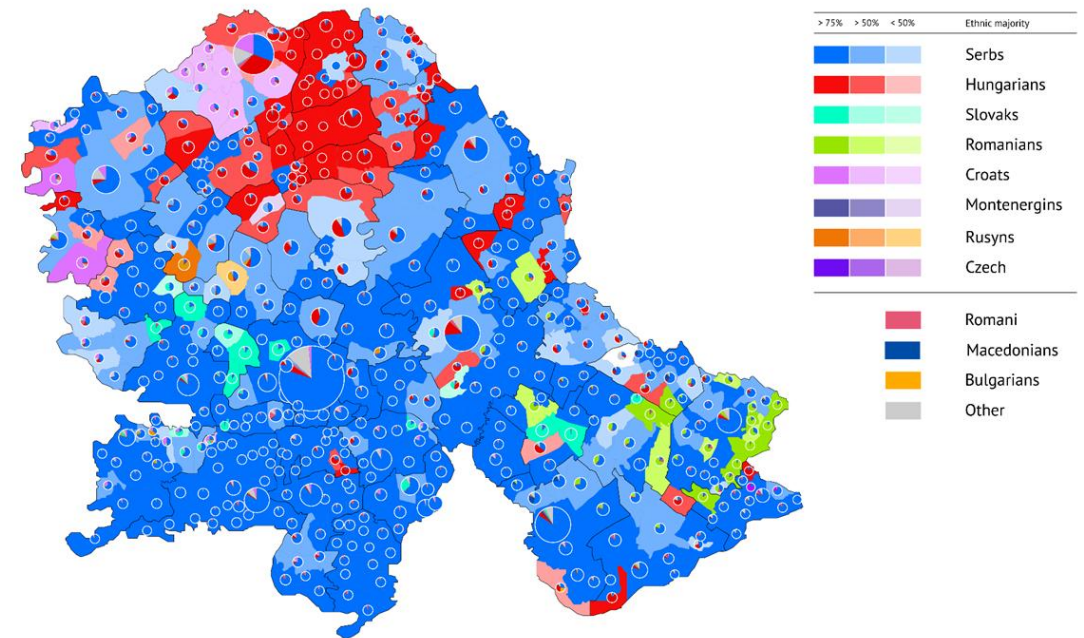
- National Research Grant OTKA 146585 Hungary and the Western Balkans
- WP2 - 'State Borders and Territorial Policies': *[...]to examine national political communities' ideas and perceptions of state territories and borders[...]*
- WP2 year 1: *[...] analysis of the border sections of the region will be launched, in an area where the border situation is rather fluid and fraught with much controversy [...]*
- Analyzing Vojvodina's changing borderland nature in a changing global and regional setting

Borderland

- „As borders open, so transborder frontier regions, or borderlands, evolve, areas within which borders are crossed, the meeting of the differences takes place and, in some cases, **hybridity** created.” (Newman 2016)
- Borders are lines but borderlands are „...areas in proximity to the border which constitute a **transition** zone between two distinct categories...” (ibid)
- See also
 - Borderscape (Brambilla 2015)
 - Frontier zone

Some background factors of Vojvodina borderland

- **Structural (macroregional) border zone of CE-SEE**
 - historically E-W
 - Where's the northern boundary of the Balkans?
- **Ethnic&linguistic&religious frontier**
 - high heterogeneity
 - Contact zones
- relatively **new state borders**
 - multiple changes in last centuries
- EU/NATO external borders from three sides



Multiscalar de- and re-bordering

- **Debordering:** increasing permeability; ignoring, erasing, challenging, contesting etc. borders
- **(Re)bordering:** (re)establishing divisions, increasing impermeability, securitizing, etc. of borders
- **Simultaneous** processes done by various means, by various actors, for various groups -> **complex, fluid, selective process**
- See van Houtum and van Naerssen's (2002); Scott (2020)
- **Multiscalarity:** supranational level (EU – WB), national level (HUN – SR), subnational level (e.g. sister cities, CBCs, enterprises, individuals...) – see Laine (2016)

(Re-)bordering

- Supranational externalization of EU borders by the **EU** (Stojić Mitrović & Vilenica 2019)
- **Selective** increase of impermeability at external borders
 - Schengen system – ‘Fortress Europe’
 - Creates borderscapes
- Security concerns due to RU invasion of Ukraine (e.g. SR airspace)
- Securitization of borders by **states** (HUN, CRO) – fences
- Confining mobility for some (e.g. migrants) – **selectivity** – increases hybridity – borderscaping



Photo: Wikimedia/Délmagyarország/Schmidt Andre



<https://www.flightradar24.com/blog/ukraine-aviation-situation-updates/>

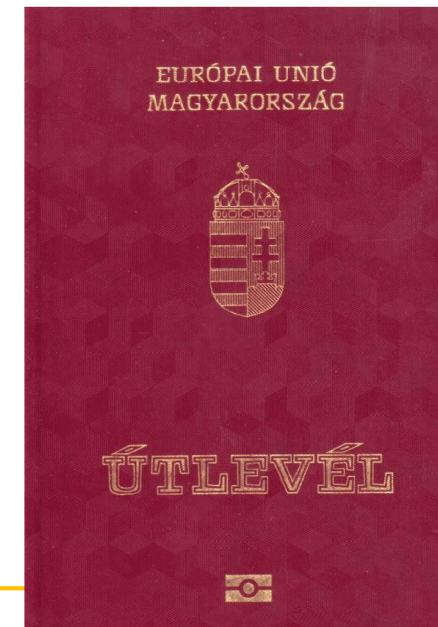
De-bordering through citizenship

- EU passport – **macroregional scale**
 - increases mobility, permeability of borders
- Hungary (RO&CRO as well) – **double citizenship** from 2011 – **national scale**
- Cc. 200.000 Hungarian citizenships in Vojvodina from 2011 (pop in 2011: 250.00, 2022: 180.000) – non-Hungarians seeking Hungarian citizenship – **subnational/individual scale**
- Citizenship vs. spatial borders
 - increases **hybridity** (EU citizens vs. Non-EU citizens)
- ordering and de-bordering through **selectivity** of borders
- For some the borders are ceased to be obstacles of movement

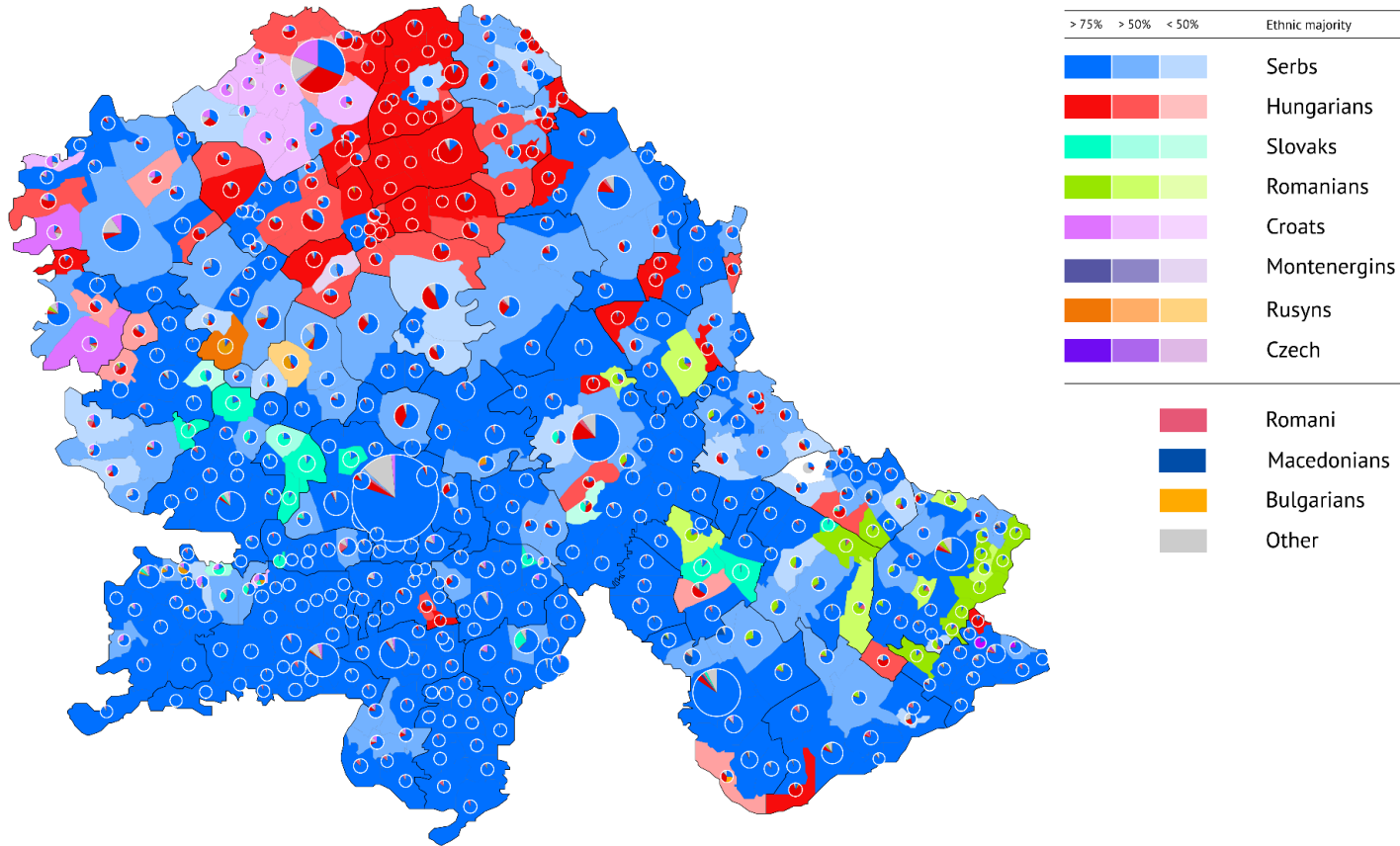
Passport strength (visa free travel)



- SR: 33rd
- Vs.
- RO: 7th
- CRO: 5th
- HUN: 4th



Ethnic Hungarians



- Cordial interstate relations
- Local Hungarian party supports the government since 2014 (Vučić)
- Rhetorical revisionism does not seem to bother the Serbian leadership



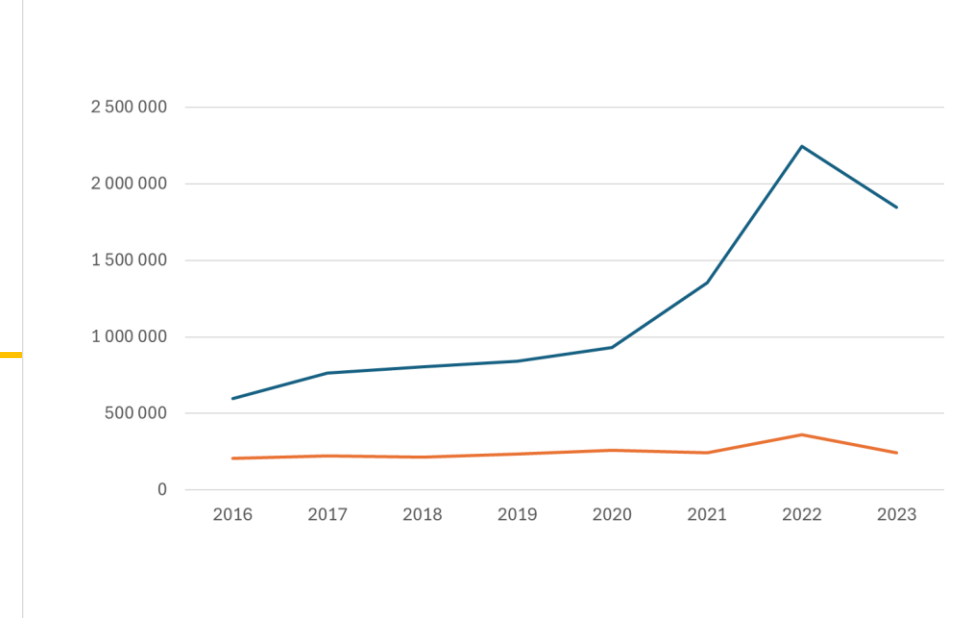
Kin-state politics

- The Bethlen Gábor Fund specifically supports the institutional system of the Hungarian minority.
- Between April 2011 and December 2020, it provided more than EUR 74 million in grants to educational institutions, media companies and minority organisations in VOJ. (according to the investigations of ATLO)
- As well as to the Football academy in Bačka Topola (cofinanced by the Hungarian Football Association)
- In 2016, the Vojvodina Economic Development Programme was launched to provide economic support to Vojvodina - in practice a Hungarian-led, ethnic-based support system where kin-state policy meets economic policy
- The programme, funded by the Hungarian government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has spent around HUF 170 billion (EUR €425 million) between 2016 and 2023, primarily on agriculture, tourism and SME development, etc.

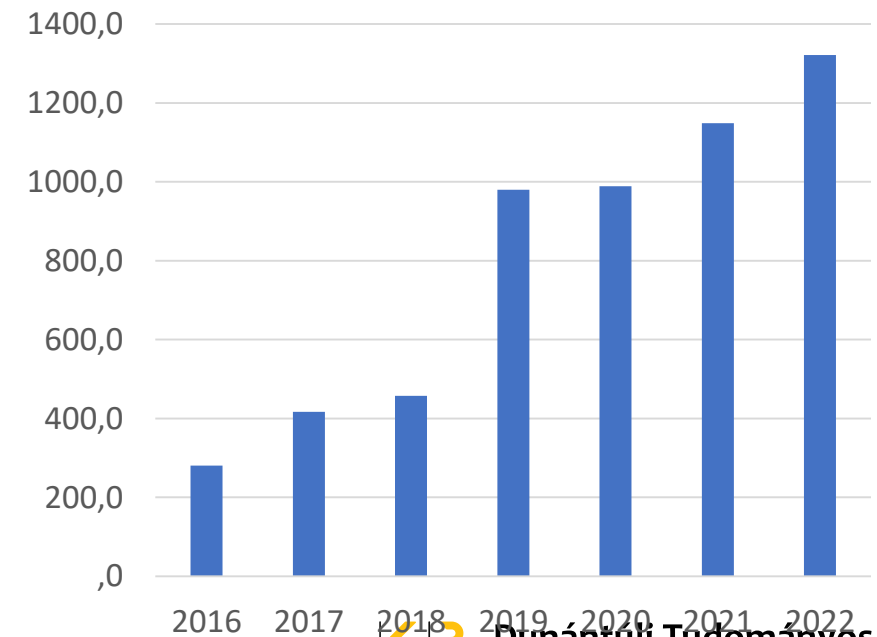


Economic relations

- Hungary is 5th largest trade partner of Serbia, significant Hungarian surplus
- *“Hungarian enterprises will be realizing eighteen billion forints (EUR 50.6 million) in investments in Serbia, towards which the Hungarian government is providing 8.5 billion forints (EUR 24 million) in funding, and both the Serbian and Hungarian economies will be gaining strength as a result”,* Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade Péter Szíjjártó announced on 15th May 2020 in Belgrade.
 - OTP Srbija 4th largest bank in RS
 - MOL – 65 petrol stations, market leader in small scale retail
 - Sole-Mizo - Mlekara Leškovac...



HU-SR trade in million HUF, source: Hun. Central Statistical Office

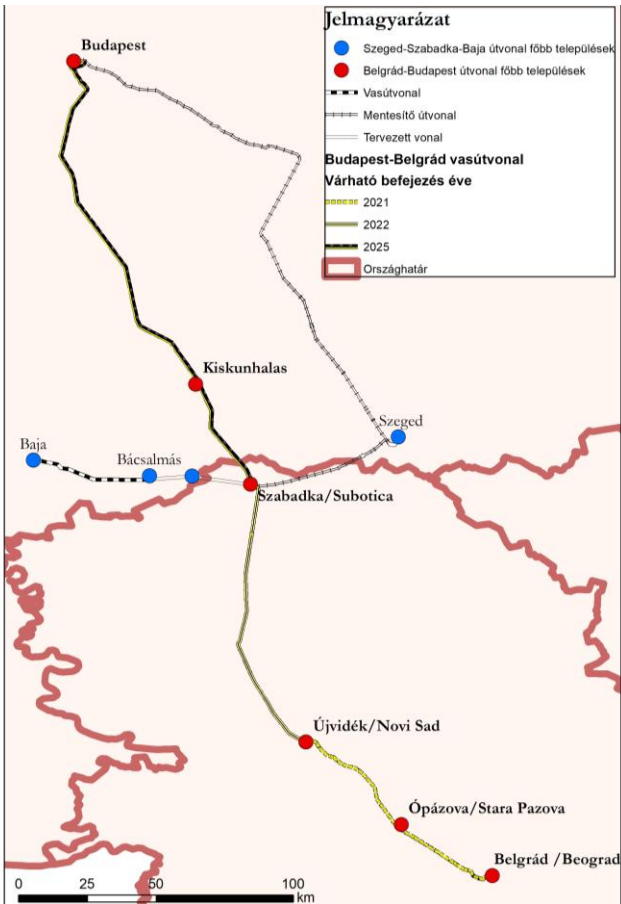


Hungarian FDI in Serbia in million EUR, source: MNB

The political context



Russian gas



“The relations between Serbia and Hungary are the best in modern history” –

Aleksandar Vučić, President of the Republic of Serbia, May 2020

“Our relations have never been as good as they are today...” – Péter Szijjártó, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade on Serbia, August 2020

Hungary and Serbia „building future together” – Viktor Orbán, PM of Hungary October 2021

"I unequivocally support Serbia's membership in the EU, because the entire Western Balkans is behind it. Serbia is a key country [and] the EU should understand that.,, – Viktor Orbán, PM of Hungary July 2021



Photo: Zoltán Fischer/PM's Press Office



ZNAŠ LI ZA MATURU? SVAKI DAN
PRIMERI TESTOVA ZA POLAGANJE
MALE MATURE SA REŠENJIMA



VREME

Robert Čoban

U senci krila mađarske ptice turul

Iako je Mađara u Srbiji 69.457 manje nego na popisu 2011, delovanje Fondacije Prosperitati i ostalih mehanizama Vlade Mađarske moglo bi da dovede do toga da u Vojvodini uskoro situacija bude slična onoj pr...



MR. BLISTER ZVAKA
3. JUNA U DRINK STORE RADNJAMA
POKLONIKURONI
KUPOVINA NA EKS

Conclusions

- Vojvodina's borderland nature (**hybridity**) is increasing due to
 - (geo)political changes at supranational level
 - EU integration of neighbors
 - RUS-UKR war
 - Migration flows
 - Interstate relations
 - Unprecedented cordial relations of HUN-SR
 - Increasing presence of Hungary in the region
 - Local processes
 - Emigration
 - Passportization
 - Cross-border flows (economy, people, infrastructure, etc.)