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CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING IN HUNGARY: CAUSES AND EFFECTS

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ABSTRACT

Shopping tourism in Eastern Europe has grown enormously since the 1970s, and the geopolitical changes that occurred in the late 1980s and early 90s had a major bearing on its development. Within the context of shopping tourism, this paper examines cross-border shopping trends in Hungary, which is one of the most prominent shopping destinations in the former communist bloc. After a description of the phenomenon and its magnitude in Hungary, spatial patterns in the borderlands are considered and the probable impacts of Hungary's future admission into the European Union are explained.

Keywords: shopping tourism, Hungary, cross-border shopping, European Union

INTRODUCTION

The political changes occurring in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) during the past 15 years have wrought manifold transformations in tourism. With the easing of travel restrictions (e.g. visas and currency controls) in CEE, travelers from Western Europe, North America, and the Asia-Pacific region began to arrive in greater numbers. In fact international arrivals in several east European countries, such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Romania, increased so dramatically during the 1990s, that several of them were included in the World Tourism Organization's list of top twenty world destinations. The former communist bloc countries still continue to be an inexpensive alternative to the costlier west European options. This, together with increased freedom of travel and increasing affluence,

has resulted in continued tourism growth in the East (45). One aspect of these tourism trends that has all but been ignored by researchers is cross-border shopping.

During the 1970s and 80s, cross-boundary shopping boomed in Central and Eastern Europe and was one of the most important types of international travel in the region prior to the change to capitalism. In state socialist systems where domestic fixed prices and limited product variety reduced purchasing opportunities, residents were unable to spend as much of their incomes as they desired. This resulted in two trends: forced savings and shopping trips to more liberal communist neighbors where some elements of a free market functioned (e.g. Hungary and Yugoslavia) (44).

In the early 1990s, the collapse of state socialism in CEE resulted in a distinct border economy, comprised of international day labor, prostitution, informal trading, and low-cost assembly plant operations (9). Much of this trans-border activity was made up of traders, who traveled to neighboring countries with truckloads and sacks of meats, vegetables, clothing, shoes, and electronics in an effort to sell them abroad and those who traveled with empty sacks to purchase goods to sell at home upon their return (7). At the same time, western Europeans began flooding into the East to purchase consumer products at significantly lower prices than at home. In the early 1990s, for example, thousands of Germans crossed into Poland every week to purchase low-price household goods. At first this was a one-way flow of products and people, for Poles could hardly afford the goods on offer in neighboring communities in Germany (8, 37), but it has since begun to flow in both directions.

With the exception of Hungarians and Yugoslavians, for residents of the East, access to the West was strongly restricted until the 1990s. Once capitalism was introduced, however, the forbidden West and the more liberal eastern bloc countries became the destinations of choice for easterners. This resulted in huge influxes of tourists from east to west, and in the cases of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union, outbound travel in 1990 far surpassed that of 1989, in some cases doubling and tripling within the space of one year (18, 45). In the early 1990s, the economy of shortages and uneven development, which prevailed in the countries behind the 'iron curtain', encouraged east Europeans to shop in neighboring countries in search of goods and services that were scarce and/or expensive at home (15, 32, 44). High quality, brand-name goods and articles on the list of commodities banned from import or liable to embargo were purchased and imported, often without being taxed. In most cases the savings and revenues from these 'export-import activities' covered travel expenses. Minghi (31, p. 34) explains it this way:

With the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s and the inevitably long time-lag necessary for economic systems in the East to switch from state control and ownership to a free market economy, it is hardly surprising that borderlands along the East-West interface underwent rapid change, including the instant development of the daily shopper phenomenon from the East to exploit the advantages offered by continuing price and availability in the West coupled with the new opportunity to move and transport

goods much more freely. At the same time, changes in the political regimes meant that what would have been a serious crime of exploitation and profiteering against the state was now seen as a legitimate entrepreneurial demand-based activity.

This also reflects the fact that for many people this was their first opportunity to travel abroad, particularly outside the eastern bloc.

As a result of these momentous changes, border zones in the transforming economies of CEE have shifted from being peripheries to areas of dynamic economic growth, whose mainstay is cross-border trade and tourism (37, p. 211). In some border communities, trans-boundary trade has become the livelihood of over half their populations, and market places/bazaars are developing all along the borders of CEE (37).

The shopping phenomenon that was created by the boundary situation in CEE, among traders as well as individuals who purchased for their personal consumption, began to be viewed in the 1990s by observers as a unique form of tourism (e.g. 15-18, 30-31, 44). For most consumers, these trips were international excursions lasting less than a day, while for others they became part of a complex system of trade where hotels, restaurants, and other services were utilized over the course of two or more days. In most cases, however, shoppers typically slept in the homes of relatives or on buses, and they commonly brought their own food from home (31).

Owing to its favorable geographical setting and liberal economic policies, Hungary played a prominent role in the development of east European shopping tourism. In the 1980s bazaars and market places began mushrooming throughout the country, where goods smuggled into Hungary from Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Turkey were offered for sale, particularly for Austrians who rushed to the country's western counties *en masse* to purchase inexpensive consumer products (17, 36). Following the Cold War, as a result of emerging market economies, rising living standards, and shortages at home, citizens of other post-communist countries began a rush to shop in Hungary. Thus began one of Hungary's largest tourism activities. A recent study (14) concluded that the primary reason for travel to Hungary among foreigners is shopping.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the phenomenon of cross-border shopping in Hungary. Its role in Hungarian tourism is examined, and its spatial characteristics are analyzed. Finally the paper predicts some of the effects of Hungary's joining the European Union on this unique form of consumer activity.

Shopping Tourism: Leisure Pursuit or Foreign Trade?

While travel for the purpose of shopping has existed since ancient times, its role as part of the tourist experience or the primary motive for travel is only now beginning to be understood. Shopping has long been a leisure pursuit, providing opportunities for social interaction, release from everyday stress, and unique venues (e.g. malls) where people can browse or make purchases. In the realm of tourism, shop-

ping can be viewed as an activity undertaken as part of a vacation experience. In these terms Heung and Qu (20, p. 383) defined tourist shopping as the expenditure on items purchased in the destination by visitors, either for consumption in the destination or for export but not including expenditures on food, drink or grocery items. According to the study by Heung and Qu (20), approximately half of the expenditures in Hong Kong by foreign visitors between 1985 and 1995 was comprised of shopping for goods like clothing, jewellery, watches, and leatherwear. In a similar study, Hobson (21) found that half of the Korean visitors to Sydney, Australia, shop at local shopping centers. In most cases, shopping is considered an important added amenity to the existing attraction bases. According to Jansen-Verbeke (22, p. 432), 'the competitive advantage of tourism destinations appears to be more and more determined by the added value of the shopping experience'. Several additional studies show that shopping is one of the most popular activities undertaken in tourist destinations (e.g. 23, 29, 35).

Another view of shopping tourism is that shopping may be the primary motive for traveling, with the use of other amenities being of secondary importance. International shopping tours are becoming more common throughout the world, particularly to places like Sydney, London, New York, Hong Kong, Paris, and Singapore (22, 23, 25, 29). Shopping centers and malls have in several cases become tourist attractions of international acclaim, the Mall of America in Minnesota, USA (38) and West Edmonton Mall in Alberta, Canada (10) being two well-known cases. Examples exist throughout the world where shopping tourism has gained such prominence that it dominates many cities' historic quarters,

and small towns and villages have undergone transformations from agriculture- and resource extraction-based communities to well-known centers of shopping (12, 13).

Cross-border shopping is a form of shopping tourism that has not been examined much in the tourism literature. Perhaps this is because it often takes place in less than 24 hours, its participants thereby falling outside the WTO official definition of tourist. Nonetheless, it is an activity that requires international travel and results in notable impacts in destination communities as infrastructure and services are utilized. Cross-border shopping is an activity where people who live in one country or state/province travel across a boundary to an adjacent region to shop. Ryan (35) was one of the earliest commentators to recognize the role of this form of shopping in the realm of tourism, and several others have begun looking at the economic and social impacts it has in border communities (1, 6, 41). Cross-border shopping is common throughout the world, although the literature focuses mostly on its growth in Western Europe and North America (39). It is usually measured in terms of same-day travel but can involve overnight stays as well in conjunction with visits to friends and relatives, recreational/leisure activities, or simply as a means of being able to meet customs requirements for bringing home additional goods (41).

According to Leimgruber (28, p. 54), four conditions must exist for borderland shopping to develop. First, there must be enough contrast between the home environment and that on the other side. This generally refers to differences in product quality, price, and selection. The second condition is that residents of one country have to be cognizant of what lies on the

other side. Potential shoppers must have adequate information on the goods offered beyond the frontier either from media sources or through personal visits. Third, people need to be able and willing to make the trip, particularly in light of exchange rates and personal mobility. Finally, the border must be permeable enough to allow people to cross relatively unhindered.

While these conditions are vital for cross-border shopping to develop, several push and pull factors also contribute to its growth and popularity (Table 1). The first three factors have an economic focus, while the final four have more of a social emphasis. First, currency exchange rates appear to be the most influential cause. Research has shown causal relationships between exchange rates and levels of international travel generally, as well as international outshopping in particular (1, 6, 33, 40). When exchange rates favor one country, its residents will travel to a neighboring country to shop. Timothy's (40) work suggests a strong relationship between exchange rates and levels of cross-border shopping. His analysis shows that even the smallest changes in value of the Canadian dollar compared to the US dollar resulted in noteworthy shifts in levels of cross-border shopping between 1985 and 1997.

The second factor is taxes. In common with exchange rates, when taxes are lower across the border, people will travel abroad to avoid paying them. Low sales, tobacco, liquor, and fuel taxes all contribute to outshopping to areas where these are lower or non-existent (3, 41). Third, economies of scale come into play as distribution channels in smaller countries are usually less efficient and competitive than those in larger states, which generally means that

profit margins are raised to compensate for limited market bases (39). As a result, cheaper consumer prices draw many people across borders to shop (44).

Fourth, economies of scale also mean that when a country has a small population its product lines are usually less varied than those in adjacent nations with larger market bases. Thus, a wider variety of goods, particularly in terms of fashions, brand names, and product quality, draw people across boundaries to shop (4, 11). Customer service is the fifth factor. Many people appear to enjoy and appreciate the level of service and individual attention shown them in neighboring countries (4). The sixth factor, extended business hours, such as weekends and evenings, also attracts consumers from states or countries where opening hours are more restrictive (41). Finally, that a shopping trip is pleasurable and can function as a mini vacation or recreational activity is also an important motive that in some instances surpasses its economic value (34, 41). Jansen-Verbeke (22) agrees with this assertion. In her words, "What was once seen as a consumer behavior pattern mainly based on taking advantage of different goods' pricing, can n longer be fully explained by economic benefits, when taking into account the travel expenses" (p. 433).

By way of example, Canadians shopping in the United States reached 60 million in 1991. This was largely a result of differences in price and income levels of the population of the two countries and in rates of exchange between national currencies, although according to research, all of the factors identified above contributed to this phenomenon (6, 40, 41). Cross-border shopping is very popular on the US-Mexico border as well. For Americans,

shopping in Mexico primarily means pharmaceuticals and health services (42, 43), while Mexicans purchase a wide variety of products ranging from food and clothing to toys and electronics. Some estimates suggest that Mexican shoppers spend nearly USD \$3 billion in US border towns every year (1).

Cross-Border Shopping in Hungary

Between September 1997 and August 1998, Gfk-Hungária (14) Marketing Research Institute, on behalf of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Tourism, carried out a survey among foreign tourists in Hungary regarding their activities. In all, 18,508 interviews were conducted among departing non-Hungarians at border crossing points. The present study is based on this database, and with the assistance of experts from Gfk-Hungária, relevant information about shopping tourism was selected. For the purposes of this paper, shopping tourists are those who declared shopping as their primary purpose of visit. Ordinary or general tourists are those who visited primarily for other reasons.

According to the Hungarian National Statistics Office (27), 37.3 million foreigners crossed Hungary's land borders in 1998; two thirds were residents of adjacent countries. Approximately 2.9 million of the total border crossers stayed in commercial accommodations, and 17.3 per cent of these were from the seven contiguous countries surrounding Hungary. This means that only two per cent of the visitors from neighboring countries spent nights in commercial lodging establishments. Thus, the figures suggest that every day nearly 67,000 people entered Hungary from adjacent countries and did not utilize commer-

cial lodging. Even taking into account that some people might have stayed overnight in private homes, with relatives or acquaintances, it is certain that many thousands of people visited Hungary on a same-day basis. According to most official definitions in countries where this form of consumer activity dominates, for statistical purposes, although grossly overestimated, cross-border shopping is defined as international travel and return home the same day (6, 11, 34).

For 27.3 percent of general tourists to Hungary, shopping was the primary purpose of the visit (Figure 1). For travelers from neighboring countries, however, shopping as a primary motive for travel was significantly higher. For example, more than 40 percent of visitors from Slovenia, Croatia, and Ukraine, reported shopping as their primary motive. Another important purpose was to visit relatives, and it is likely that these people also participated in shopping once they were in Hungary and once they became aware of favorable shopping opportunities.

The average spending of foreigners who gave shopping as their primary purpose of travel was \$50.22 USD. For guests from neighboring countries, the average spending was \$54.90 USD, with the upper limit of the scale being Austrians (\$119.33 USD) and at the lower end Ukrainians (\$17.24 USD). Comparing levels of spending by the visitors whose specific purpose was shopping to that of ordinary tourists (\$128.86 USD), it turns out that the expenditures of shopping tourists are less than those of ordinary visitors. The greatest difference is among Croatian general tourists, who spent 432 per cent more than Croatian shopping tourists, whereas the group with the smallest difference was

the Austrians (13%). This likely reflects the fact that people who spend their holidays (i.e. the regular tourists) in Hungary are more involved in other aspects of leisure vacations, such as visiting cultural and natural attractions, combined with shopping activities, and thus they have more discretionary funds to spend than those who cross the border to shop for basic necessities. Most cross-border shoppers have specific types of purchases in mind when they depart for the border, and while for many it may be an enjoyable experience, it does tend to have fewer leisure characteristics than the shopping activities of regular tourists.

The structure of spending by shopping tourists shows a significant deviation from that of general tourists. It is characterized by a high proportion of expenditures on goods and services (68%) and a small amount on accommodation (5%). Within total spending, buying goods and services was most common among Austrians (81%) and least common with Croatians (44%). A higher share of consumption in catering might explain the latter case. Overall, the primary purchases involved clothing, footwear, foodstuff and electronics/high tech devices. Clothing and footwear were the main attraction for Austrians, while Romanians tended to purchase more high-tech goods. In general, the range of the goods bought is wide for the guests from each country.

Shopping tourists visit Hungary more frequently than other visitors, but have a significantly shorter average length of stay (Table 2). On average, more than half of those surveyed visited at least once a month. Ukrainians traveled most frequently to Hungary, with 91 per cent claiming to visit at least once a month. It is interesting

to note that Slovenian shoppers reported no regular travel to Hungary. While they come less frequently, they have a tendency to spend more money. As noted earlier, the length of stay by shopping visitors is considerably shorter than that by general tourists. According to the survey, the mean duration of visits among regular tourists is 3.93 days while that of the shoppers is just over one day. Although the duration of visits among shopping tourists is shorter, their contribution to the Hungarian economy is sizeable because they shop more often than the majority of general tourists.

The Borderlands and Spatial Patterns

There is a strong urban presence along Hungary's borders (17, 26), and many border communities are well equipped with stores, markets, pedestrian malls, and other types of shopping centers. Based on official statistics (27), a data set comparing local population and retail store units was established as a foundation for understanding spatial patterns. For this study it was determined that in settlements where the ratio of residents to store units is below the county average, there is likely to be some kind of additional consumer activity, in this case shopping by foreign visitors. Otherwise, shops would not be able to support themselves. Only settlements with more than ten retail stores and population to store ratios lower than the county averages were included in the analysis.

Values were calculated both for 1994 and 1998 to provide temporal continuity. In all, 217 Hungarian settlements met these criteria. Of these, 32 were located within 40km of the international border (Figure 2). Several additional settlements (95 in

total) have a considerable tourist appeal, which also induces other forms of tourist/leisure shopping. Most of these communities are spas of domestic and international importance (e.g. Hévíz, Hajdúszoboszló), lakeside resorts (e.g. Balaton, Velence Lake), and historical cities (e.g. Eger). In 14 of these communities, the proximity of the state border and tourist attractiveness together contributed to the emergence of shopping tourism (e.g. Pécs, Sopron) (see Figure 2). In accordance with location theory in general (cf 24), accessibility by road appears to be a major factor in the development of shopping tourism in these communities, combined with their location in relation to the border. The majority of the borderland towns and villages where shopping appears to be centered are serviced by highways and secondary roads and are located within close proximity of border crossing points. This accessibility creates a condition where some communities that previously had little tourist appeal have now become major destinations for shopping tourists.

In spite of the fact that shopping tourism in Hungary is supported by the citizens of economically developed Austria and by residents of post-communist countries with uneven living standards, no relevant regional differences were noted in size or status of the destination settlements along different parts of the border. Villages with only a few hundred inhabitants (e.g. Udvar, Levél) are equally a part of shopping tourism as county seats with more than 100,000 residents (e.g. Szeged, Pécs). Again, transport routes and proximity to the border were the most influential variables.

Potential Effects of EU Membership

At the time of writing, the exact date of Hungary's admission into the European Union had not yet been announced, although it is projected to happen in the near future. Hungary's membership in the EU is expected to exert a profound influence on current patterns of shopping tourism. The primary factor of change will be the country's adoption of the Schengen Agreement, which means that citizens of many of Hungary's neighboring countries, who presently have free entry and contribute most to the country's cross-border shopping economy (e.g. Romania, Yugoslavia, and Ukraine) will be required to obtain EU entry visas. Clearly this will have some major implications for the continuing (or non-continuing) trends in cross-border shopping. The hassle and expense of having to obtain a multiple entry visa, go through security checks, and losing potential business time, will no doubt decrease the desirability of Hungary as a shopping destination.

Likewise, Hungary has petitioned the EU for special privileges for ethnic Hungarians living beyond its national borders, including approximately three million in Ukraine, Romania, and Yugoslavia. If this petition is approved in Brussels during the negotiations on Hungary's integration, it will ultimately grant 'visas of nationality' to people of Hungarian ethnicity living in other CEE countries, allowing free entry into the country. Such a decision would help maintain higher levels of cross-border shopping, for many of the shoppers are ethnic Hungarians from abroad. A European Commission rejection of the proposal, on the other hand, will certainly effect a drastic decline in cross-boundary shopping, causing many shops to close and resulting

in devastating economic difficulties in communities all along Hungary's national borders—an event that happened in US border communities when Canadian shopping declined in 1992 (39, 40).

In addition to border requirements, shopping in Hungary will no longer make economic sense to residents of nearby countries. Experience shows that the lesser developed countries of Europe, when they become members of the EU, experience increased living standards and consequently increased costs of living from the perspective of outsiders. In this way Hungary's competitive advantage in price terms will diminish for Austrians and other EU citizens at least. At present, average Hungarian employees must work 91 hours more than their Austrian counterparts to fill the average consumer basket, while Ukrainians must work 236 hours more. For example, according to one study (19), it would take an average Austrian worker approximately three minutes to earn enough money for a liter of petrol and 8.9 minutes to buy 2.5kg of coffee. For an average Ukrainian, however, a liter of petrol costs the equivalent of 46.6 minutes of work and the same amount of coffee requires 6.7 hours of labor (see Table 3). With their economic advantage, Austrian tourists, this evidence suggests, are primarily attracted by the lower level of consumer prices. Austrians' buying power in Hungary is strong. Shoppers from other countries, however, where it would be more expensive to shop in Hungary than at home, appear to be drawn by a richer choice of commodities, quality brand-name products, or pushed from home by a lack of desired goods. No precise, detailed and reliable data on the motivations of shopping tourism are yet available, but this would appear to be the case given the data in Table 3. These effects

will no doubt be felt in Hungary as well once it is admitted into the Union.

Discussion and Conclusions

The experience of cross-border shopping in Hungary clearly has developed as a result of Leimgruber's (28) facilitating factors. According to this analysis, there is sufficient contrast between Hungary and its neighbors to spur the growth of cross-border shopping to the tune of over 50,000 people a day. Price differential was the main contrast for shoppers from Austria and some of its more developed post-communist neighbors. For shoppers from Romania, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia, however, product quality, availability, and selection were the primary points of contrast, although some consumer items might have been cheaper in Hungary as well.

Leimgruber's second condition is awareness. It is assumed that, given the data presented here, many cross-border shoppers spend a night with friends and relatives while in Hungary. They likely receive information about products, prices, and shopping places from relatives. Also, media sources in various forms do contribute to the awareness among Hungary's neighbors in shopping opportunities there. Likewise, the propensity of shopping tourists to visit Hungary so often is indicative that they are plenty aware of what is on sale across the boundary and probably are aware of new consumer venues they wish to visit on other occasions.

Obviously residents of Romania, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Slovakia, and Slovenia are willing to cross borders to shop. This is facilitated by easy access (abundant roadways), multiple border crossing points

along their common frontiers, and the existence of villages and cities in close proximity to the border, which are well stocked with consumer products attractive to foreign visitors. While exchange and tax rates are not always a driving force in this situation, as it is in similar contexts around the world, the availability of products and accessible locations drive this phenomenon.

Finally, to state the obvious, a border must be sufficiently open to allow people to cross unhindered. Hungary realizes the economic value of this multi-national consumer craze and has therefore been willing and ready to keep its borders open to its neighbors. While all visitors must pass through border formalities, these have been kept to a minimum since the region's transformation to capitalism. That so many people of Hungarian descent live throughout Central and Eastern Europe has also contributed to the country's willingness to keep its borders open. As discussed previously, this will probably change, however, once Hungary is admitted into the European Union, for its borders will become less permeable than before.

Shopping in the borderlands has become an economic fortune for Hungary. As this and

other cases show, communities situated adjacent to political boundaries may have a strong competitive advantage in attracting visitors from neighboring jurisdictions, when borders are permeable, where price differentials exist on opposite sides of the border, and where there exists a different and perhaps wider array of consumer products. Most studies focus on cost differentials as the main variable in inducing cross-border shopping (e.g. 1, 5, 33). However, as this study shows, even when exchange rates, taxes, and lower prices are not necessarily to their advantage, shopping tourists may still be attracted by product variety and availability. This study has confirmed what others have suggested about the nature of cross-border shopping—that it is motivated by utilitarian shopping and hedonic consumption (cf 2), that it has unique spatial characteristics, and that its nature changes as socio-political transformations unfold.

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TABLE 1

Factors Contributing to the Growth of Cross-border Shopping

- Favorable exchange rates between currencies are a major motivation for shopping in countries where currencies are weak.
 - Higher taxes on one side of a boundary drive people across where tax rates are lower.
 - As a result of economies of scale, small distribution channels, and a lack of competition in smaller economies, higher profit margins exist, driving up the cost of consumer goods at home.
 - There is often a wider selection of goods and services across the frontier.
 - Customer service in neighboring jurisdictions may be better than at home.
 - Many people shop abroad owing to differences in the opening hours and days of shops, particularly on weekends and holidays.
 - Shopping abroad is entertaining and enjoyable. For many people, the thrill of crossing a border is compounded by the assortment and quality of products available.
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TABLE 2

Frequency of Visits and Duration of Stay in Hungary, 1998

Country	Tourists who visit at least once a month (percent)		Duration of stay (in days)	
	Ordinary Tourists	Shopping Tourists	Ordinary Tourists	Shopping Tourists
Austria	34.1	36.1	2.55	1.05
Slovakia	53.7	61.5	2.00	1.23
Ukraine	86.0	91.0	1.90	1.09
Romania	34.6	67.3	4.50	1.07
Yugoslavia	25.0	47.1	2.96	1.10
Croatia	40.4	69.5	3.49	1.03
Slovenia	6.7	0	2.96	1.05
Total (mean)	31.7	54.1	3.93	1.13

Source: Gfk-Hungária 1999 (14)

TABLE 3

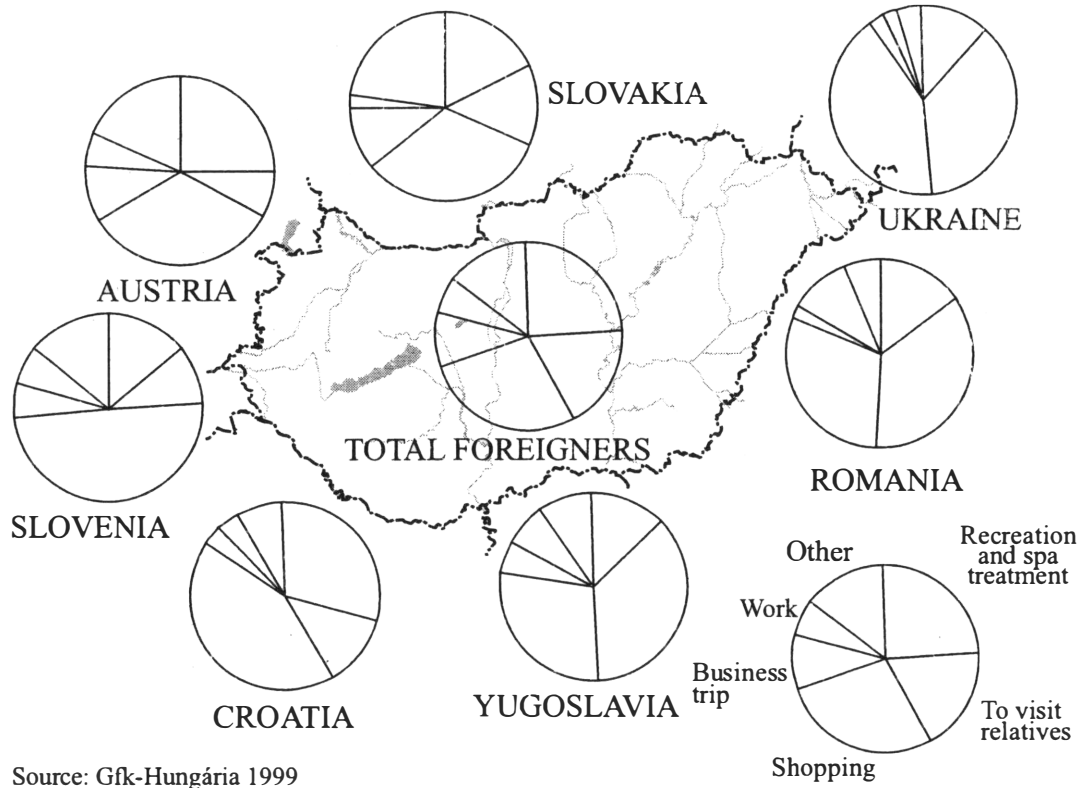
Working Time Needed to Buy Items in the Consumer Basket, 1998

Goods	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Slovakia	Romania	Ukraine
butter (2.5kg)	6.0 min	25.2 min	30.3 min	30.6 min	52.9 min	2.2 hrs
coffee (2.5kg)	8.9 min	54.6 min	1.0 hrs	1.3 hrs	4.2 hrs	6.7 hrs
restaurant lunch	59.7 min	1.6 hrs	3.3 hrs	3.4 hrs	3.9 hrs	27.8 hrs
cigarettes (1 pack)	10.0 min	32.1 min	38.2 min	49.0 min	1.6 hrs	1.4 hrs
beer (1 bottle)	2.8 min	8.8 min	10.5 min	11.2 min	23.5 min	33.2 min
petrol (1 liter)	3.0 min	18.3 min	11.2 min	22.9 min	31.7 min	46.6 min
shoes (one pair)	4.5 hrs	17.3 hrs	17.5 hrs	18.7 hrs	20.2 hrs	30.1 hrs

Source: Heti Világgazdaság 1998 (19)

Figure 1

Main Purposes of Visits to Hungary by Foreigners



Source: Gfk-Hungária 1999
Cartography: L. Kaiser

Figure 2

The Spatial Pattern of Cross-Border Shopping in Hungary

