Hungarian Efforts to Mainstream Territorial Cohesion in Development Policy
Signs of Europeanisation of Domestic Spatial Planning

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Abstract

The paper analyses the Hungarian efforts towards the approach of territorial cohesion from a spatial planning perspective. Since 2009 territorial cohesion is not only a new legitimate priority of the EU policies, especially that of Cohesion Policy, but also an important impetus of European spatial planning and thus the key driving force of the Europeanisation process of domestic spatial planning of member states. Although Hungary, just like the other Eastern and Central European Member States, had not had a significant role for a long time before 2011 in the elaboration and discourse of territorial cohesion and European spatial planning, some of its related policy innovations had a pioneer character in the European scale. In 2011, Hungarian took a coordinator role in the preparation of the definitive strategic document of the European spatial planning and territorial cohesion, that is, the Territorial Agenda 2020 (TA2020). The paper collects and reviews the main Hungarian policy initiatives, which directly connect to notion of territorial cohesion in a European understanding of spatial planning and development. Early formation of legislative framework for the EU oriented regional development in the 1990s; the emerging approaches in national level spatial planning, spatial strategies, and the pioneer introduction of integrated urban development strategies and methodological innovations of development system to implement territorial cohesion are the main steps in this process. Several relevant Hungarian innovations emerged during or even before the explicit EU level discussion and political acceptance of territorial cohesion.

Keywords: territorial cohesion, Europeanisation, spatial planning, governance, Hungary, regional development, European Union

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I. Introduction

In EU countries, planning in spatial dimension, such as regional planning, urban planning and development, remained within the competence of Member States, though, it is evident that it is linked to different areas of community policies in several ways. However,

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from the 1990s on, strategies related to spatial development have been created on the EU level (ESDP, Territorial Agenda 2007 and Territorial Agenda 2011, Leipzig Charter, ESPON Programme, etc.). Its macro-regional and cross-border strategic spaces were just being formed, with a special regard to Interreg and the later European Territorial Cooperation (ETC), which became a separate target area of cohesion policy. This resulted in the creation of a framework-like European spatial planning process above the level of states – 'planning for Europe' as Kai Böhme specifies this EU level planning – which served rather coordination, but is consciously enforced, subject to the voluntary cooperation and adaptation of the Member States, though (Böhme, K. 2002). From 2009 on, territorial cohesion was included in the Lisbon Treaty and its fundamental objective became a definitive concept of the European-level spatial formation policy and the legal base for continuing various spatial planning operations. They included territorial coordination, the formation of new spaces, territorial cooperation, and integrated planning, especially in order to have the targets of the Europe 2020 strategy determining the economic growth programme of the EU implemented. Despite national competence, there is an influence of EU policies and EU level planning processes on the transformation of domestic panning policies and practices, which is examined by extensive literature (Böhme, K. – Waterhout, B. 2008; Giannakourou, G. 2011; Purkarthofer, E. 2016). This influence, often specified as Europeanisation of planning, may be realised through much more complex mechanisms (either bottom-up, or top-down or horizontal) in the formation of policies remaining within Member State competence.

The Europeanisation of planning–development in Hungary has not been specifically analysed so far, only in the framework of an EU wide analysis (Salamin G. 2018). Although Hungary, just like the other Eastern and Central European Member States, did not had a significant role for a long time in the elaboration of European spatial planning dominated by the EU, some of its related policy innovations had a pioneer character in the European scale. In the framework of the 2011 Hungarian EU Presidency, the Hungarian professionals took an active role mainly in the preparation of the definitive strategic document of the European spatial planning, that is, the Territorial Agenda 2020 (TA2020) and its supporting document.

The aim of the paper is to review major Hungarian policy initiatives which are directly connected to the policy notion of territorial cohesion in the context of Europeanisation. As a first step, it identifies the significance of territorial cohesion in Europeanisation of spatial planning to set up the aspects of the analysis. Then the relevant Hungarian policy and methodological initiatives are analyzed. The results are based on publications relating to Hungarian policy processes and analysis of policy documents, strategies, and also own personal experiences in national and European level spatial planning.[2] By focusing on this paper it obviously includes neither the introduction or evaluation of Hungarian planning system, nor comprehensive assessment of its entire Europeanisation trend.

2 The author had coordinating and leading professional role in the drafting of the National Territorial Development Concept (2005) of the National Development and Territorial Development Concept (2014) adopted by the Hungarian Parliament. From 2008 National contact point, later MC member in the ESPON programme, in 2010–2011 coordinator of the drafting team of the Territorial Agenda 2020, working group member than steering group member of the common territorial development strategy of the Visegrád+2 countries. Since 2015 delegate to the European Council of Territorial Planners (ECTP–CEU).

The paper is based on the European concept of spatial planning. In the last two decades, the term 'spatial planning' spread for the uniform designation of planning processes of various styles. It has been realised on various territorial levels present in Europe partly in order to grasp new semantic contents and partly due to the increasing demand for internationalisation (Williams, R. H. 1996, about the gradual appearance of the term, Tewdwr-Jones, M. 2001; Kunzmann, K. 2006). The term itself is closely related to European integration, 'spatial planning' being a Euro-English compound itself as traditionally it was not used in British English. By now, vast literature is available in this topic. In the creation of this new special area, pioneer researchers of the introduction of the system of concepts and ideas of the European spatial planning (Williams, R. H. 1996; Kunzmann, K. 2006) and the 'historians' and analysts of the birth and institutionalisation of the European-level spatial planning (Böhme, K. 2002; Faludi A. – Waterhout, B. 2002; Faludi A. 2004; 2011; Kunzmann, K. 2006; Waterhout, B. 2008; Janin Rivolin, U. 2012) played a determining role. According to Kai Böhme, this form was actually

born so that the planning efforts of the European integration should not be linked to the planning systems of the Member States, thus avoiding the sensitive issue of the overlap of competences (Böhme, K. 2002). *'Spatial planning refers to the methods used largely by the public sector to influence the future distribution of activities in space. ... Spatial planning embraces measures to co-ordinate the spatial impacts of other sectoral policies, to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions than would otherwise be created by market forces and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses. ... spatial planning systems'* mean *'the various institutional arrangements for expressing spatial planning objectives and the mechanisms employed for realising them'*. (EC 1997 p. 24.) For Europeanisation, I take over the definition of Claudio M. Radaelli according to which *'Europeanisation includes the institutionalisation of the implementation of such formal and informal rules, procedures, political paradigms, styles and things, as well as common beliefs and norms which were first defined and consolidated in the political process of the EU, to be later built into the logic of Hungarian discourses, political structures and public policies'* (Radaelli, C. M. 2004 p. 3.).

II. Interpretation of Territorial Cohesion as a Driver in Europeanisation of Spatial Planning

In 2009, territorial cohesion appeared in the Lisbon Treaty, thus becoming one of the fundamental aims of the European Union. The main elements of the understanding of the emerged concept of territorial cohesion could be fund in the content of previous EU or European strategies, especially in the European Spatial Development Perspectives (EC 1999) and the Guiding Principles for the Sustainable Spatial Development of the European Continent (2000) and supplements the targets of economic and social cohesion by providing a territorial (spatial) context for the EU efforts of the balanced and harmonious development conveyed by them. It was the European Commission to submit a proposal for the first official definition of territorial cohesion in its third cohesion report (EC 2004) and its possible political competence was determined at the Informal Ministerial Meeting in Rotterdam in 2004. It was also published in the governing European Commission

document, the Community Strategy Guidelines established for the cohesion policy programmes of the 2007–2013 programming period. The topic was more and more highlighted through the document entitled Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion (EC 2008) and its public consultation. Then it was the Territorial Agenda 2020 document of 2011 to designate its interpretation framework in a more detailed way, including certain mainstreaming mechanisms in addition to the desired spatial development targets. Territorial cohesion is a dimension which appears markedly in the development tools in the present cohesion policy cycle of 2014–2020.

There are several works on understanding territorial cohesion (see a comprehensive one in Medeiros, E. 2016). In this chapter a more policy and planning oriented interpretation is analyzed, which can be used to identify its early emergence in an East-Central European country, Hungary.

At first there is a frequent misunderstanding with regard to territorial cohesion that it is handled as a balancing policy of regional differences. Although the first policy use of the term gave a reason for this (EC 2004), the territorial cohesion aim is actually linked to shifting away from the former idea of 'Europe of the regions'. Indeed, other spatial categories that are, cities and functional spaces and networks crossing administrative borders are explicitly highlighted instead of administrative regions, together with coordination, harmony and efficiency in the space. The Territorial Agenda 2020 defined the territorial integration of cross-border spaces as a concrete target: Territorial Agenda 2020 (EC 2011). Terriorial cohesion is becoming the subject of scientific research to an ever-growing extent, however, it is regarded mainly as a policy category and not as a scientific concept in this work. Therefore, for clear understanding this term is used in this paper when I sum up the interpretation framework of the document entitled The Territorial Status and Perspectives of the European Union (TSP) (NFM – VÁTI eds. 2011b) as a policy strategy, supporting background document in the following text in small print. TSP reinforced the planning dimensions of the concept (Radvánszki, Á. et al. 2011).

Thus, the policy of territorial cohesion means more determined mainstreaming of territorial aspects in sectoral developments, together with a comprehensive and integrated (spatial) planning and taking into consideration of disadvantageous geographical features and, most of all, the exploitation of potentials

of cities and other territories for achieving economic and social, mainly EU-related, targets.[3]

> The TSP which is on the border of the planning and the analysing genre considers territorial cohesion generally as a general recognition and mainstreaming of the territorial or, rather, spatial dimension, which is necessary for the successful achievement of the results of the European Union and, more concretely the Europe 2020 Strategy. It calls attention to the fact that territorial *cohesion recognises and encourages* the difference of *regions* as opposed to former balancing policies, considering it a benefit to be used. 'Territorial cohesion is an approach that aims at transforming diversity into an asset. It contributes to sustainable development of the entire EU through clarifying the type of development operations that are best tailored to different areas. In the case of regions which are lagging behind, this might mean that they need external interventions, additional resources and support to find their own sustainable ways of development. In short, territorial cohesion aims for a harmonious, balanced, efficient and sustainable territorial structure, where different territories (regions, cities, macro-regions), wherever they are, can make the most of their territorial potentials and achieve their optimal long-term development, thus making their own contribution to enhancing the territorial state of the EU.' (NFM – VÁTI eds. 2011b p. 14.)

The document argues (also encouraged by the Hungarian participants) that *territorial cohesion is relevant on several levels from global to local*. The main justification of the notion of territorial cohesion is its integrative character. 'It is a tool *to build* networks of *functional areas*.' NFM – VÁTI eds. 2011b p. 14.) The territorial approach ensured by territorial cohesion is key in the *harmonisation of various development paradigms* including sustainability, convergence, solidarity between the regions and regional competitiveness. Parameters of the balance of economic, environmental and social demands have different characteristics in each region.

On the one hand, territorial cohesion focuses on the possibilities of the *contribution of regions, the local communities and other type of regions to EU community-level priorities* (competitiveness, climate change, etc.), and it has a key role in creating the 'territorial optimum' through the *coordination* of various *sectoral policies* optimising

3 The meaning of the concept of territorial cohesion in practice, in the communication of the European Commission can be well seen in the last, seventh cohesion report, for example (EC 2017). The report discusses increasing differences between the development level of regions in the framework of economic cohesion while the chapter on territorial cohesion deals with the territorial impacts of climate change, transport, energy consumption, environmental burdens, the resource efficiency role of cities, the separating role of borders and territorial cooperation.

territorial impacts and promoting the coherence between them. It can significantly enhance their successfulness, and helps to avoid negative effects of ambiguous policy measures on each territorial level.

The document considers the realisation of territorial cohesion a permanent and cooperative process, that is, *territorial governance* where the private sector, the scientific domain, the public sector, civil organisations and further actors have to cooperate. *Multi-level governance* and *a place-based approach to development* is highlighted, embodied mainly in horizontal coordination, fact-based decision-making and integrated regional developments. At the same time, careful management of territories and space has an important role in territorial cohesion, directly linking towards physical land use planning.

The overwhelming majority of authors dealing with the European spatial planning (Salamin G. – Péti M. 2015; Schmitt, P. – Well van, L. 2017) agree that the inclusion of territorial cohesion into the Community policy is one of the most important results of the EU spatial planning efforts on the one hand, and promises the opportunity of a substantial development of this area, on the other. According to David Evers, European (level) spatial planning got value by the introduction of the aim of territorial cohesion while András Faludi states that European spatial planning became mature by this new EU priority creating the legal basis for various activities of European spatial planning, including the creation of territorial strategies, the linking of resources, the achievement of territorial and spatial development aims, etc. The target of territorial cohesion is definitely a key milestone of the EU level spatial planning activity (Faludi A. 2011). It can be a determining factor in the Europeanisation of national planning systems; too. The so-called Barca report (Barca, F. 2009) elaborated the set of criteria of place-based development during the preparation of the reform of the cohesion policy in force since 2014 which reinforced the spatial dimension in the implementation of cohesion policy.

Important dedicated direct instruments of territorial cohesion are the European territorial cooperation programmes. At the same time, the systems of committees and networks ensuring the mainstreaming of territorial and urban aspects were established mainly in the context of the mainstreaming of territorial cohesion, like the network of national territorial cohesion contact points (NTCCP) or the regular informal meetings of Directors-General responsible for the topic or of Ministers regarding the topic. At the same time, professional networks

and communities of planners and researchers were established, too (cf. the ESPON Programme and a wide range of actors of territorial cooperation) which also influence decision-making processes in Member State policies by forming discourses and 'producing' facts. Coordination became a determining form of appearance of the EU spatial planning policy, serving the efficiency of the realisation of various EU policies in the EU approach but actually driving the actions of Member States, too. Stefanie Dühr and others state that although national territorial planning policies often have a vision about such a coordinating role, in the practice they rather act as an independent policy sector without enough weight to influence the other sectors (Dühr, S. et al. 2010). On the EU level, the term 'cost of the absence of coordination' appeared explicitly in the context of the controversies of policies in actual spaces and the non-utilisation of synergies, being one of the basic causes of disregarding territorial cohesion / planning efforts (Robert, J. et al. 2001; Benz, A. 2002).

Therefore, the coordination of spatial policies is focused in European debates on spatial planning. Thus, European spatial planning focuses on the establishment of a better territorial coordination of policies: between various sectors horizontally, between various governance levels vertically and across the administrative borders geographically (Dühr, S. et al. 2007 p. 302.). However, my opinion is that although territorial (space formation) issues are definitely present in the EU policies and procedures, it cannot be categorised as a political topic of significant weight of the Community at all.

Many authors believe that the European policy avoids the concept of spatial planning so that the EU effort be clearly separated from national level planning activities, at least on the level of concepts, on the one hand, and so that EU intervention may not be questioned in fields which *de jure* are outside its competence, on the other (Dühr, S. et al. 2010; Faludi A. 2016; Purkarthofer, E. 2016). Certain authors tend to consider territorial cohesion to be the new name for European spatial planning (Faludi A. 2011). In this regard, András Faludi states that if there is an EU level planning, it must be necessarily soft in its tools, spaces and processes. Therefore, he believes that European spatial planning / territorial cohesion policy can be grasped with the three C-s: cohesion, coherence and cooperation. As cooperation is highlighted as opposed to the authoritarian decision-making, territorial cohesion

policy rather belongs to the concept of governance than of government. Territorial planning interpreted as regulatory land use belongs to the model of *government*, although certain elements of governance naturally appear in the process of this planning form, too (Faludi A. 2011). Naturally, the suspicion emerges that the obscuring of the relationship between territorial cohesion and spatial planning is actually a 'planned smokescreen' as Phil Allmeninger and others state which helps to make flexible the theoretically non-existent mandate of the European Commission in the field of spatial planning (Allmendinger, P. et al. eds. 2015, cited by Purkarthofer, E. 2016).

Territorial cohesion is primarily a policy for the EU level; however, it is highly relevant for national level planning policies due to two facts: first, territorial cohesion cannot be ensured solely by the EU level instruments – especially Cohesion Policy – it needs contributing efforts of member states' policies. Second, the coordinating, framework type planning, which comes from the notion of territorial cohesion seems to be more and more emerging in various planning systems of the European countries. (Böhme, K. – Waterhout, B. 2008; Stead, D. 2013; Purkarthofer, E. 2016; Salamin G. 2018).

To identify the relevant Hungarian efforts we can conclude and specify the main messages of territorial cohesion for domestic planning systems are as follows. Flexible geography (new, often soft spaces with fuzzy borders crossing administrative borders). Flexible and multi actor and multi-level governance. Coordination of sector policies and activities of different economic and social players. Increased comprehensive consideration of territorial (spatial) dimension in policies and in development programmes. More focus on strategic and soft instruments such as visions and integrated strategies than on land-use regulation implements. Integrated planning.

In this approach, the spatial (planning) policy should be more comprehensive with horizontal nature integrated in other policies instead of being separate policy with distinct, own implements.

III. Pioneering Activities towards New Spatial Development before the Lisbon Treaty

Based on understanding the above, we can see that several relevant Hungarian innovations emerged during or even before the explicit EU level discussion and political

acceptance of territorial cohesion. In connecting to the EU regional policy, from as early as 1996, Hungary played a pioneer role in introducing a quite new planning system for public investment developments. This was reflected in the EU oriented Territorial Development Act, too, which was the first of this kind in Eastern and Central Europe, creating an advanced framework in planning, launching regional level systemic planning. Although the Act wished to be aligned to the regional policy of the EU mainly, it provided a definition for territorial development, which went beyond regional development and was connected to several elements of the European conceptual framework of spatial planning. In this definition, territorial development also means the monitoring of territorial development processes where it defines points of intervention and the territorial development role of sectoral policies appeared as early as this time, together with the cyclical operation of the planning of national territorial development policy, by determining the preparation of the national territorial development concept and its assessment and revision cycle. This policy cycle system operates up to this day, albeit with different approaches and changing efficiency of mainstreaming. In Eastern and Central Europe, another pioneer step was the preparation of the national level territorial development concept in 1998. The construction of system of regional development councils resulted some new governance approach representing a sort of partnership instead of the politically legitimate regional bodies (the counties). They and the gradual reliance of development support systems on programming, created not only a new system for the implements of regional policy (development), but also the building of the territory-based development oriented spatial planning, too. We have to emphasize the outstanding success of Hungary in the effective implementation of Interreg programmes. The management of the cross-border and transnational programmes of the area built on the state company, VÁTI, became an Eastern and Central European good practice which was reflected in the fact that all cross-border programmes affected by the country, except for the Austrian–Hungarian one, had been managed in Hungary (VÁTI) until 2013. What's more, the management of the Southeast European transnational programme and the new Danube Programme starting from 2014 could have been located to Hungary, too.

In the context of European spatial planning, several national

planning policy practices were launched from the beginning of the 2000s in which Hungary sometimes foresaw several later key messages of the paradigm of territorial cohesion which was expressed on EU level only from 2007. The second National Territorial Development Concept (OTK)[4] adopted by the Parliament in 2005 was a kind of a hybrid document. It was not only targeting territorial (regional) development, though it was the first to focus on the NUTS2 regions, too. It designated the conception framework of spatial planning in the European sense (the English version of its title contained the term spatial development concept even then), targeting the essential transformation of the function of territorial planning and the related policy in the spirit of the ESDP (Salamin G. et al. 2005). *'Professionals preparing it foresaw the advancing of territorial policy into a new stage of integration with designating the territorial coordination of public interventions and development and the creation of territorial harmony instead of the former selectively intervening and compensating (regional catching-up and balancing) territorial development as the task of territorial policy, in line with the basic philosophy of the ESDP which later was taken over word-by-word by the 2011 Territorial Agenda. The vision of territorial policy which integrates sectoral policies to a certain extent and the policy and professional initiatives launched for its realisation (e.g. territorial impact assessments, territorial monitoring, the technical mainstreaming of territorial aspects in operational programmes, the functional follow-up of real spatial organisations instead of administrative units, the introduction of the system of integrated urban development strategies) were appreciated by the profession throughout Europe since they introduced several ideas which came up only later when the concept of territorial cohesion became mature (cf. Green Paper on territorial cohesion, Treaty of Lisbon, Territorial Agenda 2020)'* (Salamin G. et al. 2014 p. 10.). From this approach, desirable territorial (spatial) development is created by the coordination of sectors and territorial (regional) development policies and here territorial harmony created through coordination, iteration and cooperation was set forth instead of compensating and correcting territorial development which is present as an independent sector (Salamin G. et al. 2005; Salamin G. – Péti M. 2005; Salamin

4 The author was the planner-in-chief and coordinator of the professional preparation of the 2005 OTK based on an extensive involvement of experts and society.

G. 2006). This rather comprehensive interpretation of territorial (spatial) policy and the determining role of sectoral coordination was in line with the approach of the ESDP, but it was included in the agenda of the European planning and in the Green Paper on territorial cohesion only later, when territorial cohesion emerged. The introduction of the spatial dimension has also to be stressed into the 2005 OTK. In addition to delineated territorial units, that is, planning and statistical regions which were institutionalised by then, space types, the development and network relationships of the national space were focussed on until a close relationship with urban planning emerged, too, by introducing fundamental space utilisation principles among which the principle of real space organisation was explicitly set forth in development-related and regulatory interventions. From 2003, the introduction of the regular territorial impact assessment of sectoral development in addition to territorial development resources was also a pioneer action since this was the time when territorial impact assessment was appreciated in European thinking, e.g., in the ESPON Programme. From this aspect the regular reports must be highlighted for the Parliament on the development of territorial processes and the effectiveness of territorial development policy in the spirit of the Territorial Development Act, which are a systemic monitoring of spatial development.

However, pioneer professional efforts regarding European spatial planning were mainstreamed in the decision-making systems only to a moderate extent. This was mainly the result of the weak Hungarian political position of spatial planning and development policy or, more generally, of the dynamics of political culture, and the limitations of the feasibility in Eastern and Central Europe of some approaches highlighted by the European paradigm, including flexible partnership in the spirit of governance, were also suggested. The assessment report on the realisation of the concept summarised this situation. *'The concept as adopted in 2005 became a professionally ambitious plan document dominated by experts. ... At the same time, it became clear during the territorial development practice that the document which was professionally pioneer, however, had a politically weak ownership could not have become the compass of territorial policy in reality. The Report of the authors clearly state that the objectives set forth in the Territorial Development Act*[5] *and in OTK were*

5 Act XXI. of 1996 on territorial development and urban planning.

realised to a little extent. The creation of territorial harmony as foreseen in the concept and the territorial coordination of all elements were very complex and maybe unrealistic ideas for a real political and development practice, at least in the case of Hungary. The territorial development institutional system was characterised by overlaps, parallelism and low efficiency. … The uniform *territorial planning system as concretely set forth in the concept was not renewed, with feedback and transparency being mainstreamed to a moderate extent only. The real governmental intention necessary for the mainstreaming of the aims of territorial development policy was lacking and this field received little attention in the distribution of governmental roles, too, in general. The position of the territorial development system was well-characterised by the fact that when Hungary was present for a whole cohesion cycle from 2007, following its accession to the EU, and the volume of development sources was multiplied, that is, when the situation became serious, then the use of EU funds was not built on the institutional system established under the Territorial Development Act. … So in the reality, a development policy planning practice was established a major part of which was independent from the established territorial planning system and did not fit the system. The contents of the OTK were taken into consideration only formally during the elaboration of the National Strategic Reference Framework of the 2007 to 2013 planning period and of its sectoral and regional operational programmes. For sectoral planning, OTK did not operate as a real compass. In the analyses and objectives of policy documents prepared by the sectors in the examined period, mainly the national level appears, sometimes changed regularly and without proper consideration according to a given political bargaining, while territoriality was rarely in the focus.'* (Salamin G. et al 2014 p. 10.)

Between 2007 and 2008, the preparation of a national settlement network development concept[6] was started, commissioned by the Ministry responsible for territorial development with the participation of the Institute for Regional Studies of the HAS and VÁTI, resulting in much response by professionals. Although this settlement network approach seemed a step back for many in the given political

6 The process involving several experts and professional and social consultations was led by János Rechnitzer and László Faragó on behalf of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and by Géza Salamin on behalf of the VÁTI.

situation, which was oriented towards regionalisation and regional development, due to its links to the document of the socialist era with a similar title, we can consider it a relevant attempt with regard to the European trends from the perspective of spatial planning. In this process, the emerging of national spatial planning, the reinforcement of the interpretation of spatiality beyond the handling of regions, the intention to create new functional spaces and relational (networking) spatial relations, and the introduction of the concept of functional urban regions all connect to trends set forth in the spatial planning literature. In the absence of political support, the settlement network concept did not become a policy document, but the authors published their results in the Falu Város Régió (Faragó L. 2008; Rechnitzer J. 2008; Salamin G. et al. 2008, Sütő A. 2008) and some of their results were integrated into the 2014 National Development and Territorial Development Concept (OFTK).

IV. Initiatives to Implement Territorial Cohesion Explicitly in Development Policy

In several aspects, the National Development and Territorial Development Concept[7] as adopted by the Parliament in 2014 – being still in force – fits the European planning paradigm more closely than the 2004 concept. Just like the TA2020, it integrated spatial development policy in the economic development and growth-oriented policy of the country, too. The OFTK carried on with several characteristics of the 2004 OTK, the regional dimension receiving an even less role and European priorities were strongly mainstreamed in its territorial aims. Planning for financial sources of the EU Cohesion Policy dedicated to Hungary in the period of 2014–2020 involved also a broad, structured, and Europeanised understanding of territorial cohesion into the national objectives and measures (Péti M. 2014).

Closely related to the European trend, the urban dimension received a determining role in the concept due to which it actually established the framework of the Hungarian national urban policy, as embedded in spatial development policy, closely following its

7 The OFTK was prepared by analysis and planning with the participation of sectoral Ministries and county municipalities in the National Economy Planning Office in 2012–2013 coordinated by Márton Péti, with the professional management of Géza Salamin.

predecessors appearing in the previous decade, including mainly the system of integrated urban development strategies and urban rehabilitation support (as regards the formation of Hungarian urban policy, see Péti M. – Salamin G. 2016). The EU planning paradigm is reflected in the increased role of the international dimension and functional spaces. The baseline assessment of the OFTK explicitly puts the development of the country into the European trends and the strategic relationships of international matchings appear among its objectives, too. Regarding cross-border spaces and hubs in the Carpathian Basin (Hungary and its neighbouring countries), the suggested cross-border urban regional cooperation should be highlighted together with messages conveyed by the document for fitting into the Eastern and Central European space, too. The proposed development of urban regions is generally independent from administrative boundaries, the bearing model of the larger Budapest Economic Region or spaces of such economic topics like free business zones also get a role. At the same time, from 2012 the counties received a highlighted role instead of NUTS2 regions institutionalised upon the inspiration of the EU. From the perspective of Europeanisation, it was a kind of a step back from regional development councils which theoretically were closer to more flexible governance towards a more formal (and more legitimate) municipality structure.

The effort to link spatial and socio–economic (developmental) planning evidently appears in the European literature, which is also included in Europeanisation as conveyed by the European strategies. The 2014 OFTK is an illustrative example of high legitimacy for this, since breaking up with the 2005 solution, no separate national (sectoral) and territorial (spatial) strategic document was prepared at this time, but the sectoral development target system and the territorial target system was included into a single document subordinated to a common national vision. Its significance is increased by the fact that this sectoral and spatial integration does not appear in a ‘soft’ theoretical vision. Its power is uncertain (according to the experiences, this genre can be hardly mainstreamed in Eastern and Central Europe), but it appears in a strategic plan of high legitimacy which was the Hungarian strategic position for the development of the 2014–2020 programming period. What is more, the sectoral (set forth by Ministries) and territorial (set

forth by the county municipalities and towns of county rank) content was created in the framework of a wide cooperative strategic planning with the spatial development criteria (Salamin G. et al. 2014). What is more, both the baseline assessment and the territorial target system of the concept is directly related to the territorial priorities of the TA2020 while the basic economic growth objective of the concept also evidently reflects the Europe 2020 growth strategy, despite differing political opinions which sometimes occur in political debates *(Figure 1)*. However, we have to note that just like in the case of the experiences reported by András Faludi on the preparation of the ESDP (Faludi A. – Waterhout, B. 2002), the fact that generally the same professional planner community had a determining role as professional authors in the preparation of the TA2020 and the OFTK played a role here.

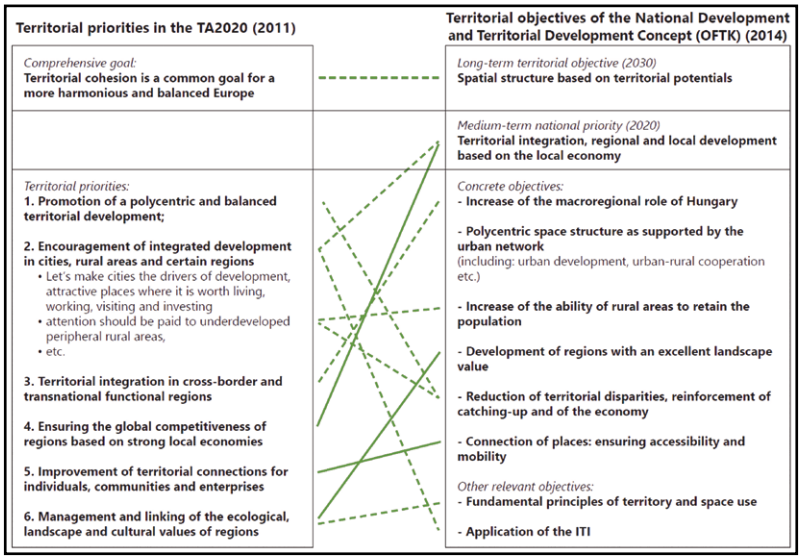

Figure 1: Logical relations between the priorities of the Hungarian National Development and Territorial Development Concept and the Territorial Agenda of the EU 2020
Source: edition of the author

Hungary was also a pioneer in Europe in early introducing the practice of integrated urban development strategies as inspired by the Leipzig Charter (EC 2007a). In the period of 2007–2013, it was set forth by the government as the precondition of EU financed urban

development support. This planning genre which later was included in the regulation had a significant role in the transformation of the Hungarian regulation-oriented urban planning culture which was based on architecture. This integrated planning instrument was later mainstreamed by its inclusion into the Hungarian urban planning legislation.

Direct Hungarian contribution to European spatial planning connected mainly to the 2011 Hungarian EU Presidency, included especially its territorial cohesion and urban policy programme. The Territorial Agenda 2020 (TA2020) strategy, which can be considered a framework document of European spatial planning policy, Hungarian participation and coordination, resulted in the inclusion of several specific criteria. They are important for Hungary, including the development of the local economy, a rather sophisticated handling of the population issue and, what is more, the issue of native minorities could have been somewhat represented in the guise of socio–cultural diversity. Regarding spatial planning, apart from the specific Hungarian content, it was an important result. A significant progress was made as compared to the first agenda adopted in 2007 (TA2007) in the field of the conceptual definition of territorial cohesion and the procedures and mechanisms ensuring its mainstreaming which led to the determination of a new methodological framework for spatial planning as elaborated in the spirit of territorial cohesion in a high-level political document actually (EC 2007b). This reflected Hungarian development policy innovations of the 2007–2009 period in the field of the systematic development policy (planning) mainstreaming of territorial cohesion. As a European planning innovation, Hungary introduced territorial cohesion as a horizontally enforceable objective for the Hungarian use of the EU resources in the EU development policy framework of the 2007–2013 period (the National Strategic Reference Framework). For the purposes of its effectiveness, a methodological development started forming techniques and procedures for the consistent mainstreaming of territorial (actually spatial) criteria in the whole process of public development, from planning through funding and project selection to coordination and assessment phases. This kind of a technically elaborated spatial planning methodological toolset was a novelty for the wide European public, too, also published in English as a Handbook (Péti M.

ed. 2009). Similar, innovative action was the elaboration and publication of the Handbook on the Implementation of the Territorial Agenda of the European Union (Ricz J. – Salamin G. eds. 2010).

During the Hungarian EU Presidency, the European Danube Strategy initiated and coordinated by the European Commission was adopted. The urban policy programme of the Hungarian Presidency was closed by the Declaration of Budapest summing up its analysis on population challenges and the European manual of urban responses to the challenge of climate change (Salamin G. et al. eds. 2011). Albeit having a minor political weight, the Declaration introduced some specifically Hungarian considerations, which had rarely been present in the European scene, into the reflexion process, especially in the field of local solutions to the population issue beyond adaptation and migration.

V. Some Conclusions

Overall, we can say that Hungary had a certain role in the formation of the European spatial planning concept. It was a pioneer in the pilot introduction of certain procedures, and in this context, it has a medium-term strategic plan markedly presenting the paradigm of the European spatial planning. However, now we cannot answer the question to what extent it is mainstreamed in implementation and leads to the transformation of planning processes with the governance approach or to the increase of competitiveness. It is evident that the termination of the system of district-level associations, certain centralisation processes and, in general, the transformation of the systems of planned concepts are against the directions of European changes and first of all, the mainstreaming model of territorial governance. Nevertheless, the decrease of regulatory urban planning replaced by mainly governmental visions, strategies or big urban planning projects the status of which is not quite clear, essentially fits the 'soft' trend of the European planning together with the increasing commitment of the central state to some extent. This time, it is also necessary to stress that this analysis is not about the efficiency or success of planning, but about the mainstreaming of Europeanisation as conveyed by territorial cohesion messages. Listed Hungarian initiatives and processes were presented in this light, too. So solely based on this assessment the extent of success of planning in Hungary, or the extent

to which it is able to contribute to social aims like economic growth, the development of communities or the improvement of the living quality cannot be evaluated.

VI. References

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