

SZENT ISTVÁN UNIVERSITY

**EUROPEANIZATION OF SHAPING GEOGRAPHIC SPACE**

**The influence of the European Union's spatial planning, strategies, and Cohesion Policy on the transformation of the spatial planning systems of European countries**

Theses of doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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Note to the English theses:

This document summarizes the main results of the author's PhD thesis (dissertation) written in Hungarian. Methods, results and references in details are in that document as follows: Salamin, G: (2018): A földrajzi tér alakításának európaizálódása: Az Európai Unió térbeli stratégiáinak, tervezésének és kohéziós politikájának hatása az európai országok térbeli tervezési rendszereinek transzformációjára. (194 pages with annexes)

## 1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

This thesis deals with the European transformation in (public) spatial planning. It primarily focuses on the impact of European integration on the planning practices of countries performed at various territorial levels, such as regional and urban planning. Territorial and urban planning practices, which had evolved in divergent ways, have recently undergone significant changes, which is understood by different analysts both as a sign of crisis in this policy field and as a definite increase in the recognition of (novel forms of) spatial planning.

The formation of the Single Market has meant a common shaping of the geography of the European integration by way of overcoming obstacles imposed by national borders, building up common networks of infrastructure, decreasing regional disparities, and implementing common policies. Accordingly, since the beginnings of the integration process, there have been various efforts – especially on a Dutch initiative – to unify spatial planning and its various policies, as well as to elevate this policy field to the level of common EU policies.

Although spatial planning has not been turned into a common EU policy – this field has remained in the ambit of Member States' own competence –, the European Union exerts significant indirect influence on the changes in its members' spatial planning policies and practices, thus contributing to their Europeanization. On the one hand, 'hard' limits and conditions created within EU-level sectoral policies (such as the common environmental policy, competition rules or transport policy) affect spatial planning; and financial incentives also have a motivating effect especially within the framework of the EU's Cohesion Policy.

On the other hand, increased cooperation facilitates horizontal influences and mutual learning between the different planning practices in the form of discourses. Horizontal relationships are promoted by the Single Market and the weakened divisive function of borders, but also by the fact that the EU itself encourages (as well as financially supports) a wide range of collaborative activities in the fields related to spatial planning and development, in particular via the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC, earlier INTERREG) programmes, the ESPON programme, and more recently, in the framework of macro-regional strategies.

In the 1990s, a form of strategic spatial planning process started on the EU level with the voluntary cooperation of the Member States. The first important document of this is the ESDP<sup>1</sup> (1999), which, in turn, was later provided with

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<sup>1</sup> European Spatial Development Perspectives

legitimacy and motivation by the common European objective of territorial cohesion built into the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. The preparation of the most recent strategic document of European-level spatial planning, Territorial Agenda 2020, was coordinated under the EU's Hungarian Presidency (with the technical coordination of the author).

The present Thesis applies the concept of **spatial planning**, which involves various forms and levels of the practices of policies deliberately designed to shape spatial organisation. Spatial planning has become a widespread scientific concept, unwrapped and deployed prolifically in the scientific planning literature of the last two decades; while in the planning practice, it represents an umbrella category inclusive of a wide range of relevant activities.

The **overall objective of the research** has been to contribute to the understanding of the Europeanization of national planning systems in Europe with a comparative-empirical study. As its specific objective, the work investigates how the conceptual framework of European-level spatial planning – as well as the idealised planning model deriving from it – manifests in the transformation of planning systems of European countries. A further aim has been to explore the connections of European planning with Hungarian planning in terms of concepts and professional literature.

The research has been driven by the following **five questions**:

- (1.) What is the direction of change of the national planning systems that is encouraged by spatial-planning strategies conceived at the European level and the related EU processes?
- (2.) Can this EU influence be experienced in the transformation processes of Member States' planning systems, and which of its components are manifest in actual practice?
- (3.) What differences can be observed between countries or types of countries in Europeanization of planning?
- (4.) What is the role of Cohesion Policy, as the primary investment policy of the European Union, in the Europeanization of spatial planning?
- (5.) How does the concepts of the Hungarian planning practices relate to the European concept of spatial planning?

In order to focus the investigation, an initial **hypothesis** was formulated for each of the five research questions:

**H1:** The various spatial planning processes of the European Union convey mutually consistent messages regarding the transformation of the planning systems of the Member States, which can be incorporated into a unified European (Union) planning model of changes.

**H2:** New forms of planning fitting with the European planning model are gaining appreciation, while other, more conventional ones are decreasing in relevance and usefulness.

**H3:** The European planning model is more efficiently realised in the older Member States.

**H4:** The adoption of the European planning model is motivated by financial instruments of the EU's Cohesion Policy, the degree of which is associated with the spatial dimension of the ways of using development funds.

**H5:** In Hungary, the system of spatial planning activities is highly fragmented (along dimensions like regions vs. settlements, physical vs. development planning, sectoral vs. spatial dimensions), but their concepts can be connected to the European concept of spatial planning.

In this Thesis, I reckon **spatial planning** as a conscious and future-oriented activity for shaping the geographical space. The attribute 'geographical' indicates the scales I use (ranging from the unit of an urban neighbourhood to the scale of continents), as well as it underlines the spatial existence of social-economic and environmental (physical-material) constituents and actors, and in particular, their concrete, place- or territorially specific systems of relations. This is planning which aims to deliberately influence specific units of space (e.g. cities, regions, territories) as well as other spatial relations, hence ultimately, to form spatial development. Thus, in this approach spatial planning, as a future-oriented activity, addresses both physical-material space and social-economic contents.

Based on the definition dominant in the integration literature, this Thesis limits the concept of **Europeanization** to the manifestation of the influence exerted by the EU as an institution.

## 2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

As its conceptual framework, the initial phase of the research produced the European Model of Spatial Planning (EMP), building on a **broad review of academic and professional literature** dealing with the European meanings and types of spatial planning and with Europeanization, as well as on the analysis of European (EU) spatial planning related strategic documents. This model presents a system of changes in spatial planning practices, incorporating the dynamics of Europeanization described in the literature and the messages from spatial planning type strategies into a common framework in a way that it is applicable to the diversity of national planning systems. The empirical investigation carried out for the assessment of shifts in Member State practices was directed to trace manifestations of the five pillars in this model. A separate step was the evaluation of the territorial dimension of Cohesion Policy by way of analysing data from operational programmes. In data collection, I combined a wide range of primary and secondary, quantitative and qualitative sources (Table 1).

Table 1. Objects of the study and the implemented data collection methods

Object of study	Objective/aspect of the analysis	Data collection method	Tools
'Idealised' European model of planning	Messages of EU spatial planning towards national spatial planning systems	Content analysis of European spatial planning strategies	content analysis of 10 strategic documents
	Characteristic effects of and shifts in, the European planning paradigm	European spatial planning literature	(literature review)
Changes in spatial planning systems and practices of European countries	Application of the EMP: - degree of Europeanization (status in 2017) - process of Europeanization (changes during 2002-2017)	Surveys in EU Member States and other three countries	Online (web-based) surveys with key experts (121 respondents of 30 countries) 30 face-to-face deep interviews
		Content analysis of national territorial strategies/plans	Content analysis of 35 territorial/spatial strategies/plans of 31 countries*
		Databases concerning spatial planning	ECTP, ISOCARP, ESPON spatial planning databases
Financial instruments of the EU's Cohesion Policy	Emergence of the territorial dimension in implementation and its connection to the Europeanization of planning	Classification of use of sources of Cohesion Policy funds allocated to Member States by territorial dimension	Analysis of the operational programmes of three Cohesion Policy periods (2000-2020)

Source: Author's own elaboration

The most important information source is a **survey carried out with key planning experts**, which was carried out in the individual doctoral research between May and September 2017, and which covered the EU Member States as well as three further countries with tighter connections with the European Union. **Document analysis** extended to two types of planning-policy documents. In order to build the model of European spatial planning (EMP), ten European-level spatial planning documents, as well as, linked to the degree of their Europeanization, the Member States' strategies/plans were analysed along the five pillars of the EMP. As complementary information, serving also triangulation, this study also relies on the review of further analytical accounts on various planning systems, assessments of Member States, as well as international databases on planning systems.

The research did not specifically study the Hungarian planning system; however, it explored connections in the Hungarian conceptual toolkit and relevant literature with the European ideas, and examined the Hungarian initiatives regarding European planning. For the purpose of these, I analysed the Europe- and planning-related contents of three Hungarian journals<sup>2</sup> that are most relevant to the topic, reviewing their issues published over the last 20 years.

**All pillars of the EMP**, both their current state and their changes were studied using several (4-7) indicators in each case, which, in the case of 25 countries, were also combined into five composite indices (one describing each dimension).

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<sup>2</sup> *Falu Város Régió, Tér és Társadalom, Területi Statisztika*

### 3. RESULTS

#### 3.1. European conceptual foundations

Planning policies and practices that serve the deliberate control of spatial development substantially differ among the European countries; their concepts usually do not correspond. Their most common typology (CEC 1997<sup>3</sup>) distinguishes four spatial planning traditions (models): land use regulation, regional economic planning, (architecturally inspired) urbanism and the comprehensive integrated planning models. The planning systems of certain individual countries (ones with a notable planning culture and substantial political and economic weight) have had a significant influence on practices of other countries as well as an important role in the formation of European planning strategies and concepts.

While the British planning system and traditions have been the influential source of planning science/theory, and the German and Dutch traditions have offered the primary inspiration for the European spatial planning concept and the so-called comprehensive integrated planning model (which has spread widest), the main source of the territorial cohesion idea as well as the regional economic planning model (the most common one in Eastern-Central Europe) has been the French *Aménagement du territoire*.

Based on a broad review of European academic and professional literature, I could trace two meanings to the characteristically ‘Euro-English’ term of *spatial planning*, which is closely associated with European integration. On the one hand, it signifies a neutral umbrella concept including a diversity of linked activities: it covers activities that occur at various territorial scales, use different toolkits and represent dissimilar approaches. On the other hand, in a narrower interpretation, spatial planning is used to denote the postmodernist, novel planning perspective and style that has evolved since the 1990s, dominated to a great extent by the European integration, the most important traits of which are a strategic character, the linking of spatial and socio-economic planning, harmonisation of sectoral policies, coordination and cooperation.

Spatial planning is clearly distinct from **regional policy** or regional development, which is concerned with regional inequalities and investment funds (but not necessarily involving spatial planning). However, based on definitions revealed

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<sup>3</sup> Commission of the European Communities (1997): The EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

in the literature, territorial governance, which is a strategically oriented governance form that flexibly facilitates the spatial coordination of policies and actors, is in close connection and to a certain extent overlaps with spatial planning as defined new paradigm.

The policy of **territorial cohesion**, which signifies the new European spatial planning concept, means an increased recognition of territorial aspects in sectoral development; comprehensive and integrated (spatial) planning and the consideration of unfavourable geographical conditions; and above all, the exploitation of potentials hidden in cities and other spaces for the attainment of social-economic – mainly EU-set – objectives. In the new version of ‘regional policy’, that is called more often Cohesion Policy extended with the objectives of territorial cohesion, the criteria of spatiality receive greater emphasis, although subordinated to the achievement of the EU’s common strategic objectives. The expansion of the new paradigm in spatial planning and the above-mentioned transformation of regional policy (into cohesion policy) lead to a closer connection between the two fields (Figure 1).

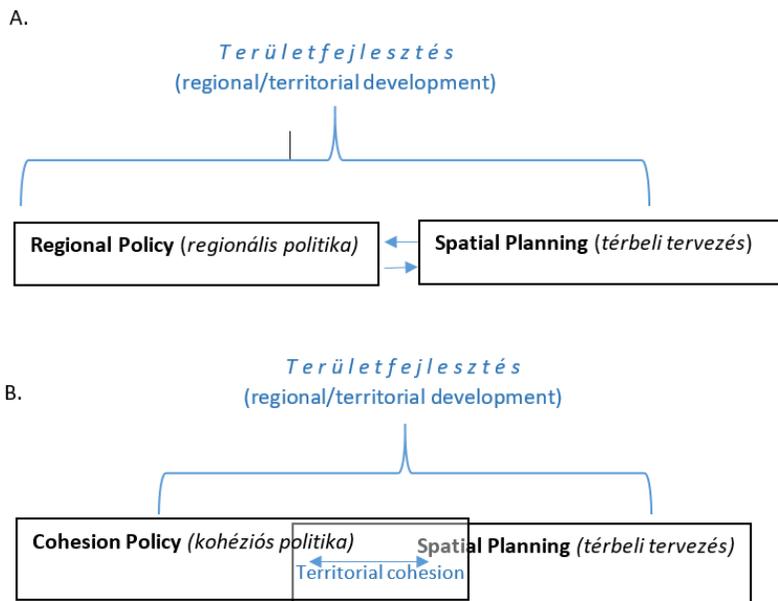


Figure 1. The logical connection between the European terms of spatial planning, Regional Policy and Cohesion Policy and the Hungarian term ‘*területfejlesztés*’ before (A) and after (B) the introduction of the goal of territorial cohesion

Source: The author’s own elaboration

In the understanding of this Thesis, according to the definition by Radaelli (2004)<sup>4</sup>, **Europeanization** includes “formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies”.

Two major and essential changes are worth mentioning which could be identified in the reviewed literature on the Europeanization of spatial planning practices: In opposition to the positivist and structuralist approaches, a **postmodernist perspective** has gained ground. This has led to significant changes also in the interpretation of space as well as regarding the main characteristics and functions of planning, such as a wider acceptance of the idea of relational spaces as well as of the role of discourse and communication (collaborative planning, communicative planning), or the recognition of different parallel positions and truths, etc. Tightly associated with the global challenges and the competitiveness-oriented (neoliberalist) political paradigm, **governance** is gaining ground over government, which former entails joint participation of public, private and civil society actors and where horizontal and vertical cooperation between public authorities as well as partnerships with non-governmental organisations are becoming more and more frequent. Spatial planning in its new paradigm is connected already to the governance model, therefore, it is no longer seen in most of the countries as a state function performed via strict hierarchies and explicit responsibilities, instead it has gone through substantial transformation and expansion in terms of its roles and tools, and especially, regarding its actorship.

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<sup>4</sup> Radaelli, C. M. (2004) Europeanization: Solution or problem? In: *European Integration Online Papers*, 8(16), pp. 1 – 23.

### 3.2. The 'European' Model of Spatial Planning (EMP)

Based on the review of a profuse literature dealing with the Europeanization of spatial planning as well as on the analysis of messages adaptable from European-level planning strategies for the use of national-level planning systems, I have included changes encouraged or induced by the European Union into the theoretical-conceptual framework of the 'European'<sup>5</sup> Model of Spatial Planning (EMP). The directions of change are presented within the five pillars of the EMP, each of which were examined in terms of 4-5 status indicators (level of Europeanization) and 4-7 change indicators (dynamics of Europeanization) (Figure 2).

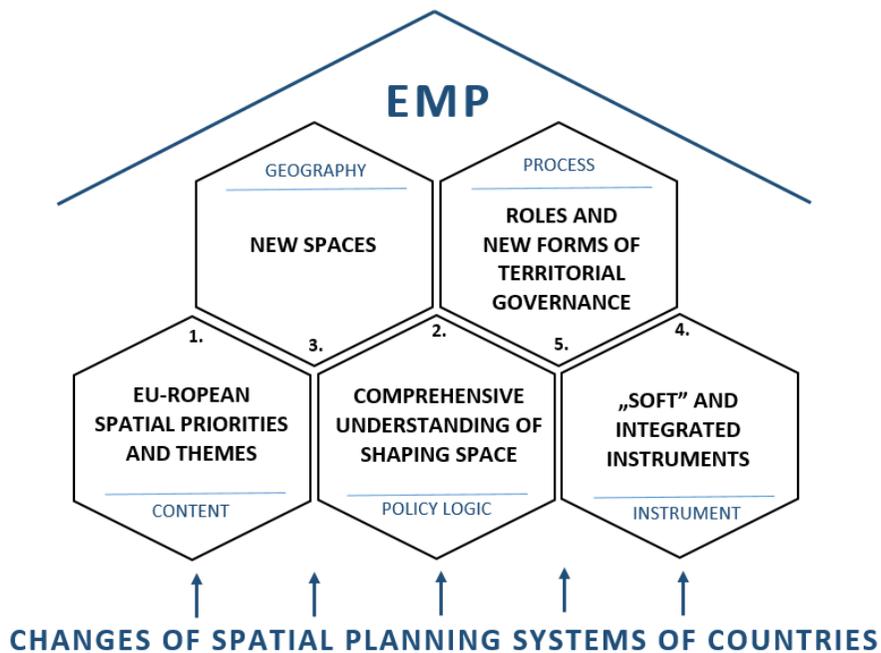


Figure 2. The European Model of Spatial Planning (EMP)

Source: The author's own elaboration

(1.) The first layer of European influences (often as an initial consequence) means that **European objectives and themes appear** in national-, regional- and local-level spatial and integrated plans. This means both the adaptation and adoption of territorial-spatial objectives laid down in territorial strategies and the appearance of more general priorities and topics that are either on the agenda of the EU or are articulated in a more explicit way.

<sup>5</sup> In the thesys the form 'European' taken from Faludi (2011) is used to express the meaning of European limited to the consequences of European Union.

Overall, across the various national planning systems, the study indicates a relatively balanced picture in terms of the adoption of the contents of European territorial priorities and topics. In older Member States these themes (often shaped actively by these countries) are traditionally present and organically evolving, and many of the new Members have been active in adopting these topics. It is mainly the countries of Southern Europe as well as the – in many respects distinctive – Belgium that have adopted the European objectives to a lesser degree. Also, Great Britain has a relative lag, which can be attributed to the fact that this country owns a well-developed planning culture with strong discourses and topics of its own.

(2.) In national planning systems, instead of the presence of one (or more, but separate) planning policies directed at a single group of instruments, form of planning or territorial scale (or by the transformation thereof), **a more comprehensive space-shaping policy framework emerges**. Such comprehensive approach brings together various forms of territorial and urban planning that traditionally differ in their tools and approaches (e.g. physical planning and territorial development), including also their different scales (municipal, regional etc.) as well as incorporating their novel forms (such as cross-sectoral coordination, cooperation of different actors) resulted from this new approach. Thus, it gives more emphasis to the function of coordinating different sectors that have an impact on spatial development, and strengthens the role of the national level.

Based on results from the research, the current level of a comprehensive interpretation of spatial planning can be found highest in the North-Western European states, while its advancement dynamics in the last 15 years has been the strongest in the Eastern-Central European countries. On the one hand, the comprehensive planning logic represents a common approach in the northwestern planning culture, on the other hand, it should not necessarily be attributed to the European Union as such, since Switzerland shows the highest scores in this regard in the analysis. As to the development dynamics of the comprehensive approach, the eastern group of new EU Member States has proved to be the most active; and even the commitment of Serbia, a country only anticipating its accession, has been relatively high.

(3.) As the object and framing of planning, **new spaces emerge**, which often cross the borders of, or even become entirely independent from, the formal jurisdictional and governmental territories or administrative divisions, being defined by soft and flexible boundaries and actorship or manifesting even as relational spaces. At the same time, new spaces may be created also of a more formalised kind, for instance, novel scales of planning and development can emerge in certain countries under the influence of EU policies.

According to the survey, the most frequent new form of functional spaces is the city region. At the same time each country takes part in the planning of strategies of various cross border cooperation programmes (under the objective and programmes of European Territorial Cooperation), but their integration in domestic planning systems remain limited. The emergence of new - typically higher - territorial levels of planning-development in Central and Eastern Europe is connected either to the motivation of EU's Regional (Cohesion) Policy or other aspects of Europeanization. In some countries it is experienced that while in relation to the Europeanization new territorial levels and functional spaces emerged in the late nineties and early noughties, then a part of them was abolished during the investigated period. Behind the varying intensity of creation of European Grouping of Territorial Cohesion (EGTC) – which is a more institutionalized form of border crossing planning – there are very different motivations, also ones, which are independent from the Europeanization. The most EGTC-s are operating along the borders of Hungary and France out of the European countries.

**(4.) The applied instruments of spatial planning are changing, diversifying.** As a general rule, instead of the former traditional hard instruments (like land-use planning and building regulation) different soft instruments (strategies, visions, partnerships) and integrated instruments are coming to the front.

The analysis proved that in the field of planning instruments there are significant changes taking place in the practice of European countries, although not all of them are shifting to the same direction. In four countries shifts are experienced against the directions of EMP, and even the increase of hard instruments can be experienced. In the case of two other Union members the changes towards and against the model are at an equal footing. However, it is generally true that soft instruments come to the front, and integrated instruments uniting sectoral policies appear in all cases. The focus of planning has generally gone far beyond the nature of producing blueprint or plan documents: shifting towards more alternative tools the repertory of instruments is definitely widening.

**(5.) The very nature of the planning process is transforming** significantly with the emphasis from professional (expert like) planning shifting more to spatial coordination and cooperation mechanisms. Thus, the range of actors in planning is significantly widening. Planning is turning up in new territorial governance forms, or, rather, planning with new logic results in the creation of new forms.

The analysis confirmed that in the spirit of governance-approach the restructuring of the planning process is an evident change all across Europe. As a result the value of coordination, cooperation, and – prospectively and increasingly – the process of mutual learning is growing, while the expert planners' (own) creative

or scientific activity is losing its significance, and planning as regulatory commitment becomes less important – becoming, rather, the method of integrated tackling of social-economic challenges. Connected with planning the new forms of territorial governance (for example multi-level governance, border-crossing and city-region governance, horizontal cooperation) are strengthening, however, the limits of this type of territorial governance can be seen in many countries. These emerging limits are in connection with the fact that politically elected (local-regional-national) governments –cannot afford to assign (more) of its own competencies to more efficient, but less legitimate governance structures (as it is set in the logic of the model of governance). Moreover, in many countries a relapse can be experienced (for example in case of Netherland, Great-Britain, or Hungary).

The composite status and dynamic of emergence of EMP pillars are shown in figure 3.

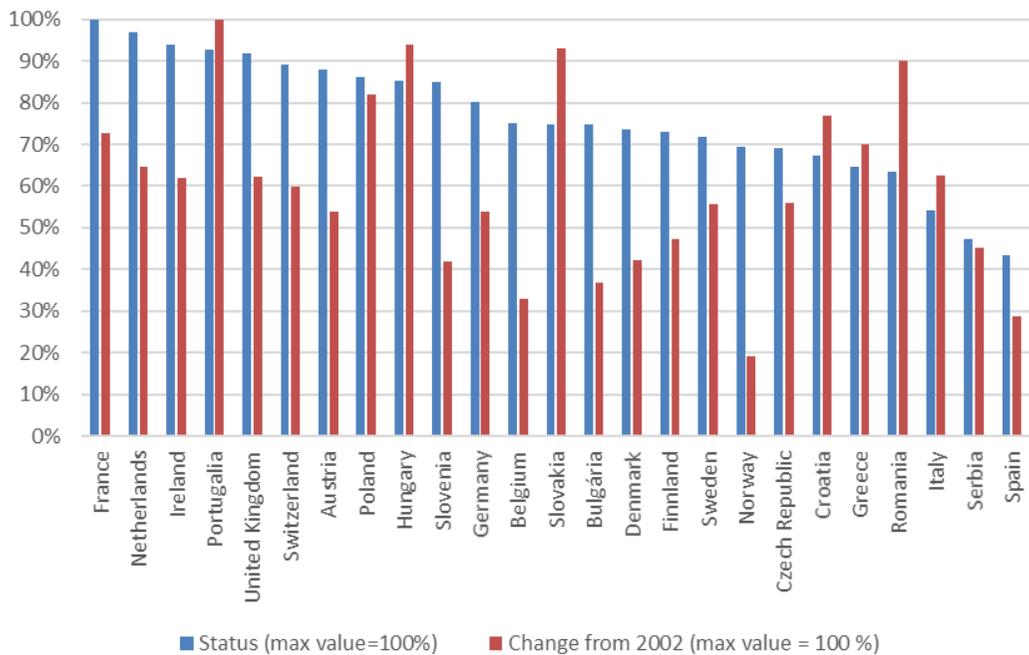


Figure 3. Synthetized evaluation of the level and dynamics of Europeanization of spatial planning in countries (composite based on pillar 1,2,4,5 of EMP)  
 Source: The author’s own elaboration (from key expert survey and document analysis, 2017)

### **3.3. The effect of the EU's cohesion policy grants on the Europeanization of spatial planning**

I have analysed the use of cohesion (regional) policy resources allocated to member states between 2000 and 2020 by classifying operational programs according to the territorial dimension of their implementation.

As a result of the analysis a clear trend can be seen: the share of regional operational programs (programs, which are tailored and typically delegated to institutionalized regions) gradually decreased in these three periods, and that of sectoral programs increased significantly. The proportion of multi-regional programs with territorial development and/or urban development focus (implemented mostly in national competence) is also significantly increasing. At the same time, from the perspective of European Model of Spatial Planning the permanent increase of the share of funds allocated for European territorial cooperation (ETC) cohesion policy is also significant. In the period from 2014 regional cohesion priority has actively pervaded cohesion policy, which is perceptible, for example, in the fact that functional intervention spaces came to the front, new integrated space based development instruments were introduced, and in the member state fund allocations the obligatory minimum of allocative funds for integrated urban development was determined. I distinguished the category of territorial (type) programmes, which includes regional programmes, urban development and regional development oriented multiregional programmes, and transport focused programs.

While the measure of the whole EU support per capita shows moderately positive correlation with Europeanization, strong correlation is indicated with pillar 2 of EMP, that is, the introduction of the comprehensive interpretation of spatial planning in policy. There is a strong connection (correlation 0,6-0,7) between the value of sources used in territorial programmes either per capita or per GDP, and the dynamics of Europeanization of spatial planning (figure 4.). Surprisingly, the Europeanization of planning shows negative correlation with the level of decentralization of EU funded development policy, while it shows positive correlation with the dedicated funds for sustainable urban development in the period 2014–2020.

The Europeanization of spatial planning is strongest in Portugal, which has seceded fully from the Mediterranean region in terms of planning culture and system. It gained the most source per capita from Cohesion Policy in the entire time of the examined three periods and was leader in using EU funds in territorial dimension programmes too.

Out of the pillars of EMP the role of territorial featured EU sources is determining mostly in the planning process and the generating of new forms of territorial governance. The more developed, older members spend their EU sources (which are relatively few) above average proportion for territorial featured (ERDF based) operational programmes (except Denmark), while in the application of 2014–2020 period’s new integrated territorial development instruments new member states (mostly Poland, Czech Republic) become the most active.

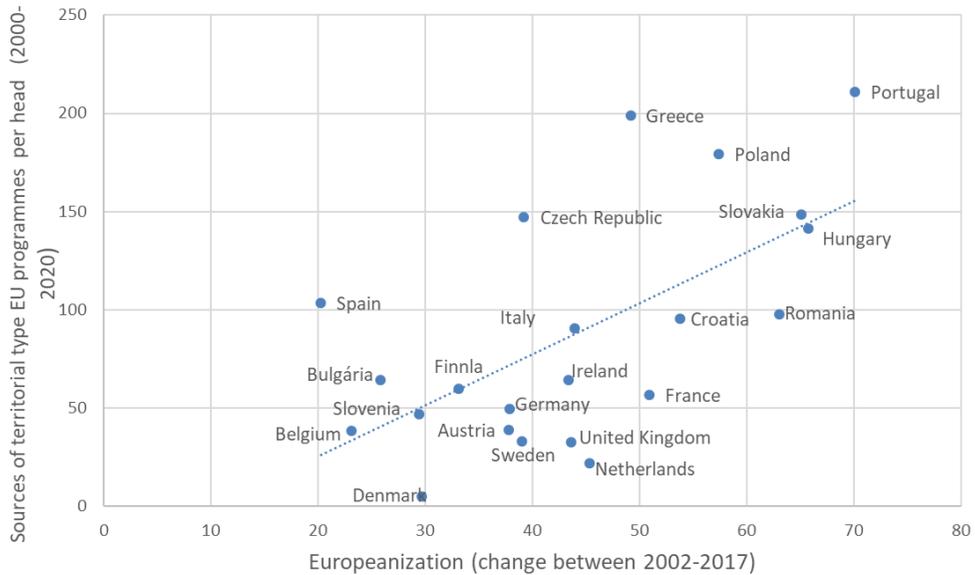


Figure 4. The relation between sources of territorial type operational programmes and the Europeanization of spatial planning between 2002 and 2017  
Source: The author’s own elaboration (2017)

#### **4. CONCLUSIONS BY RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES**

I summarize the conclusions of the research along the five research questions evaluating the hypotheses.

##### **1. What is the direction of change of the national planning systems that is encouraged by spatial-planning strategies conceived at the European level and the related EU processes?**

Based on the results it can be said that the spatial planning strategies on European level, the territorial cooperation, the territorial coordination mechanisms in the institutional system, the EU-funded research supporting this, and the discourses related to the topic – more recently the idea of territorial cohesion, which has become a political goal – hold common messages about what member states' spatial planning – that basically does not belong to European Union competencies – should be. These messages and directions have been integrated into the framework of the European Model of Spatial Planning (EMP). The messages not only refer to regional planning, urban planning, or regional development policies, but address wider options for governments to shape space, first and foremost the increasing spatial role of sectoral policies. The ideas of Europeanization reflected in the model have been incorporated into the discourses to such an extent, and there is already such a strong professional and policy consensus about them in our time that we must consider this as a real new **planning paradigm** in the European Union.

##### ***Hypothesis H1 was thus confirmed with the creation of EMP.***

It is important to underline that, in the approach of governance, through partnerships often connected with soft areas there is an emphasis on the involvement of non-governmental actors, multi-level cooperation – vertical and horizontal coordination –, but this does not necessarily mean the priority of decentralization – which looks partly given up in EU policies. What is more, spatial planning specifically results in the increase of the role of the central (national) governments – as holders of sectoral policies – in shaping the spatial development processes.

Regarding the emerging directions of change defined in the European planning model (e.g. the shift towards governance, integrated strategies) it is important to see that those are not solely European Union specific “inventions” in many cases, but rather more general responses to the challenges of globalization and to

increasing demand for competitiveness, which is also motivated by the new economic governance approach. In this sense, the European spatial planning paradigm (also) transmits globalization logic to the level of countries. However, the European planning model is not a purely top-down phenomenon. European level spatial planning, which constructs the European planning model also includes the voluntary cooperation of countries, therefore, the member states themselves have influences on it - naturally, to different extents, with the dominance of stronger and / or more active countries. Thus the model reflects the dynamics of change which had already begun in certain countries in domestic contexts.

## **2. Can this EU influence be experienced in the transformation processes of Member States' planning systems, and which of its components are manifest in actual practice?**

The empirical analysis of the countries' planning system confirmed that significant changes have taken place in the spatial planning practices of European countries over the last one and half decades. These changes often led to transformations either in the logic of the planning system or its function, competence and sectoral position. The most important international 'signpost' of these changes is the idea of Europeanization. However, this does not lead to the European unification of domestic planning practices. The transformation that can be described by EMP leads to the compatibility of spatial planning practices of certain countries, but does not lead to their quick convergence. Similar (or the same) European influences can trigger different changes in domestic planning systems, which are deeply embedded in the historical, cultural, political-cultural and geographical features of their specific country.

Among these effects, the appearance of European themes and objectives developed in EU level strategies (EMP pillar1) show up in the most balanced way among countries. The main logic of planning (EMP pillar 2) has not been unified, but, for example, the role of the sectors in conscious spatial development – through their effects and territorial coordination – is strengthening in each country except one, while strengthening new types, less formalized new forms of planning are present in all except five countries.

Regarding my related hypothesis, it can be said that in Europe it is generally clear that the traditional, regulatory planning activities are losing their importance. This appears in the erosion of land-use regulation and of the regulation of the planning system in general, as well as in the fact that while the importance of conventional urban and regional planning loses its social role in most cases, the value of other forms is increasing. At the same time there are signs showing also some fractures

in Europeanization trends that result in the slowdown of the process, or even a change in its direction (in some cases).

***Hypothesis H2 was confirmed, since the value of those new planning forms which fit into the European planning model is increasing in the majority of cases.***

Spatial planning policy, as a distinct policy sector, cannot remain “competitive” compared to other up and coming policies, such as economic policy. Even in countries like Great Britain, France, or the Netherlands, where planning is traditionally a strong policy field, its governmental weight is decreasing. At the same time, the role of spatiality, and especially that of cities is increasing, since these are the essential dimensions of achieving various socio-economic policies. According to the new model (planning-governance), spatial planning should have leading role in this. Therefore, spatial planning-development and its integral part, urban development, do not represent an independent policy with its own objectives, but rather an instrument for implementing other policies, primarily with its own integrated intervention and coordination capability. This is the model of European spatial (territorial cohesion and urban) policy of the European Union, too. The role of the cities and regions and multi-level governance do not tend towards a clear division of legitimate political power, but is often organized along the implementation of the projects of global social challenges and sectoral or functional goals.

### **3. What differences can be observed between countries or types of countries in Europeanization?**

The differences between the countries in the implementation of the EMP model were found mostly along the cultural-regional dimension<sup>6</sup>, that was introduced as a dimension of country analysis (see figure 3). The planning of north-western European countries is the most Europeanized, while their Europeanization dynamics has been moderate over the past 15 years. The Europeanization of the southern European countries, except Portugal, is low and its dynamics slightly stronger but not prominent. The most intensive influence of the European Union in Europeanization of planning was apparent in the Central and Eastern European

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<sup>6</sup> Based on the literature on planning culture, three cultural-regional groups of countries were identified as one of the dimensions of analysis: the Southern or Mediterranean region; the Eastern EU or Central and Eastern European region, and the North-Western European region, the latter was created by the merge of Northern European and Western European cultural regions. In the case of the Baltic countries, Cyprus, Malta, and Luxembourg, country specific analysis was not carried out due to the lack of sufficient information.

EU member states, so much so that the Europeanization of these countries preceded the former member countries of the Mediterranean region by 2017. Countries that had dismantled the socialist-based planned economy by the early 1990s re-built their planning practices typically in a dual form. The regulation-based, often technical regional- and settlement planning and the more strategic resource and investment-oriented development planning are often presented, sometimes parallelly at the same levels. The former socialist EU members were motivated to adapt quickly to Western-European patterns partly by the instruments of Cohesion Policy and partly by a general learning attitude.

At the same time, Northern-European countries form a relatively coherent group that is only moderately Europeanized, and also their Europeanization has a moderate pace, indicating that the development direction of the planning systems of these countries does not necessarily follow western-European patterns. This is surprising, because their planning system belongs to the overall-integrated tradition model, which is basically the closest system to the EMP model.

Thus, how long a country has been a member is secondary to the significance of the regional dimension of planning culture. This is indicated by the fact that in more pillars of EMP the newly-joined Croatia, and even Serbia, which is just about to become a member, show significant dynamism, while the non-EU member Switzerland is very strongly Europeanized as well. The dynamics of the emergence of comprehensive understanding spatial planning (Pillar 2.) shows significant negative correlation with the number of years of membership.

***Hypothesis H3 is decisively not confirmed, because the European planning model does not necessarily show up more in the case of older Member States.***

In the emergence of the **comprehensive interpretation of spatial planning-development** (EMP pillar 2.) the distribution of the three European cultural regions is particularly determining. Its level is high in North-western European countries, and its dynamics is high mainly in the Eastern region. This understanding of planning is predominantly traditional (or was at least crystallized at an early phase) in the North-western European planning culture, thus, it transmits the model of these countries (many of which played crucial role in shaping the ESDP). However this is not necessarily linked to the European Union, as Switzerland also has the highest values in terms of level of Europeanization. The professional background of those (planner) specialists who are working in planning practice is also an important cultural-regional difference: in the North-western model beside the independent planning qualification the presence of geographers and environmental professionals is significant, but fields of other social sciences also shows higher presence than elsewhere. In the Southern Region architecture and other engineering background are the most

frequent, while the business background is nearly absent. Architecture is the most significant in the Eastern cultural region (Central and Eastern Europe), however, in close relation to Europeanization, the share of professionals with geography degrees and the role of qualification in economics has also peaked there, while the relative high ration of landscape architecture degrees is a specificity of this region.

However, the transformation of **planning instruments** (EMP dimension 4) cannot be connected to the country types in such a direct way. It can be said, however, that in Eastern-European members having EU funding dominated development policies, strategic planning has emerged and became dominant in the public sector as a relatively fast “catching up” trend parallel with the accession process. However, in these countries the real “soft” instruments work only to a limited extent. The new instruments are related to development planning run on an operational level, and programming of development funds evolves forcefully, which is in fact very ‘hard’, because it is controlled by contracts, legislation, and recently there has been an increasing demand (from the European Union) for efficiency and thematic control (specialisation).

There are two different logics in the adaptation of **European priorities and themes**: on the one hand those countries are “leaders” who play a dominant role in defining these themes and in shaping European strategic discourses (France, Germany, Netherland, or even Austria), on the other hand, among less developed cohesion countries those become most active, which get high financial support per capita from Structural Funds. The former group is the leader of the discourse, while the latter acts like an ‘eager beaver’ learner, as an adaptive group. In countries of the Eastern region plans are typically strongly adaptive regarding themes and goals, however, there is a growing gap between the rhetoric of plans and reality. At the same time, this adaptation attitude is expected to slow down considerably.

**Other examined characteristics of the countries** appear to have no significant impact on Europeanization. There is no demonstrable correlation with the value of decentralization of development policy, with constitutional structure (federal vs. unitarian construct). The fact that in more regionalized countries this kind of Europeanization is not stronger is reasonable as the concept of European spatial planning is not about decentralization. Moreover, it is also apparent that the dynamic of comprehensive planning interpretation (EMP pillar 2) is stronger in countries with less decentralized development policy. Neither the level nor the dynamics of Europeanization show any significant correlation with the urbanization level of countries.

#### **4. What is the role of Cohesion Policy, as the primary investment policy of the European Union, in the Europeanization of spatial planning?**

The role of European Union sources is unquestionably significant in adopting the European model of planning, that is, in Europeanization. Those sources can definitely exert an important influence which are used via programmes with a territorial logic. The adaptation of planning patterns is basically only optional in the Union, but its several elements (integrated strategies, partnership, monitoring, following of European goals etc.) appear as expectations in the case of planning related to programs financed by the Cohesion Policy funds.

*Hypothesis H4 is thus mostly confirmed, since the adaptation of the European Model of Spatial Planning is motivated by the development sources of EU Cohesion Policy, although the territorial like use of resources plays a significant role in it.*

The Union's development policy seems to be shifting away from the units of regions, promoting spatial dimension via the notion of territorial cohesion – for example by motivating territorial integration, networks, city-regions, functional and flexible spaces (*flexible geography*), and by requiring a territorial dimension in each operational programmes – , which fits tightly to the framework of European spatial planning. Thus, in cohesion policy spatiality is increasing against territoriality (regionalism). The change in the social perception and success of spatial planning is also related to the EU sources used in territorial logic per capita and per GDP (via the increase in the value of development-oriented planning, which compensates the devaluation of physical planning), which indicates that cohesion policy has a “fertilizing” effect on spatial planning, or at least it raises significant demand for some forms of it, especially in cohesion countries. At the same time this expanded practice often does not transform the system of traditional territorial and urban planning, but leads to the evolution of parallel new practices, which sometimes build on quite different professional bases.

#### **5. How does the concepts of the Hungarian planning practices relate to the European concept of spatial planning?**

The concept corresponding to the European interpretation of spatial planning is not present in Hungarian practice, and it appears only in indirect references in the Hungarian literature. Some elements of the activities, that can be covered by the umbrella term of spatial planning (for example ‘*település-/várostervezés*’ [settlement-/ urban planning], ‘*területfejlesztési tervezés*’ [regional-territorial development planning], ‘*területrendezés*’ [regulatory physical, landuse planning],

certain fields of ‘*vidékfejlesztés*’ [rural development], ‘*területi programozás*’ [territorial program development or programming], ‘*területi monitoring*’ [territorial monitoring], *közlekedési hálózat tervezés* [planning of transport networks]) exist in Hungarian practice separated from each other (in terms of distinct regulatory, sectoral position and often dominated by different professional approaches), other elements, such as for example the spatial coordination of sectoral policies, have not, or have only moderately appeared. Nevertheless, these activities can be linked to the interpretation of both the comprehensive umbrella concept (see figure 5) and paradigm concept of spatial planning.

***Hypothesis H5 has been confirmed. Although planning activities with spatial dimensions are highly fragmented in Hungary, partial-activities can be linked to the European concept of spatial planning.***

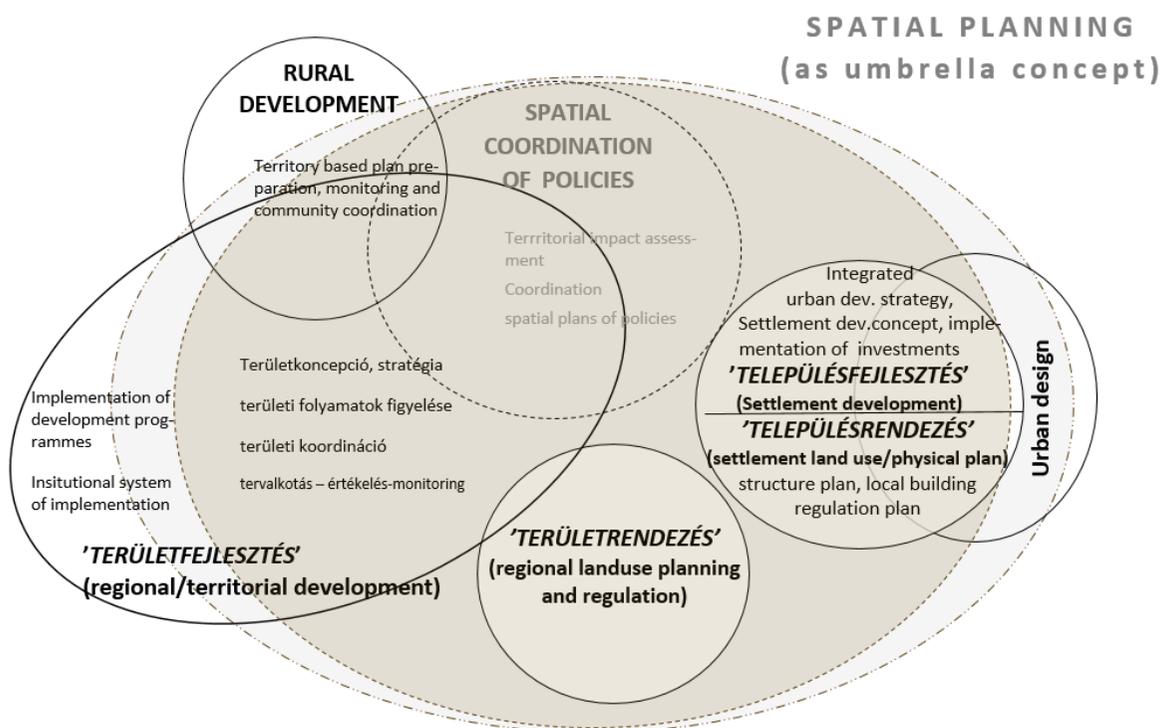


Figure 5: The possible relation of the European concept of spatial planning (as neutral umbrella term indicated with the brown-grey round) with the phrases of the related Hungarian practices

Source: The author's own elaboration

Regarding Hungarian aspects we can state that Hungary, in particular in connection with its EU Presidency in 2011, played a role in shaping the European

spatial planning framework and was a pioneer in introducing some related procedures, policy instruments (integrated urban development strategies, development policy procedures implementing territorial cohesion, territorial monitoring, etc.), while its medium-term development strategy, adopted in 2014, is a document with a pronounced presence of the European spatial planning paradigm. Certain parts of the transformation of Hungarian planning fit into the model of Europeanization (for example, the decreasing significance of regulatory planning, or the increasing role of national level), others contradict it (e.g.: change of territorial governance, the technical approach of settlement planning).

As a result of my research, **I propose to introduce** the comprehensive **term of spatial planning** (*térbeli tervezés* in Hungarian) to Hungarian policy and professional practice as well as the scientific discourse. This comprehensive interpretation can provide a framework for more consistent management and understanding of policies and practices related to spatial planning, thus contributing to the reduction of parallelism, and helping to build connections with foreign practices. It can also be a suitable framework to dissolve the domestic conceptual cacophony of different planning-governance activities addressing the spatial dimension. To express this standard comprehensive understanding there is another option: to use the more conventional term *területi tervezés* (regional/territorial planning), which has been used sometimes by some authors in a sense similar to that of spatial planning in Hungarian literature. However, the use of the Hungarian term *területi tervezés* (which has already been used for other different meaning(s)) in the sense of spatial planning can be a solution only if the new meaning can be successfully defined and made accepted broadly with most stakeholders.

## 5. NEW SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

1. In my research the '**European**' **Model of Spatial Planning** (EMP) as theoretical framework was established, which is the general system of those dominant changes determined by the Europeanization dynamics described in the literature and the messages of spatial strategies at the European level (which can be interpreted for planning in member states), which can emerge in substantially different domestic planning systems. The **model-based methodology** is also new result, that has made it possible to assess the emergence of different dimensions of Europeanization with the tools of document analysis and primer data survey.
2. This was the first research, which **examined the Europeanization of spatial planning** of countries – measured by EMP – in different dimensions **through empirical analysis** covering a wide range of countries. As a result, based on empirical observations, new comparable knowledge could be gained on the differences of level and the dynamics of Europeanization in the spatial planning of specific countries and groups of countries.
3. **Linking the concept of European spatial planning** with the different concepts of Hungarian planning activities can be considered as a new result that can facilitate international cooperation and knowledge-transfer, as well as Hungarian and European disciplinary connections.
4. A **double grouping of the conceptual meaning** of spatial planning in international professional and academic literature is also a novelty. The thesis distinguished between the contents of the comprehensive and neutral umbrella term interpretation and the new planning paradigm interpretation (which is significantly dominated by European integration processes).

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