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ABSTRACT – Most of the settlements are interested in increasing employment, incomes, standards and quality of living, which usually coincides with the aims of the European Union, the aims of the Hungarian National Territorial Development programme, and coincides with the local interests. While conducting research on this topic, we studied the urban development practice of local governments in Hungary. We examined the external and internal conditions, the actual possibilities that affect the efficiency of urban development and the limiting factors. We determined the dominant players, as well as the means and limits of the current Hungarian territorial development. Joining the European Union in 2004 opened new possibilities for the Hungarian settlements; we assessed the effects of this new situation on the development planning. During my research, I analysed publicly available data of the municipal planning activity of 2009. The time passed since the data collection for this research has proven that the new possibilities have not changed significantly the living standards of the Hungarian citizens and the competitiveness of the Hungarian settlements. This study tries to reveal the reasons and basis of this apparent lack of prosperity at the level of development and economic planning.

Keywords: settlement development, sustainability, local resources, competitiveness, standard of living

#### INTRODUCTION

The aim of the study is to learn the details (like planning and achievement) of urban development activities in the Hungarian settlements. This can help to estimate to what extent settlements are able to meet the requirements of the Hungarian Local Government Act (HLGA, 2011), and to use the opportunities provided by the programmes of the Hungarian National Territorial Development and EU2020. Experience shows that in the case of complex issues such as urban development practice, the questionnaire is inefficient. The majority of plans concerning urban development are publicly available; therefore, we decided to overview, compare and analyse the publicly available urban development plans of 327 Hungarian cities, one by one. It was also decided to leave the urban development plans of Budapest out from this study because development resources, opportunities and competitiveness indicators of the capital city differ very much from the other Hungarian settlements. In this case, Budapest would very much distort the results. This method ensures the unified approach and application of the same assessment criteria. The assessment of all the 3,154 settlements development plans is beyond the scope of this article, so referring to earlier studies, we assumed that in villages the level of development activity is at best the same as in cities. "The situation in Hungary has not changed since the beginning of the '90s in that aspect that the tasks of local economy development are more institutionalized in cities than in villages" (Mezei, 2006).

Based on the examined aspects, we tried to get an integrated picture about the urban development activity of settlements. First, we checked whether there were any urban development plans, and, after that, we examined to what extent the plans were concerned with economic development and competitiveness. It was also examined whether the plans were verified and applied, or if there was any established cooperation, and any sign of conscious settlement or economy development activity.

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The study is concerned with regional aspects. The number of cities is very different in the different regions; therefore, for comparison, we calculated the percentage of cities in different regions, which showed activity in the given aspects. Similarly, we evaluated the aims of the urban development plans.

Our hypothesis is that in Hungary the overwhelming majority of settlements do not proceed to substantive urban development activity concerned with economic development. The majority of cities do not have a proper city development plan, the existing plans are often rudimental and do not suit the requirements of the Hungarian Local Government Act ordaining the exploration and usage of local resources.

#### **METHODS**

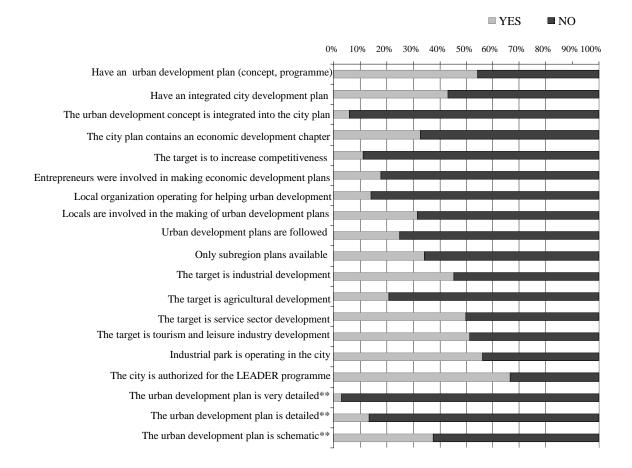
The assessment of the urban development activities of the 327 Hungarian cities was based on the publicly available urban development plans, which were analysed by means of 19 aspects. These aspects are described and the data is summarized in Figure 1. We collected, read and analysed the available urban development plans of all 327 Hungarian cities (except Budapest), five years after Hungary had joined the EU in 2004. The closing date of data collection is 01/07/2009. For further analysis, I used the official regional classification of Hungary and I classified all cities according to its official regional status. The number of citizens for the settlement size based distribution was determined according to the official statistical data.

# RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results indicate that almost half of the Hungarian cities (45.87 %) do not have an urban development plan (concept or programme) (Figure 1). It is an intriguing result because, according to law, an economic programme must be prepared and local urban development functions must be fulfilled for all Hungarian settlements. However, according to available data, almost half of the Hungarian cities do not fulfil these compulsory requirements and do not have any official document indicating a planned socio-economic development, which is even more serious. Although the study only concerns cities, it can be assumed that, in the case of villages, the situation of settlement development plans is not much better (Mezei, 2006).

Amongst the 328 Hungarian cities, 175 have a central role in their subregion; therefore, according to available data, subregional development does not seem to be established. Individual urban development plans should be the basis for synchronizing the interest of the participant settlements in the regions. If these plans are not available, the definition of public intentions reflecting the resources, the facilities and the interests of the communities is difficult. Local subregional plans and concepts can be useful for the individual development of settlements, but they do not substitute the urban development plans, which make the basis of all local development concepts.

Settlement development is compulsory for settlements according to the Municipality Law. The Hungarian Municipality Law also ordains the exploration and usage of local resources, too, but the method and the subsidiarity of the process have not been regulated yet. Therefore, a unified application practice of the law has not evolved and cannot be supervised in a proper way. The majority of local communities have not recognized yet that they have, besides obligations, participation, lobbying, and interest reconciliation rights during the planning and execution of urban development goals. It is even less appreciated that urban development concepts made by setting aside local interests are less likely to materialize exactly because nobody is motivated by interest to achieve the goals. In those settlements where there is no proper settlement development plan to meet local interests and made with the local community and with the community acceptance and participation, some decisions can be made that really oppose local interests.



**Figure 1.** Assessment of 19 different aspects of urban development activity in 327 Hungarian cities based on publicly available data (time of data collection closed 31/07/2009)

Source: Erzsébet Pászti Tóth, original research

#### The status of the Integrated Urban Development Strategies (IUDS)

43.12% of the cities have an *Integrated Urban Development Strategy* (IUDS) and other plans are in preparation (Figure 1). The IUDSs cannot be considered urban development plans because the making and supporting of the IUDSs reflects a different approach from the peculiar Hungarian interpretation. Participation planning practice shows serious deficiencies (Bardóczi and Giczey, 2010). There are several problems:

- Except for the evaluation of the situation, the plans do not take the economy into consideration, the capitalization of local resources is not included, and the activity is limited to the usage of outside sources.
- Local social cohesion is not enforced because employment and income levels are dropping or stagnate. The situation is made even more serious by the fact that the local investments are carried out by outsiders or foreigners; therefore, resources do not enter the "bloodstream" of the local community (Lányi et al., 2012).
- Most of the IUDSs are not integrative.

So far, it is undebatable that IUSDs are often superficial, non-coherent, rudimental materials, which are not able to display the real problems and possibilities. In our opinion, they do not indicate the new spirit of settlement development (also in Barta, 2009). The Hungarian practice of IUDS does not fully agree with the Leipzig Chart because this practice leads to incoordination of city and countryside development (Bálint et al., 2007).

## Coordination of city development plans and general city planning

In 19 cases, the city development plan is only a chapter of the general city plan, consisting of only a couple of pages. The general city plan is accepted by the local delegates, and this practice alone shows that, in most of the cases, the local delegates are passive and neutral concerning the establishment of future developmental goals for their own settlement.

Only 32.72% of the Hungarian cities have an economic development plan, or at least, their urban development concept contains an economic development chapter. The existing economic development plans, with a few exceptions, do not exceed the compulsory function of the municipality. It does not seem to have any initiative or programme aiming at the exploration and usage of the local regional capital, although it is a common interest of the local economic and civil sphere. Besides all these, there is no legal connection between settlement development and territorial or countryside economic development processes (Kökényesi, 2005), although these activities should affect directly or indirectly the quality of life in the community.

In this research, we took into account that economic development is more relevant in cities. Smaller settlements have to meet the ordained tasks, the expectations of the local community, while maintaining the population preserving capacity. The basic prerequisite for that is an ability to reach comparable living standards with the nearby city. In the United Kingdom, it was enacted that municipalities should establish identical standards of living (OECD, 2011). The interdependence is obvious; using the territorial capital of the city and of the smaller local settlements for local interest is a common goal. There must be community consensus amongst the inhabitants of the city and of the countryside, with special emphasis on duty and solidarity (Nagy, 2007).

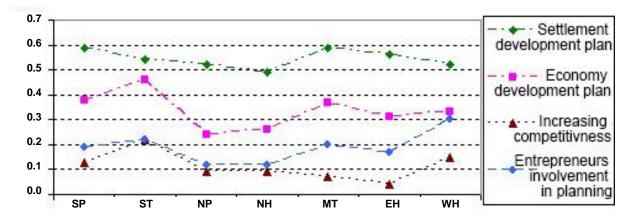
## Competitiveness as a target area of development

Only 11.01% of the cities marked the increase of competitiveness as a target area (Figure 1). If we took the definition of competitiveness more strictly, the values would have been even lower, even though, at this point, the research includes also the contents of the IUDSs. The distribution of this value shows that competitiveness is even less often marked as a target in the less developed areas of Hungary, like in the Northern Hungarian, Middle Transdanubian, or Eastern Hungarian Regions (Figure 2). In the case of urban development, stating and manifesting the goals is a basic task. The presence of economic development plans strongly correlates competitiveness and entrepreneur participation (the correlation coefficient is above 0.5). Although these values are only indicative, it seems important to examine why increasing competitiveness is not amongst the target areas of settlement development. One of the reasons is that the definition of competitiveness is still ambiguous. The definition proposed by EU and OECD is not widely accepted yet, neither the proposed goals, nor the possible methods of reaching them. One thing is certain, it is important to solve the united regulation of settlement and area development, considering both productivity and effectiveness.

#### Planning economic development targets

According to this study, it seems that local entrepreneurs were taken into account when planning the economic targets in 14.74% of the cities. In the case of 58 cities, the trace of local entrepreneurs' interest is detectable in the urban development plans, either in the ideas for the future, or in the particular goals of their execution. This data contradicts the fact that, in the time of research, 43.12% of the cities had IUDs, where participatory planning was a prerequisite. However, there was still no indication of the interests and future roles of economic players in the contents of development plans. It is not realistic, for example, that in an area with good agricultural conditions and strong agricultural traditions, with many inhabitants having interest in agricultural development, and without any famous tourist attractions, the majority of the community to support leisure industry development at first place, while the majority of the inhabitants actually live out of agriculture. Of course, it does not mean that in the case of small villages, with limited economic possibilities, gradually introducing "rural tourism" would not be a workable option. Area development has to have further influence than village tourism, and has to make impact on the whole life style of the countryside (Bálint et al., 2007).

Only successful local businesses are capable of increasing local employment and income reasonably; therefore, continuous cooperation with local businesses has a key importance. The inclusion of local players in the planning process has a basic importance because they are both the sources and the targets of the manifestation of the economic development targets. Local entrepreneurs' interest can only be assessed by means of constant and consequent cooperation with them, which is a prerequisite for the integration of their interest into the local development target system.



**Figure 2.** Existence of settlement development plans, economic development plans, targeting competitiveness and entrepreneurs involvement in different regions of Hungary

Abbreviations: SP: South Plan Region, ST: South Transdanubian Region, NP: Northern Plan Region, NH: North Hungarian Region, MT: Middle Transdanubian Region, EH: East Hungarian Region, WH: West Hungarian Region Source: Based on the original research of Erzsébet Pászti Tóth on 327 Hungarian cities (publicly available data collection closed 31/07/2009)

### Organizational formats of settlement development

Research results indicate that only 14.07% of the cities operated a special local management for executing urban development targets. This result is unfortunate, but not surprising. It has to be stated that, in case of a long term endogenous development strategy, a responsible person or working organization has to be organized for the continuous supervision of planning, organizing, carrying out tasks, because planned development targets are pointless without execution. Increasing employment, income and living standards are only possible in this way.

### **Involving the local players into the planning process**

The existing settlement development plans bear witness to the fact that the majority of players have not recognized the possible and logical relation between settlement development and economic development, the real meaning of competitiveness. Few players recognized the opportunities in Local Economic Development (LOD), and the significance of the support from the local community. The majority of the local governments do not possess appropriate professional background for development planning. The apparatus is overcharged, while professional support such as handbooks, rules of procedures and worksheets is sparsely found. Local execution of the development planning would have many advantages, as it would constitute a quality improvement of the whole procedure.

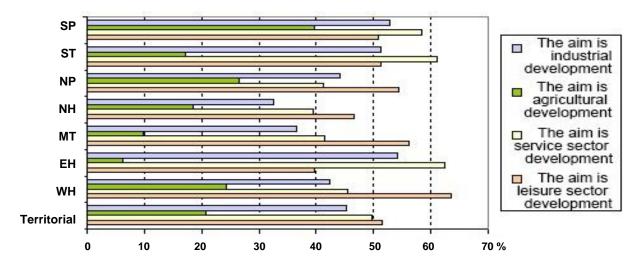
#### **Utilization of development plans**

During research, we examined the consequent utilization of the plans by using the plans publicly available on the official websites. We checked out if the verification, maintenance, or modification of the urban development plans took place lately, if there was any indication about the decision-making process, elaboration of the IUDSs, project planning, deliverances, or the tenders. When a hint on the utilization of plans was available, we checked if usage was occasional or

systematic. The majority of the existing plans consider only the ordained tasks of the municipalities; the realization of development plans generally depends on the public tender sources. Many local governments do not maintain their plans, which indicates that they do not pay due attention to the urban development plans. In Hungary, it seems acceptable that 25.08% of the cities utilize the settlement development plans or the IUDSs. The majority of the prepared plans are not utilized.

#### Influence of the subregion

Some cities may have not maintained their own urban development plans because the urban development concept of the subregion was meanwhile prepared. Subregion concepts were prepared with appropriate contents, but the civil and business community of the smaller settlements did not even know about the preparation of the concepts, did not know the contents, and did not participate in the preparation process. The connection between the urban development plans and the subregion development concept are rather incidental.



**Figure 3.** Support of the main urban development goals in the seven main regions of Hungary (in %) Abbreviations: SP: South Plan Region, ST: South Transdanubian Region, NP: Northern Plan Region, NH: North Hungarian Region, MT: Middle Transdanubian Region, EH: East Hungarian Region, WH: West Hungarian Region Source: Based on the original research of Erzsébet Pászti Tóth on 327 Hungarian cities (publicly available data collection closed 31/07/2009)

## Main targets of city development plans

Industry, agriculture, service sector, tourism and leisure industry development target values (Figure 1, rows 11-14) are often unsynchronized with the vision of settlement development plans and aims. Sometimes all sectors appear among the targets, in other cases there is no direct indication of any special goal. At the same time, when comparing the facilities of settlements with the targets, one have often found development targets which have little basis in the local resources and talents. Tourism and leisure industry are the main targets in cities where there are no peculiar sights or attractions, and the turnover data is poor. In other places, agriculture is left out even though the production site is good, and besides traditions, agriculture development appears in subregional and area development concepts, targeting the production of agricultural products with unified quality and marketable quantity, and establishing a local processing plant. To match the ever-changing market demands, it was often necessary to reorganize the structure in order to find new possibilities. However, even in these cases, development targets cannot be isolated from local resources and the vindication of local interest.

The plans bear witness to the fact that they were plainly based on statistical data. The players of the local economic and civic sphere were not involved. This planning practice has been running for over a decade and, besides Budapest, it did not bring any reasonable results in improving the quality of

life and standards of living. Because this is true for the majority of the cities, it looks that the members of the local society are numb, and it is going to be a hard task to gain them back for participatory planning.

# **Industrial parks**

According to a report of the Hungarian government summarizing the data presented in 179 reports on industrial parks, the 4,028 active enterprises in the parks, employing 187,000 people, exceeded an income of 9,292 billion Hungarian Forint (HUF). Almost half of the industrial parks do not fulfil the actual requirements, and the average built-up ratio is only 68%, meaning that there is space for expansion (Ministry of National Economy, 2012). According to statistical data, industrial parks generate a substantial amount of capital accumulation and employment in Hungary, creating economic possibilities primarily in the less developed areas. At the same time, it is apparent that regional employment and revenues do not depend on the number of industrial parks. Therefore, the main target should be the development of special parks, supplying quality services matching the area capital.

#### **LEADER** programme

The LEADER programme is a European Union initiative to support rural development projects initiated at the local level in order to revitalize rural areas, increase quality of living and create jobs by diversification of the economy. The LEADER programme is an instrument since the 1991-1994 programming period and serves as the basis for the Community-Led Local Development (CLLD) for the period 2014-2020. This programme is tightly connected with endogenous settlement, rural areas and economic development, which overlap at the level of settlements in terms of the utilization of area capital. "At least two thirds of Hungary is a rural area, where half of the population live" (Bálint and Juhász, 2007). It is important to understand that "agricultural employment data can be misleading because they separate the ones pursuing agricultural activity, from the ones employed in the agricultural sector. This means that agricultural production has more importance in the subsistence of the families, than expected by the micro-economy indicators" (Buday-Sántha, 2006). The current economic development policy tends to consider the rural-city question as a marginal problem and, in many cases, it sacrifices the smaller settlements to the economic organizing potential of the city (Beluszky, 1999; Buday-Sántha, 2002-2004).

Such a subordination of the rural and agricultural sector (Enyedi, 1972; Kovách, 2012) caused serious damages to the standards of living in the rural areas and gave advantage to many European countries with worse agricultural capabilities (Buday-Sántha, 2009b). Even nowadays, one might hear "professional opinions" that the share of agriculture in the GDP (3%) and the employment in agriculture (4%) are subsidiary. These thoughtless statements are very harmful because the share of agribusiness in the GDP and employment are around 10-20% even in the most developed countries (Buday-Sántha, 2009a). In the developed countries, food industry is a strategic sector and these countries cannot let themselves into a defenceless state by weakening such an important sector.

In Hungary, the LEADER programme was a success, at the beginning. Locals could play a part in a bottom up, community-led cooperation based planning. At that time the decisions about inviting applications and awards of contracts was locally administered. The hardest part was the establishment of substantive cooperation.

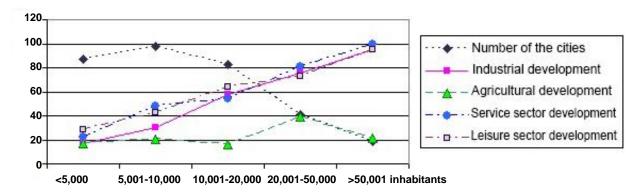
#### Connection between urban development planning and the central role in the subregions

The differences between subregional centres (175 out of 328 cities) are very substantial in every respect. The development of the subregion is determined by the socio-economic development of its centres, its institutional organization, the standards of the service sector, and its commitment towards increasing competitiveness and cooperation with the settlements of the subregions. The common interests are not always obvious, but cooperation is unavoidable. Subregional centres are more active in all respects than the other cities, especially concerning competitiveness and the integration of enterprises into the development plans. Although subregional centres are more active in

marking development targets, there are not substantial differences in the share of different sectors, according to the correlation coefficients.

#### Distribution of development plans according to the size of the settlements

When studying the correlation between the size of the settlements and the development targets, it appears that there are strong correlations between the number of cities (a) and competitiveness (d) (r(ad)=-0.99). We have also found correlations between the number of economic development plans (c) and the entrepreneurs' involvement in the planning process (e) (r(ce)=0.70).



**Figure 4.** Specific values of the main urban development goals by measurement categories in the seven main regions of Hungary

Abbreviations: SP: South Plan Region, ST: South Transdanubian Region, NP: Northern Plan Region, NH: North Hungarian Region, MT: Middle Transdanubian Region, EH: East Hungarian Region, WH: West Hungarian Region Source: Based on the original research of Erzsébet Pászti Tóth on 327 Hungarian cities (publicly available data collection closed 31/07/2009)

The values indicate that in the case of larger settlements, development plans are prevailing and the other measures are also more frequently established. The number of cities in the different size categories is quite different. Therefore, we decided to examine the percentage of cities active in different aspects. It seems that the growing size forces cities to be more active in making economic development plans or chapters, increase competitiveness, and involve entrepreneurs in the settlement development planning process. The results show similarities to the results of Cecilia Mezei regarding the rules of the municipalities in the local economic development according to the size of settlements. Her conclusion is the same, namely large-sized settlements care more about urban development, plans are prevailing, and they are more capable to use their own resources (Mezei, 2006). The distribution of development targets according to the size of the settlement is proportional in most of the cases except the agricultural sector, which is under-represented, especially if we take into account the ratio between the urban and rural inhabitants and the resources (Figure 4).

The settlement size approach could help find important connections. However, in order to reveal some basic problems, it seems more practical to use a region-based approach, which helps recognize regional connections and their transformation.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The aim of the study was to assess the practice of urban development in the Hungarian cities. The main question was whether settlements pursue the real socio-economic development of their area or they only try to suit the compulsory requirements. We can conclude that in many cities the local actors stand astonished and helpless facing the socio-economic decline of their settlements. They have been waiting for more than 25 years since the change of the system in 1989 that this ever-deepening pile of problems limiting the standards of living to solve itself on its own, forgetting that "preserving success requires fighting day after day, only the decline goes on its own" (Enyedi, 1998).

This study proves that the new possibilities provided by the European Union do not solve the problems automatically. Without considering the importance of economic planning, setting the appropriate development targets, and including the local entrepreneurs into the process, the possibility of success is low. The time passed since the research was conducted, proves that the lack of appropriate development planning has led to stagnation of both the standards and quality of living and competitiveness in the Hungarian cities. The main targets of the Hungarian National Regional Development Concept have not been achieved in any of the periods and this failure had no consequences. The same aims and targets have been indicated in every planning cycle for two decades. According to the statistical data, regional differences have increased rather than decrease, especially in the area of regional competitiveness.

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