

MÁRTON PÉTI – GÁBOR MOZGA

PROBLEM OF POTENTIAL?
NATIVE ETHNIC MINORITY COMMUNITIES
IN DEVELOPMENT AND SPATIAL POLICIES

Abstract: Identity plays a key role in regionalism, as a driver of the cohesion or the devotion of different territories. In the EU, and especially in Central and Eastern Europe, there are many geographical areas that do not form a territorial administrative unit yet have a strong character and identity. This is often due to the fact that these areas are inhabited by national or ethnic communities that are in a minority position in the encompassing region or country. These native ethnic communities can also be a source of regional development, as they have their own special external and internal economic networks and traditional cultural values and represent a social diversity that is a breeding ground for innovation. Our research examined regional development documents all across the EU at different levels (i.e., regional, Member State, and EU levels) in order to answer the question of whether native ethnic minority communities are reflected as development resources in development concepts. This extensive research revealed this approach in only a few exceptional cases and even in the cases of plans for ethnic minority-rich areas.

Since the emergence of nation-states and the various efforts at national unification, the situation of native ethnic and national minorities¹ has been part of academic life in many disciplines, of research in many fields of science, and of political and public discourse, with varying intensity but relative constancy. The fundamental changes in the global and European geopolitical situations in the 20th century (e.g., the First and Second World Wars, the break-up of the Soviet Union, border changes, population exchanges and displacements, the Yugoslavian Wars, etc.) have significantly redrawn the ethnic relations in Europe. Formerly, state-forming nations became minorities under the authority of a new state, while former national minorities or ethnic groups gained state-forming and majority positions, and the ethnic map of Europe became even more fragmented.

It is a general phenomenon that these minority groups are perceived by decision-makers in the countries in a predominantly negative way, often associated with negative geopolitical,

1 There is also the issue of indigeneity in Europe, which relate to both national and ethnic minorities. In this publication, the term ethnic minority is used for both groups for ease of reference. One of the main reasons for this is that the two groups are often referred to synonymously in the documents studied—and in some of the literature—and this is compounded by the fact that modern immigrants are also a minority community in Europe.

security, or economic roles (e.g., a reduction of state stability, a desire for autonomy and secession, a lack of language skills, a rejection of assimilation, socio-economic difficulties). At the same time, some countries, such as Hungary, Romania, Serbia, and Poland, see their compatriots living abroad or in the diaspora as a cultural resource as well as an economic one.

The declared aims of the European Union and its predecessor institutions have been to preserve peace on the continent, to mediate between Member States, to support local decision-making in some cases, and to reduce socio-economic disparities and eradicate poverty through its regional and cohesion policies, which have a significant budget. In theory, this could even create a favorable climate for the survival of ethnic and national minorities, but the various legal and institutional reforms have not been followed by concrete measures to protect minorities, which remain the responsibility of the Member States. The situation becomes even more complicated when Roma and modern immigrant social groups are included in the analysis.

On the one hand, equal opportunities is an important horizontal principle of EU development policies, which, although not directly focused on the opportunities of national and linguistic minorities, can be understood in this context. Social diversity is also generally treated as a cultural value in the relevant policy documents, and ethnic minority communities are one of the ways in which this diversity is reflected. Furthermore, in this policy context, the problems of marginalized ethnic minority communities are often mentioned if not as a resource then as a development need.

However, the different cultural and linguistic identities, traditions, and networks of the minority groups examined can also represent core values and positive economic roles from which not only the minorities but also the relevant states can benefit (e.g., through bridge-building, tourism, creativity, or economic ethnocentrism), reducing political tensions or catalyzing cross-border cooperation. This study empirically investigates the extent to which native national communities are in fact a factor in European and especially EU development policies and spatial development. In particular, we aim to explore whether these policies from the EU development period 2014–2020 interpret the presence of native ethnic minority communities as a resource. The question is therefore whether the development planning documents prepared for native minorities during this period at both the EU level and in the Member States reflect positive approaches.²

2 The current planning hierarchy for the 2021–2027 EU development cycle is less developed. However, the TA2020 has been renewed; see more on the Territorial Agenda 2030 later.

Development resources for native ethnic minorities in Europe

The economic role of ethnic groups according to existing researches

The development resources of native ethnic minorities can be approached from the perspective of the specific economic roles of these communities. Historically, the economic activities of these minorities have often been so specific that they have become a factor in defining their respective communities. Research on ethnic minorities has been carried out in a number of disciplines (e.g., history, geography, political science, sociology, linguistics, and law), but the subject also appears in political, legal, and public discourses.³ In many existing definitions of ethnic or national minorities or nationality, in addition to the freedom to choose one's identity, there are sometimes biological, legal, political, and economic aspects, as well as objective and/or subjective criteria.⁴ Although it is not possible today to define ethnic communities on the basis of economic criteria, a wide range of literature suggests that certain economic roles can be attributed to ethnic minorities.⁵

Social science research on the relationship between ethnicity and economic activity has developed in several disciplines. Csata (2015) distinguishes between the approaches of new institutional economics, economic sociology, and economic anthropology.⁶ Schwarcz's recent extensive review cites influential literature from the fields of ethnography, sociocultural anthropology (ethnic culture as a resource), economics (political economy, institutional economics, and linguistics on the relationship between ethnic/linguistic diversity and economic performance), and sociology (the application of economic sociology's theories of capital on ethnic communities).⁷ Both authors cited above point out that most empirical studies have not been conducted in the context of native ethnic minority communities in Europe.

It is generally accepted that ethnicity has an important role in the economy through the conduct of transactions and the shaping of the structure of different markets.⁸ Ethnic

3 Anna Adorjáni and Bence Bari, "National Minority - the Birth of a Conceptual Model in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and International Law," *Regio* 28, no. 2 (2020): 5–53.

4 András László Pap, "Nation, nationality, ethnicity: rhetoric and conceptualization," in *Praise and Criticism of Central Europeanism*, eds. Csilla Fedinec et al. (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2013): 15–29.

5 Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Economies of ethnicity," in *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, 2nd ed., ed. James G. Carrier (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012).

6 Zsombor Csata, "Ethnicity and Economy. A Research Agenda for Transylvania," *Transylvanian Society* 13, no. 3 (2015): 9–24.

7 Gyöngyi Schwarcz, "Locality, Ethnicity, Economy," *Lifestyle and Tradition*, (2021).

8 Zsombor Csata and Attila Deák, "Economic ethnocentrism, ethnic consumption among Hungarians in Transylvania," *Economist Forum* 13, no. 4 (2010): 31–49.

diversity can shape economic performance by fundamentally influencing the strategies pursued by individuals.⁹ The specific culture of ethnic communities can also be commodified (commodification of cultural heritage).¹⁰

On the production side, the diversity of competences and the face of diversity usually generate creativity and have a positive impact on innovation¹¹ and its rapid diffusion through mutual learning.¹² In addition to the production function, innovative strategies in multi-ethnic locations result in products and services with higher added value and are thus more attractive to consumers. The same positive effect can also be seen in the development of public goods and services.¹³

Ethnic community relations are also an important element; both bridging and bonding can have an impact on the economic performance of a community or other communities living close to it.¹⁴ Internal linkages and social capital can simplify bureaucratic processes and reduce transaction costs and time spent on specific work processes through negotiations and deals,¹⁵ and this is also true for ethnic communities.¹⁶ All this suggests the economic advantages of joint action by ethnically homogeneous communities over diversity, which may be not only an advantage for native ethnic minorities but also a disadvantage for minorities in, for example, the asymmetric linguistic environment offered by a linguistically segregated majority society.¹⁷

According to Schwarcz (2021), the relevant Hungarian literature on the topic is predominantly economic anthropological, focusing on the use of ethnic identity as an economic resource, which is manifested, among other things, in economic mentality.¹⁸ These Hungarian researches have focused specifically on native ethnic minorities (some non-Hungarian communities in Hungary and the Roma and Hungarians in Transylvania).

9 Alberto Alesine and Eliana La Ferrara, "Ethnic Diversity and Economic Performance" (NBER Working Paper No. 10313, 2004), accessed July 7, 2023, www.nber.org/papers/w10313.

10 John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

11 Robert D. Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 137–174.

12 Csata, "Ethnicity and Economy."

13 Gianmarco I. P. Ottaviano and Giovanni Peri, "The economic value of cultural diversity: evidence from US cities," *Journal of Economic Geography* 6, no. 1 (2005): 9–44.

14 Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum."

15 Zoltán Szántó, "The social embeddedness of the economy. Notes on the recent literature in economic sociology and socioeconomics," *Szociológiai Szemle* 4, no. 3 (1994): 141–145;

16 Alejandro Portes, "Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, no. 1 (1998): 1–24.

17 Zsombor Csata, "Ethnic parallels in the Transylvanian economy," *Regio* 27, no. 1 (2019), 37–80.

18 Schwarcz, "Locality, Ethnicity, Economy."

Ethnic minorities can therefore represent a variety of economic roles. They can contribute to social diversity for creativity, act as economic intermediaries (bridges to other communities), and possess specific economic resources (e.g., cultural commodification) and strong community social capital. Although these phenomena can be interpreted in a development policy context, as they are all development resources, we have not been able to identify ethnic economic studies conducted specifically in a development policy support context.

The level of detail in the literature on ethnic minorities is similar to that of European research in the United States, where there is also a decades-long history of research on the economic situation of ethnic minorities. The social, political, and legal contexts of North American ethnic minorities and the native ethnic minorities of Europe are obviously very different. The USA has always been a racially and ethnically diverse country, with a global size of immigrant groups arriving relatively constantly to the country.¹⁹ As a similarity, it can be observed that, like its European equivalent, much of the US literature also tends to associate negative roles with ethnic minorities, typically related to disadvantages and processes of minority status and also to, for example, the labor market, education and health systems/conditions, community networks, segregation, and ghettoization. Their socioeconomic status can show quality of life, level of poverty, social and career opportunities, and privileges within the whole society.²⁰

On the positive side, the literature in the social sciences begins to see the diverse ways that people value and use natural resources and the different social contexts in which natural resource management must operate.²¹ New approaches since the 1990s recognize that stakeholders and interest groups have different costs and benefits and that these interests need to be represented through the participation of different groups in governance and policy-making. On the other hand, the existing topics are limited only to environmental justice, environmentalism among African-Americans, and race and ethnicity in outdoor recreation.²² Another possible field is related to the already mentioned bridging and bounding roles: the topic of social networks, which refers to the matrix of social relationships to which individuals are tied.²³ This matrix has structural and functional characteristics that

19 John Scelhas, "Race, Ethnicity, and Natural Resources in the United States: A Review," *National Resources Journal* 42, no. 4 (Fall 2002).

20 Carlos F. Mendes de Leon and Thomas A. Glass, "The Role of Social and Personal Resources in Ethnic Disparities in Late-Life Health," in *Critical Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Differences in Health in Late Life*, eds. Barney Cohen, Rodolfo A. Bulatao, and Norman B. Anderson (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2004).

21 Scelhas, "Race."

22 Ibid.

23 C.S. Fischer, *To dwell among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

constitute the social parameters of the resources available (e.g., friendships) and ties gained through formal organizational linkages, as well as the ability of ties to facilitate the transfer of resources.²⁴ However, the size of networks does not automatically mean their quality is high. For example, the Black population has a network of contacts of a size similar to that of the majority population, but this is mostly restricted to the extended family.²⁵ Ethnicity can also be understood as a factor of productivity among older adults.²⁶

Emblematic areas of ethnic diversity in Europe

This paper focuses primarily on “native national minorities” as defined by Kymlicka²⁷ but also occasionally covers minority communities of “modern immigrants.” These two categories are often approached in a similar way by European public policies for development: in many cases, the social integration intentions that are oriented towards disadvantaged native Roma communities are the same as those that are oriented towards immigrant communities in Western Europe that have a different ethnic background from the majority. Roma communities are highly concentrated in the eastern part of the EU, and even within this region they show a marked spatial pattern, especially in some rural areas.²⁸ The immigrant communities in Western Europe, especially those of non-European immigrants, are concentrated mainly in metropolitan areas.²⁹

European ethnic and cultural diversity is particularly visible in border regions within the continent.³⁰ These border regions are also a field of exciting phenomena within the European Union. On the one hand, transnational (i.e., not only European) social

24 de Leon and Glass, “The Role.”

25 K.J. Ajrouch, T.C. Antonucci, and M.R. Janevic, “Social networks among blacks and whites: The interaction between race and age,” *Journal of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 56, (2001): 112–128.

26 A.R. Herzog and J.N. Morgan, “Age and gender differences in the value of productive activities: Four different approaches,” *Research on Aging* 14, (1992): 169–198.

27 Will Kymlicka, “Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe” in *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?*, eds. Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 13–107.

28 Mátyás Binder, “Roma communities in Eastern Europe. An essay on historiography and social history,” in *Eastern European Turning Points. Studies in honour of Emil Palotás, 80 years old.*, ed. József Juhász (Budapest: L'Harmattan - ELTE BTK Department of Eastern European History, 2016) 350–359.

29 Guido Tintori, Alfredo Alessandrini, and Fabrizio Natale: *Diversity, residential segregation, concentration of migrants: a comparison across EU cities. Findings from the Data Challenge on Integration of Migrants in Cities* (EUR 29611 EN), (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2018).

30 Ahmed Bakry and Anna Growe, “Spatial effect of ethnicity on cross-border regions. Comparative analysis for a cultural aspect based on territorial and network perspectives: the cases of the EU Basque and Upper Rhine border regions,” *European Planning Studies*, (September 2022).

integration across borders is taking place in the EU.³¹ However, borders still play a strong role in shaping the identities and strategies of communities and individuals and are highly relevant for policy makers.³²

The region of Central Europe also stands out within Europe for its ethnic and cultural diversity.³³ In terms of ethnic fragmentation, the Carpathian Region is emblematic even within Central Europe, where the historical transformation of diversity is also specific. In fact, the Carpathian Region's diversity, which was previously generated by a large number of different ethnic minority communities, is now mostly preserved only by the Hungarian minorities in the countries of the region, and today only traces of a more diverse historical pattern can be observed.³⁴ Therefore, it is perhaps no coincidence that Hungary's development-oriented public policies actively address the development resources of Hungarian and other minority communities, as we will demonstrate below.

Native ethnic minority communities in Hungarian development policy

The definitions of the roles of ethnic minorities in economic and development policy can be explored in terms of policy aspirations. As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, at least the Hungarian development policy and spatial development plan documents reflect this understanding. According to the national strategy doctrine that emerged in Hungary after the years of state socialism, the most important aspiration for Hungarian minorities abroad became the idea of remaining in the homeland.³⁵ The Hungarian state is committed to showing solidarity with these communities abroad and helping them to prosper. Since the end of state socialism, Hungary's new constitution has come to mention that the country bears responsibility for Hungarians living abroad.³⁶ The 2010s saw a significant increase in the amount of Hungarian government support to communities abroad and a

31 Suzanne Rippl, Nicola Bücker, Anke Petrat, and Klaus Boehnke, "Crossing the Frontier: Transnational Social Integration in the EU's Border Regions," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 51, no. 1–2 (2009): 5–31.

32 Jussi P. Laine, "The Multiscalar Production of Borders," *Geopolitics* 21, no. 3. (2016): 465–482.

33 András Igari, "Internal boundaries of 'In-Between Europe' – based on cultural, economic and geopolitical views," *Public Economy* 17, no. 1 (2022): 235–258.

34 Márton Péti, Balázs Szabó, and Laura Szabó, "The spatial pattern of the population resettled to Hungary from the neighbouring countries. Márton Péti. Their resettlement characteristics, the territoriality of their settlement, their possible impact on our native nationality communities," *Területi Statisztika* 2017/III .

35 Miklós Duray, "Milestones in the Development of Hungarian National Strategy and National Policy," *Kárpát-haza Szemle* 10, National Strategy Research Institute.

36 Constitution of Hungary (2011), accessed July 7, 2023, <https://mkogy.jogtar.hu>.

broadening of its focus towards economic development and general public development, beyond the traditional educational and cultural fields.³⁷

As mentioned before, Hungarian development policies have also evolved a logic of intervention that sees Hungarians living abroad not only as subjects of aid but also as a resource (i.e., as an economic opportunity for Hungary). Regardless of these policy aspirations, Hungarians abroad have represented an important human resource for the Hungarian economy since the 1990s, due to the settling of these communities in Hungary.³⁸ There was no political consciousness in Hungary behind the emigration of these communities, and this process is explicitly contrary to the national strategy doctrine of staying in the birthplace, which also emerged in the 1990s.

There are, however, conscious development policies aimed at the Hungarian communities abroad, which see economic opportunities for Hungary in the Hungarian communities abroad that remain and prosper in the neighboring regions. This was first formulated in the National Territorial Development Concept (Országos Területfejlesztési Koncepció; OTK) of 2005,³⁹ adopted by the Hungarian Parliament as one of Hungary's official public policy planning documents for spatial development and development in general. The very diverse messages of the OTK for Hungarian communities beyond the national borders were partly inspired by the idea of the creative workshop.⁴⁰ According to the memory of the authors, including one of the authors of this study, the political leaders had left room for this idea with the intention of addressing the tensions caused by the 2004 citizenship referendum. In this context, it should be noted that the OTK not only saw Hungarian communities abroad as an economic opportunity but also mentioned the need for development support for them. Another innovation in the OTK was that it also called for the

37 Kinga Magdolna Mandel and Tünde Morvai, "Hungarian education funding beyond the borders between 2010 and 2022," *Educatio* 31, no. 4 (2022): 672–679. The basic logic of these subsidies from the 90s was to support the realization of local prosperity and economic self-determination. Nándor Bárdi and Tibor Misovicz, "The policy of supporting minority Hungarian communities," in *Hungarians beyond the borders in the 21st century*, ed. Botond Bitskey (Budapest: KEH, 2010) 66–76.

38 Márton Péti, Laura Szabó, Csilla Obádovics, Balázs Szabó, and Dávid Csécsi, "Analyzing Ethnocentric Immigration through the Case of Hungary – Demographic Effects of Immigration from Neighboring Countries to Hungary," *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies* 8, no. 4 (2021): 128–153. Similar phenomena occurred earlier, after the Treaty of Trianon: even if the waves of refugees from abroad burdened the economy and supply systems of the motherland in the short term, they resulted in the emergence of a significant skilled labor force, see Balázs Ablonczy (ed.): *Úton. Refuge, mobility, integration in Central Europe and Hungary after the First World War*. Later, in the period of state socialism, these were significantly hampered.

39 See Annex 2.

40 Nándor Horvay, "Introduction," in *Local economic development. Imaginative solutions, good practices. Territorial development brochures 2*, eds. Zsolt Czene and Judit Ricz, (Budapest: NFM – NGM – VÁTI Nonprofit Kft., 2010), 7–13.

specific development of areas with a high proportion of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary as a reflection measure, while at the same time preserving the specific character of these areas and thus their resources. It is also important to note that the OTK also dedicated a role to a development policy based on the Hungarian communities abroad in the Neighborhood Policy based on mutual benefits. However, all of these aspirations of the OTK have not been implemented and are not evident in the practice of Hungarian domestic or EU-funded spatial development or development policy during the period of the OTK. The fact is that in the years following the adoption of the OTK, there was a noticeable shift in foreign aid policy towards economic development and a desire to put the regional development of EU cross-border operational programs at the service of Hungarian communities beyond the borders. These efforts, however, mobilized negligible resources and remained ineffective,⁴¹ and according to the memory of the authors of the OTK, it cannot be assumed that they were inspired by the OTK.

The relevant messages of the OTK have been taken over by the National Development and Territorial Development Concept (NDTC), which replaced this planning document in 2014 and was designed to prepare for the EU development period 2014–2020. The preparation of the NDTC started in 2012. In line with the philosophy of the NDTC, economic development support for Hungarian communities abroad was launched in the 2010s. The investment promotion policy has also been strengthened, taking advantage of the specific economic roles and opportunities of the communities abroad for investments in Hungary.⁴² Lastly, targeted development aimed at preserving the areas inhabited by national minorities in Hungary also appeared at the end of the decade, albeit only in the context of a single program for the development of the so-called Vend region (a region in Hungary close to the Slovenian border, inhabited by ethnic Slovenians in a considerable high proportion).⁴³

Despite the sophisticated messages of Hungarian development and territorial development policies aimed at exploiting the potential of ethnic minority communities inside and outside Hungary (as reflected in the NDTC), the implemented Hungarian policy interventions on the development of the ethnic minority communities have been mostly initiated by Hungarian foreign policy and international economic policy. (For instance, even the

41 Bárdi and Misovicz, “The policy,” 66–76.

42 It should be noted that efforts in this direction appeared as early as 1997, when Corvinus Ltd. was founded, but the intentions were only to work with negligible resources until the 2010s (See Bárdi and Misovicz 2010).

43 “Government Decision No 1618/2019 (X. 28.) on support for the implementation of the Slovenian Rába Region Regional Development Programme,” *Hungarian Gazette*, (2019), 173.

aforementioned program targeting the development of the Vend region has been initiated by the Slovenian-Hungarian Joint Committee under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and that was based on the idea of an already running program conducted in partnership with the Hungarian Foreign Ministry targeting the ethnic Hungarians in Slovenia.)

In the case of economic development messages directed at Hungary's neighborhood and Hungarians abroad, however, it is partly understandable that the NDTC is not the primary and only source. The specific economic development potentials of the Carpathian Region, including Hungarians living abroad, were introduced into the domestic economic policy debate by the 2011 Wekerle Plan shortly before the NDTC was prepared.⁴⁴ Initiated by the Wekerle Plan, the development strategies of the individual Hungarian communities in historical regions were drawn up.

Based on the relevant academic literature and the analysis of domestic development policy documents in this publication, the economic (and social) roles associated with being an ethnic minority *as resources and potentials in development policy* can be summarized like this:

General solidarity based on the value of diversity:

- Solidarity with minorities, legal protection of minorities, preservation of their identity
- Ethnic diversity as a fundamental value of society (e.g., encourages tolerance)
- Ethnic diversity as a resource for development on its own (e.g., encourages creativity)
- Minority language, possibly religion (mediating role, especially in neighboring countries)
- Democratic idea: participation in decision making

Geographical location as a value:

- Opportunities arising from frequent cross-border settlement or regions (cooperation, commuting)
- General economic intermediary, bridging roles between two or more states. Economic intermediary roles, acting as economic bridges between the homeland and the host country's markets and economic actors, where local knowledge and language skills are important
- Favorable locations for networked economic organization solutions with the homeland, such as clusters and supply chains

⁴⁴ See Annex 1.

Avoiding socio-economic segregation:

- Need for the integration of disadvantaged native ethnic minority groups (especially Roma in rural areas in Eastern Europe)
- Integration of disadvantaged immigrant communities from different ethnic backgrounds (typically urban environments)

Economic benefits for the states (and for minority groups):

- Tourism opportunities based on the different ethnic traditions and heritage of minorities (e.g., folklore, architecture, folk customs, costumes, gastronomy, traditional crafts, landscape)
- Creative economy and competitive sustainable agriculture built on the unique cultural traditions and land cultivation methods of rural communities
- Informal networks of ethnic minorities (trust, social relations, networks)
- Ethnic minority ethnocentrism in consumption
- Investment incentive areas that can attract investments from the homeland
- Markets for homeland economic actors due to their economic preferences

Geopolitical importance:

- Maintaining political stability of the state and integration to avoid decentralization (e.g., to avoid separatism and secessionism)

It is important to note that these categories are not typically distinct, and overlap can be common. The list includes the most basic factors that can be interpreted and identified on their own.

Methodology

Our study relied on the method of document analysis.⁴⁵ We analyzed European Union and Member State planning documents. By its nature, document analysis is necessarily retrospective,⁴⁶ but in the case of planning documents, they may convey messages for the period of the document's validity, including messages relevant to the present and the future. Our document analysis was based on a predetermined set of criteria and keyword

45 József Kontra, *Methodology of pedagogical research* (University note), (Kaposvár: University of Kaposvár, 2011).

46 Péter Mayer, "Document Analysis," in Márta Kóródi et al. *Tourism research methodology* (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2011), 24–27.

searches applied to existing documents.⁴⁷ This led to a database that allowed for quantitative analysis (e.g., identifying the most frequent messages) in addition to the qualitative examination of specific meanings and relationships.⁴⁸

A key aspect in the sampling of the documents analyzed was to get a picture of the official EU development planning documents for the period 2014–2020. The documents analyzed are presented in Annex 1.

We also tried to go as far back in time as possible, and, where possible, we included documents from the program period prior to the 2014–2020 development period. In the case of some multi-cycle development policy document series, we included not only the version of the document published prior to the 2014–2020 period but also the version of the document from after the 2014–2020 period (i.e., the refreshed and current version) where available: Territorial Agenda series, Lisbon and Europe 2020 strategies, Cohesion Reports, and Macroregional strategies (see Annex 1).

It was also important to be able to analyze the content on native ethnic minorities at different territorial levels within Europe (see Table 1 and Figure 1). In addition to documents at the EU level as a whole, we also analyzed so-called macroregional strategies, which were focused on a single European region. Furthermore, given the fact that the Carpathian Region is an ethnically diverse region within Europe, where policy intentions in Hungary have already introduced the treatment of ethnic minorities as a resource, we also examined the different available strategies of EU Member States and countries with EU integration aspirations in this region. As the largest number and proportion of Hungarians living abroad is found in the Transylvanian and former northern Hungary ethnic groups, the research paid particular attention to documents from Romania and Slovakia. The vast majority of the planning documents of these countries included in the study were also the result of EU initiatives (see EU resource allocation strategies of the Member States, some sectoral strategies, and sustainable development framework strategies).

In the sample, particular attention was paid to the specific EU cohesion policy support programs in the international arena. These both target cross-border areas rich in native ethnic communities and also have the potential to do a lot for ethnic minority communities because of their specific implementation procedures. These include the so-called

47 Károly Lampek and Zsuzsanna Horváthné Kivés, “Secondary research methods. Secondary Research Methods,” in *Research Methodology Fundamentals*, ed. Imre Boncz, (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2015), 40–41.

48 *Methodological guide for writing theses and dissertations. Methods for the preparation of thesis and dissertation papers*, Szent István University Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences.

transnational programs (which cover macroregions covering part or all of several EU Member States), cross-border programs (usually covering the border regions of two countries), and interregional programs (which cover cooperation across the EU as a whole). The development areas of these three types of programs are inherently ethnically diverse and serve to build networks within the region. We therefore tried to collect and analyze as many of these programs as possible from across the EU.

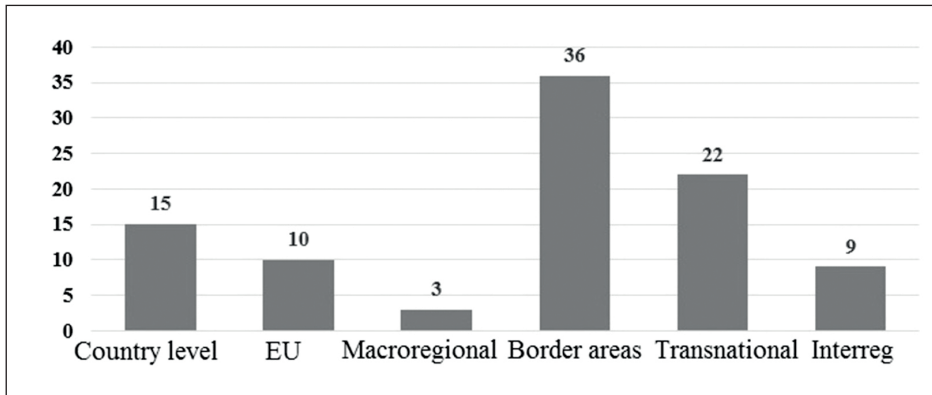
In addition to the EU planning documents, which also deal with situation assessment and proposals, we also examined EU policy documents that focus mainly on situation assessment (e.g., cohesion reports, a Barca report on cohesion policy). These documents are less focused on policy making and therefore have the potential to address certain issues with more flexibility (and do make policy proposals).

Table 1: The investigated documents, based on territorial levels

Document type by territorial level	Description
EU-level planning documents	EU-wide planning documents.
Macroregional	Regions with common cohesion characteristics or linked by specific political, economic, and cultural relations, usually in different countries. (Only a policy-making document, it does not have its own budget.)
Country level	Complex or sector-focused national (Member State) strategies, either in response to EU directives (sustainability strategies) or to use EU Member State resources.
Border areas	Areas relatively close to each other, on both sides of their respective states' borders. (The border programs analyzed here have their own budgets.)
Transnational	Larger cross-border areas with specific strategic objectives, such as coastal economic development or the protection of natural and cultural heritage or metropolitan and agglomeration areas, on a larger scale than the cross-border one. (The transnational programs analyzed here have their own budgets.)
Interregional	Thematic cooperation between different states or regions within a country, even in mosaic form, geographically distant from each other and without territorial links. (The interregional programs analyzed here have their own budgets.)

Source: own edition

Diagram 1: The number of documents, based on their territorial levels



Source: own edition

An important aspect of the study was to collect all the documents available in English, which can be assumed to be consistent in the use of terminology, but some Romanian-, Hungarian-, and German-language strategies were also included.

As a consequence, the keyword search part of the document analysis of this study examined the emergence of these specific contents along the following questions:

The general presence of minority issues in the document. Specific questions in this regard:

- Are minority groups represented in the situation analysis?
- Are minority aspects included in the proposal part?
- Is a specific minority group mentioned in the situation paper?
- Is there a specific intention to target a minority group mentioned in the proposal part?

Minorities as economic resources. Specific issues related to:

- Do minorities appear as a resource for economic development in the situation analysis? (linked to any ethnic minority role)
- Is there an economic development objective linked to minorities in the proposal part? (linked to any ethnic minority role)

The role of the borders. Specific questions to be asked:

- Are the advantages/disadvantages of the situation of native ethnic minorities living along the border mentioned in the situation analysis?
- Are intentions related to the advantages/disadvantages of the location of native ethnic minorities living along the border mentioned in the proposal part?

Language skills of ethnic minority communities. Specific issues related to:

- Are the language skills of minority groups reflected in the situation analysis?
- Is the intention to include minority language skills in the proposal part?

As can be seen from the structure of the questions above, in each case we separately examined the standard situation analysis and proposal sections of the planning documents. We examined whether the situation analysis in the relevant documents considered native ethnic minority communities as a factor in the initial spatial, social, and economic situations. We also explored whether the proposals in the plan documents (i.e., the intentions for the future set out in the plan documents) were directed at native ethnic minority communities.

This study examined the content of the documents according to keywords, searching for these contents. However, we also tried to identify situations where the content of the documents could be extracted from the context rather than from the keywords. We also tried to distinguish content that is directed at native minority communities from content that can only be interpreted as an indirect presence. The latter may also be important ideas from the perspective of native ethnic minorities but are not fundamentally directed only at these social groups, or the aspect under consideration may be merely incidental, an allusion (not a main mission of a particular planning message [e.g., an intervention]). In the case of targeted content, on the other hand, the concepts sought were actually present in the situation analysis as targeting minorities or were mentioned as a named proposal element (as an objective, an area of intervention, a specific named proposal, or a tool).

Results of the analysis of the planning documents

References to ethnic minorities in the documents

Table 2: Number of cases when mentioning ethnic minorities in the documents (piece).

	The appearance of minority perspectives in general (Situation analysis)	The appearance of minority perspectives in general (Proposal part)	Mention of a specific minority (Situation analysis)	Mention of a specific minority (Proposal part)
Direct presence	21	28	19	11
Indirect presence	52	8	9	11
Missing	22	59	67	73
Overall	95	95	95	95

Source: own edition

In more than one-fifth of the situation analyses of the documents examined, ethnic minority communities were mentioned in the program area without naming a specific community (Table 2). (For some planning documents, this program area is the territory of one or more Member States or the whole EU, see Annex 2.) In one-fifth of the situation analyses of the documents examined, a specific ethnic minority community was also named. In a further two-thirds of the documents examined, non-targeted findings that can only indirectly be applied to minority communities were identified.

Proposals targeting ethnic minorities in general (without naming specific communities) in the program areas were identified in several of the situation analyses. Proposals targeting specific communities, however, were found in fewer cases, in roughly only one in ten documents. The proposals cover cultural, labor market, and educational issues.

Content specifically targeted for ethnic minority communities

Most of the mentions of ethnic minorities in the plan documents under review refer to the cultural and ethnic diversity of the relevant program area, country, or region in general,

with a lower frequency of specific ethnic communities (this proportion is different only in the case of targeted mentions in the situation analysis of the documents under review; see Table 2). Among the documents that mention a specific ethnic community, documents mentioning Hungarians and Roma (six each) were the most numerous (Table 3). The number of documents mentioning Romanians, Slovaks, and Croats was smaller (two each). All other ethnic groups were mentioned in only one document.

Hungarians were mentioned in the documents of the neighboring countries and Roma in the documents of the Central European countries and in the EU's 6th Cohesion Report. In the case of Roma, the planning documents almost always identified development needs rather than resources: the need for social inclusion and the need to address the risks of poverty, school dropout rates, and below average employment rates.

*Table 3: Mention of ethnic minorities in the documents examined
(number of occurrences – many nationalities may be mentioned in one document).*

Ethnicity	Number of mentions
Hungarian	6
Roma	6
Croatian	2
Romanian	2
Slovakian	2
Czech	1
German	1
Italian	1
Saxon	1
Serbian	1
Slovenian	1
Sorb	1
Turkish	1
Immigrants	11

Source: own edition

The references to the Hungarians were of a declaratory nature, stating the fact of the minority's presence and not making any proposals. This is the case in the cross-border programs between Hungary and Slovakia, Croatia, and Slovenia, but the presence of the Hungarian minority was also mentioned in the cross-border programs between Serbia and Romania. Information beyond the mention of the presence of the minority could be identified in only two cases: the phenomenon of cross-border commuting was mentioned in the Serbia-Hungary cross-border program in the context of the Hungarian presence, and the number of minority Hungarians (and Romanians) was mentioned in the Hungary-Romania program.

For the other ethnic groups, only the presence of these communities was discussed in the findings of the situation analysis of the relevant plan document, in the context of a general description of the ethnic distribution and diversity of the country or region.

The role of minorities in cross-border development

Exploring the role that ethnic minorities can play in cross-border cooperation was almost absent from the documents. The few appearances were examined individually. The Action Plan for the EU Strategy for the Danube Region, prepared by the European Commission in 2010, calls for cross-border socio-economic relations, as minorities living along the border have repeatedly proposed to improve cross-border cooperation; the population living along the border, investors, and municipalities feel the need for better information and information flow and for a better development of services. However, no specific minority communities were mentioned in this document. Romania's Partnership Agreement (2014–2020) discusses the situation of the border population and addresses the improvement of infrastructure in these areas, as well as the development of waste and water management and tourism development; it proposes finding common solutions to common problems. The document mentions the presence of ethnic minorities but does not identify specific minorities.

Linking ethnic minorities and cross-border cooperation was almost absent even in cross-border programs. Out of the 33 cross-border operational programs examined, only two mentioned it. In the Romania-Bulgaria Cooperation Programme (2014–2020), this theme was indirectly addressed: the aim is to increase employment of disadvantaged groups (including ethnic minorities) by benefiting from cross-border job opportunities. In the situation analysis section of the cross-border program Germany-Austria-Switzerland-Liechtenstein

(2014–2023), it was implicitly mentioned that cross-border cooperation, regional, and territorial development contribute to the elimination of discrimination and equal opportunities in ethnic terms. It was clear from the working part of the proposal that non-native minorities were not included: cross-border mobility, job creation, and educational development were called for, which would contribute to the integration of people with a migrant background, among others.

Native ethnic minorities as factors in economic development and development policy

Table 4: Number of cases when the documents mention ethnic minorities in a context of economic development.

	Ethnic Minorities as Resources for Economic Development (Situation analysis)	Economic development objective related to ethnic minorities (Proposal part)
Targeted	6	8
Indirect presence	5	6
Missing	84	81
Overall	95	95

Source: own edition

The interpretation of ethnic minorities from an explicit economic development or general development policy perspective hardly appeared in the documents, whether in the situation analysis or the proposal sections (Table 4). The few references were also rather general and not linked to specific native ethnic minority communities. Only the Roma minority was mentioned, along with the economic development needs of this community; the approaches used did not essentially view this community as a development resource. The economic development role of immigrants was more frequently discussed in relation to native ethnic minority communities, as discussed earlier, but these mentions were not approached from the perspective of the immigrant community's resources but rather only from the perspective of its needs. The specific proposal occurrences are discussed below.

It is also worth to mention that some documents that were not related to development policy, and were thus not subject to the document analysis, had topics relevant to the issues of native ethnic minorities and development policy. The development policy intentions

of the European civil rights initiatives on the protection of native ethnic minorities in Europe (e.g., Minority Safe Pack and National Regions) see these communities as values, but most of their proposals are aimed at addressing the problems of the communities and compensating for their disadvantages compared to the majority (it should be noted that these initiatives have not yet achieved their objectives and have not been followed up by the EU institutions).

There were also traces of the notion of ethnic minorities as a real resource in some planning documents. An interesting idea of the Territorial Agenda 2020 (TA2020) is closely related to the specificities of ethnic minority communities in the Carpathian Region: it interprets local and regional identity as a value to be preserved and a resource for territorial development. These ideas also appear in the updated version of TA2020, the Territorial Agenda 2030 (TA2030), which also calls for bridges to be built between people with different incomes, educational backgrounds, cultures, religions, and traditions. It links diversity to the economic prosperity of each region and the innovation, competitiveness, and creativity of businesses. It argues that development depends on specific local assets, resources, and traditions and in this context on the cultural, social, and human capital of the regions.

The Regional Development Strategy of Slovakia also addresses the integration of Roma in the labor market. It makes targeted proposals for job creation in key economic sectors such as food and chemicals, construction, forestry, and services. Romania's EU Partnership Agreement (2014–2020) proposes the use of the so-called LEADER programs (see EU Rural Development Programmes) for local development among minority groups. This document also calls for the promotion and economic exploitation of the traditional craft skills of the Roma population. The Regional Development Strategy of Slovakia highlights the importance of tourism based on ethnic diversity and traditions, although without specific development proposals and without mentioning specific communities.

Romania's Sustainable Development Strategy (2013–2020–2030) mentions that Romania has one of the largest Roma populations in the EU and that there is a need to integrate this group into the labor market. Romania's National Reform Programme (2015) calls for an increase in the employment rate of Roma. The same ambition can be found in another Romanian planning document (Strategy for Social Inclusion, Inclusion, and Poverty Reduction 2015–2020).

The situation analysis of the Interreg Central Europe (2014–2020) programme identifies the need to integrate minority groups into the labor market for a more efficient economy. The program calls for the entrepreneurial sector to be encouraged in this area. It is interesting to

note that the first attempt to launch one of the European civil rights initiatives mentioned above in the case of the problems (i.e., the National Regions [or its predecessor]) was rejected by the EU institutions on the argument that the development policy disadvantages of the areas inhabited by native ethnic minorities could not be demonstrated, in contrast to the resources of these areas (e.g., in the field of tourism).

The presence of immigrants in planning documents

When specific ethnic communities were named in the planning documents, by far the highest number (11) was for immigrants or migrants (Table 3). Although specific ethnic communities were no longer mentioned within the immigrant group, it is worth identifying these occurrences individually.

The Austrian Concept for Spatial Development states that by 2030, 20% of Austria's population will have an immigrant background (this is presented as a factual statement). The Slovak Regional Development Strategy 2030 points out that if the number of migrants were to potentially increase in the domestic labor market, society and regional policy would be unprepared.

The Italy-Austria (2014–2020) cross-border program aims to introduce pilot projects and measures in the proposal section of the document that could contribute to the inclusion of migrants living in border areas (primarily the removal of linguistic and bureaucratic barriers).

The so-called Barca Report on the future of cohesion policy (2009), also published by the EU Commission, in its exploratory section, points out that cohesion policy provides scope for developing projects in the fields of education, health, and transport and in this context for addressing specific needs and demands, such as those of immigrants and minority groups.

In the Interreg Europe 2014–2020 document, immigrants are listed as one of the marginalized groups at a disadvantage. The program sets out priorities important for the social integration of these groups: supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, entrepreneurship, labor market activity, and ensuring non-discrimination. In the next period (2021–2027), the Interreg Europe program document will include in its exploratory working section not only migrants but also refugees, whose integration into the labor market could have a positive economic impact. It also mentions that urban and rural environments require different policies for the socio-economic integration of immigrants.

In the situation analysis section of the URBACT III 2014-2020 document, the issue of social exclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities was also mentioned. The program calls on European city leaders to address this issue, otherwise ghettos and deprived areas will be created within their municipalities. Moreover, URBACT IV 2021–2027 also mentions migrants in its situation analysis in the context of the 2014–2015 immigration crisis, which, among other crises, has focused on cities, creating new challenges for them.

The VI Cohesion Report (2014–2020) published by the European Commission shows how much EU funding has been allocated to fighting poverty among the most vulnerable groups, which includes immigrants and ethnic minorities. (Two other Cohesion Reports [2018, 2022] also mention immigrants, but we will return to this content later, in the context of language use.)

Conclusions

Mentions of native ethnic minority communities are not very common in European development policies. These documents rarely mention these communities, and when they do, it tends to be in a very general manner (e.g., about their existence and presence within a country's population). On the other hand, positive attitudes and roles can be observed in some of the situation analyses of the documents. In general, these appearances in the analyzing parts do not lead to a strategy with interventions and a financial background. The very few appearances of the ethnic minority communities in development strategies identify almost exclusively development needs of these communities, especially in the case of the non-native modern-era immigrants but also in the case of the Roma community (as well as in some cases of other native ethnic communities). The lack of language skills, trends of poverty, as well as segregation and their integration to the labor market are mentioned primarily as problems. As such, only the typical social needs of the modern-era European immigrant communities (or the American ethnic minorities) are emphasized. In addition to the two groups mentioned above (i.e., immigrants and Roma), the majority of the appearances refer to only one community, that of the ethnic Hungarians, which may be explained by their significant number and their geographical location (Hungary has a total of seven neighboring states with ethnic Hungarian communities in all of them).

This lack of specific attention to native ethnic minority communities indicates a broader lack of recognition of the unique development resources these communities possess. It

suggests that their potential contributions to their host countries, the majority society, or even the entire EU are not widely acknowledged and are hugely underrated. There is no common interest or direct vision, horizontal plan, or official planning document/directive about native ethnic minorities within the EU's official development policy.

However, identifying and unfolding the unique resources of these minorities could indeed help in the current highly sensitive European geopolitical setup and the issues of securitization. Realizing common benefits could contribute to preserving the identities of these communities and keeping Europe diverse, as well as strengthening the relevant states' economies. In the current European political climate, which is becoming increasingly resistant to issues related to native ethnic minority communities, it is crucial for both these communities and the majority society to recognize the resources that these communities offer. The prevailing narratives often cast native ethnic minority communities as problems related to ethnic tensions or conflict rather than recognizing their potential as valuable contributors to society and economy. This extensive research revealed positive approaches in only a few exceptional cases and even in the case of plans for ethnic minority-rich areas (e.g., in border regions or in the Carpathian Region).

Hungary's development policies regarding its native ethnic minority communities and the populous ethnic Hungarian groups could serve as a good practice at the European level of the correct interpretation of the potential benefits of these communities for both the majority and minority populations. (However, to implement these ideas consistently and strategically, further efforts are needed even in Hungary.)

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Annexes

Annex 1: The investigated Hungarian documents and documents targeted the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries.

Name of the document	Period	Accepted by	Acceptance year
National Territorial Development Concept Országos Területfejlesztési Konceptió	2005–2020	Hungarian Parliament	2005
National Development and Territorial Development Concept Országos Fejlesztési és Területfejlesztési Konceptió	2014–2030	Hungarian Parliament	2014
Gábor Baross Plan (Regional Economic Development Plan of South-Slovakia) Baross Gábor Terv (Dél-Szlovákia/Felvidék regionális gazdasági fejlesztési terve)	2014–2029	Hungarian Economist Association of Slovakia	2014
The territorial and economic development strategy of the Hungarian communities in Vojvodina A vajdasági magyar közösségek terület- és gazdaságfejlesztési stratégiája	2015–2019	Prosperitati Foundation	2015
Ede Egán Plan (Strategic Plan for the Economic Development of the Subcarpathian Hungarians) Egán Ede Terv (A kárpátaljai magyarság gazdaságfejlesztési stratégiai terve)	2014–2020	Hungarian Cultural Association of Subcarpathia	2014
Imre Mikó Plan (Transylvanian Economic Cooperation Programme) Mikó Imre Terv (Az erdélyi gazdasági együttműködés programja)	2013–2020	Hungarian National Council of Transylvania	2013
Hungarian National Policy (strategic framework) Magyar Nemzetpolitika (A nemzetpolitikai stratégia kerete)	2011–2020	Ministry of Public Administration and Justice, State Secretariat for National Policy	2011
Carpathian Development Concept 2030 Kárpát-haza Fejlesztési Konceptió 2030	2015–2030	Research Institute for National Strategy	2014
Wekerle Plan Wekerle Terv	2011–2020	Hungarian Parliament; Ministry of National Economy	2011

Source: own edition

Annex 2: The investigated EU and Member State documents.

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
Romania's Education and Training Strategy 2016–2020	Macroregional	2015	2016–2020	Romanian government
National Reform Programme 2015 (Romania)	Macroregional	2015	2015–2020	Romanian government
Strategy for Social Integration, Inclusion and Poverty Reduction 2015–2020 (Romania)	Macroregional	2015	2015–2020	Romanian government
Romania's Sustainable Development Strategy in the 2013–2020–2030 Horizons	Macroregional	2008	2013–2020–2030	Romanian Government: Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development
National Youth Policy Strategy 2015–2020 (Romania)	Macroregional	N/A	2015–2020	Romanian government
Lifelong Learning Strategy 2015–2020 (Romania)	Macroregional	N/A	2015–2020	Romanian government
Tertiary Education Strategy 2015–2020 (Romania)	Macroregional	N/A	2015–2020	Romanian government
Romania's Human Resources Development Strategy 2009–2020	Macroregional	N/A	2009–2020	Romanian government
Romania's Partnership Agreement 2014–2020	Macroregional	N/A	2014–2020	Romanian government and European Commission
VI. Cohesion Report	EU	2014	2014–2020	European Commission
VII. Cohesion Report	EU	2018	2018–2022	European Commission
VIII. Cohesion Report	EU	2022		European Commission

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)	EU	1999		Informal Meeting of EU Ministers responsible for Spatial Development
Barca Report (2009)	EU	2009		Danuta Hübner, Commissioner for Regional Policy
Europa 2020	EU	2010	2010–2020	EU
Territorial Agenda 2007	EU	2007	2007–2020	Informal Meeting of EU Ministers responsible for Spatial Development
Territorial Agenda 2020	EU	2011	2011–2020	Informal Meeting of EU Ministers responsible for Spatial Development
Territorial Agenda 2030	EU	2020	2020–2030	Informal Meeting of EU Ministers responsible for Spatial Development
Lisbon Strategy	EU	2000	2001–2010	EU
European Union Strategy for the Danube Region (Action Plan)	Macroregional	2010		EU
European Union Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (Action Plan)	Macroregional	2014		EU
European Union Strategy for the Alpine Region (Action Plan)	Macroregional	2015		EU

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
Austria–Czech Republic (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2015	2014–2020	EU
Austria–Hungary (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2015	2014–2020	EU
Slovakia–Austria (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2015	2014–2020	EU
Slovenia–Austria (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2015	2014–2020	EU
Bulgaria–Macedonia (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Bulgaria–Serbia (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Bulgaria–Turkey (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Romania–Bulgaria (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Croatia–Bosnia and Herzegovina–Montenegro (INTERREG IPA 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Croatia–Serbia (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Hungary–Croatia (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Italy–Croatia (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Slovenia–Croatia (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Poland–Denmark–Germany–Lithuania–Sweden (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Estonia–Latvia (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Greece–Albania (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Greece–Macedonia (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
Hungary–Serbia (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Romania–Hungary (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Slovakia–Hungary (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Slovenia–Hungary (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2015	2014–2020	EU
United Kingdom – Ireland (Ireland – Northern Ireland –Scotland) (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Italy–Albania–Montenegro (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Italy–Malta (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Romania–Serbia (INTERREG IPA)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Joint Operational Programme Romania–Republic of Moldova 2014–2020	Border areas	2015	2014–2020	EU
Joint Operational Programme Romania–Ukraine–Moldova 2007–2013	Border areas	It is not revealed	2007–2014	EU
ADRIATIC–IONIAN INTERREG V-B 2014–2020	Transnational	2015	2014–2020	EU
Alpine Space Programme Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
ATLANTIC AREA PROGRAMME 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2015	2014–2020	EU

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
Balkan-Mediterranean Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Interreg Baltic Sea Region V-B 2014–2020	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Interreg CENTRAL EUROPE 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Danube Transnational Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Indian Ocean Cooperation Programme V-B 2014–2020	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Mediterranean (MED) Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
North Sea Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
North-West Europe Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Northern Periphery and Arctic Programme 2014–2020 V-B	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU
Southwest Europe Programme Interreg V-B 2014–2020	Transnational	2014	2014–2020	EU

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
Alpine Space Operational Programme (Austria, France, Liechtenstein, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland) 2007–2014	Transnational	2007	2007–2014	EU
Atlantic Area Transnational Cooperation 2007–2013	Transnational	2007	2007–2013	EU
Operational Programme 2007–2013: Caribbean	Transnational	2008	2007–2013	EU
Central Europe Operational Programme 2007–2013	Transnational	2012	2007–2013	EU
Mediterranean Operational Programme 2007–2013	Transnational	2011	2007–2013	EU
North Sea Region Operational Programme	Transnational	2008	2007–2013	EU
North West Europe Operational Programme (2007–2013)	Transnational	2007	2007–2013	EU
Northern Periphery Programme (2007–2014)	Transnational	2008	2007–2013	EU
South East Europe Transnational Co-operation Programme 2007–2013	Transnational	2007	2007–2013	EU
ESPN 2007–2013	Interregional	2007	2007–2013	EU
INTERACT 2007–2013	Interregional	2007	2007–2013	EU
URBACT (The Urban Development Network Programme URBACT II) 2007–2013	Interregional	2007	2007–2014	EU

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
ESPON 2014–2020	Interregional	2014	2014–2020	EU
INTERACT 2014–2020	Interregional	2014	2014–2020	EU
Interreg Europe 2014–2020 Cooperation Programme document	Interregional	2015	2014–2020	EU
Interreg Europe 2021–2027 Cooperation Programme document	Interregional	2020	2021–2027	EU
URBACT III 2014–2020	Interregional	2014	2014–2020	EU
URBACT IV 2021–2027	Interregional	2020	2021–2027	EU
Slovak Spatial Development Perspective (2012)	Country level	2011		Slovakian government
National Regional Development Strategy of the Slovak Republic	Country level	2013	2014–2020	Slovakian government
Sustainable Development Strategy for Ukraine by 2030	Country level	2020	2020–2030	Ukrainian government
Romania's Sustainable Development Strategy 2030	Country level	2018	2018–2030	Romanian government
National Sustainable Strategy Serbia (2007)	Country level	2004	2008–2017	Serbian government
Strategy of Spatial Development of Republic of Croatia 2017	Country level	2017	2017–2030	Croatian government
National Development Strategy 2030 (Croatia)	Country level	2021	2021–2030	Croatian government
Slovenian Development Strategy 2030	Country level	2017	2017–2030	Slovenian government
Austrian Spatial Development Concept	Country level	2011	2011–2030	Austrian government
Italy–Austria (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU

Name of the document	Territorial level	Acceptance year	Period	Accepted by
Belgium–Germany–The Netherlands (Euregio Meuse-Rhin) (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Germany/Saxony–Czech Republic (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Poland–Germany/Saxony (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Germany/Mecklenburg-Vorpommern–Brandenburg–Poland (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU
Germany–Netherlands (Deutschland–Nederland) (V-A: 2014–2020)	Border areas	2014	2014–2020	EU

Source: own edition