RURAL AREAS

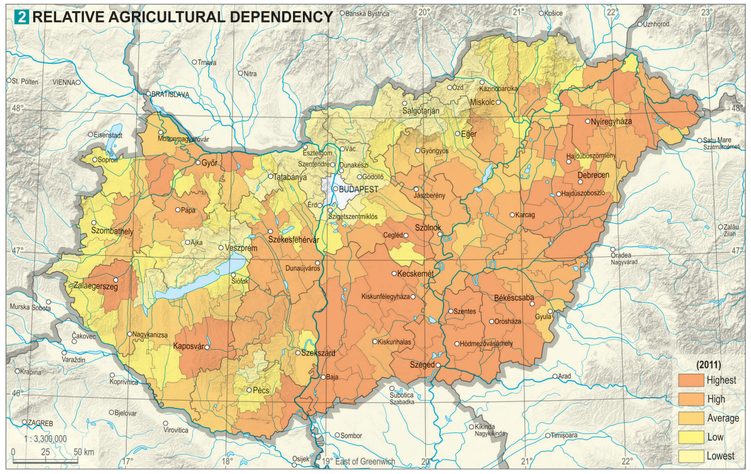
Pál Beluszky, Péter Bajmócy, Jenő Zsolt Farkas, †Bálint Csatári

Settlements without urban functions are called villages. In terms of public administration there are 2,809 villages in Hungary (2020); functionally, however, their number is around 3,000. At the beginning of the 20th century there were about 3,400 villages on the present-day (and over 12,000 on the contemporary) territory of Hungary. In the first half of the 20th century, the number of rural municipalities slowly decreased, as smaller villages were merged. After 1945 – when some villages were attached to towns – this process intensified. Around 1950, however, several new tanya villages were created, and after 1990 about 100 settlements became independent municipalities. The loss of administrative autonomy did not usually mean the actual depopulation of the settlement. Only six villages have been depopulated in Hungary since 1900 (Gyűrűfű, Révfalu, Kán, Simaháza, Iharkút and Derenk).

Rural settlements and agriculture

Until the late 1940s, experts and the public considered villages to be rural settlements engaged in agriculture. Based on the 1930 census data, Ferenc Erdei identified about fifty 'non-agrarian' villages in Hungary. The census in 1949 found that about half of the population of Hungary lived from agriculture, with this ratio exceeding two-thirds (68%) in the villages. Still, in Bács-Kiskun County the proportion of the agricultural population was as high as 80%, and only in the counties of Komárom (43%) and Pest (46%) was the share of population living from agriculture lower. In the years after World War II, some towns or industrial and mining villages emerged like islands in the sea of the agricultural settlements. In the 1950s, a rapid occupational restructuring began in Hungary, reflecting both the labour needs of forced industrialisation and – especially after 1960 – the changes in the agricultural sector (mechanisation and the forced establishment of agricultural cooperatives). The proportion of agricultural earners decreased to 24.4% in 1970, and to 4.6% in 2011. Many rural problems – emigration, an ageing population, labour market issues, disadvantages in some parts of the country – ultimately stem from the rapid decrease in the size of the agrarian population. Today, villages inhabited mainly by people working in agriculture are rare and typically found in marginalised areas. Many such settlements are (depopulating) tiny villages from which much of the former population has moved away, leaving behind mostly elderly families living from agriculture. Further, agricultural workers are still preponderant in certain settlements with a significant number of inhabitants living in tanyas. The map showing the proportion of the *agricultural population* in 2011 1 reveals 1,370 settlements where the agricultural population share is greater than 10%. Even so, the number of settlements with an agricultural population of more than 30% (i.e. where this factor clearly impacts on the function of the settlements) is only 105. Settlements in the southern counties of Hungary have a relatively large agricultural population. For instance, in Somogy, Tolna and Baranya counties, many villages have largely preserved their agricultural character due to the small village settlement structure. Similarly, in the Danube–Tisza Midland and in certain areas of the Tiszántúl region, the tanya system has preserved the agricultural way of life. In other parts of the country, the agrarian sector with notable ratio is limited to the internal peripheral regions. Nevertheless, 'rural' settlements in Hungary look undoubtedly more 'village-like' than the occupational structure shows. This is because full-time agricultural workers are not the only ones practising agriculture; many other people are to some extent also engaged in agriculture (e.g. vegetable, wine growing and livestock farming). All this reflects the lifestyle of rural inhabitants, which is usually more 'rustic' than that of town dwellers.

A common feature of traditional agricultural societies is the primacy of agriculture in the economy in terms of both employment and income generation. Historically, there have evidently been regional differences in the degree of dependence on agriculture, and the level of agricultural dependency has also varied among countries. The Industrial Revolution and modern technological developments altered the agricultural dependence of economies. Not only did the dominance of agriculture in employment cease, but also the volume of agricultural production began to account for ever smaller proportions of the income generated in each country and region. Therefore, agricultural dependence in absolute terms can now be seen in no more than a few settlements in Hungary. At the same time, *'relative agricultural dependency'* means that even though the primacy of agriculture in the economy has ceased, the regional economy is still determined by it to varying degrees. This relative dependency is represented on the map 2 by a composite indicator composed of four variables (proportion of agricultural areas based on Corine CLC2012, livestock density, density of agricultural population, proportion of agricultural employees). The highest relative dependence on agriculture is still characteristic for districts in the Southern Alföld, but the role of agriculture is also high in the rest of the Alföld, and even in some Transdanubian districts. In contrast, relative agricultural dependency is low in the Transdanubian, North Hungarian Ranges and in the agglomeration of Budapest.



Types of villages

Service provision in villages

Villages can be grouped according to several aspects. In terms of population, tiny, small, medium and large villages can be distinguished, and they are described in detail in Chapter *VIII. Settlement system*. The provision of services in settlements is closely associated with their population size. In the case of villages, the existence of basic functions can be measured, as villages generally do not have secondary functions. The basic functions include administrative (seat of municipality), educational (kindergarten, primary school), health (nursery, general practitioner, pharmacy), social (nursing home for the elderly), commercial (shop, restaurant, tobacco shop), financial (post office, bank, cash machine) and cultural (library, community centre) facilities. The presence of such functions depends primarily on the size of a settlement. Almost all of them are available in larger villages, whereas in the smallest villages they are mostly absent. In this respect, villages in the Budapest agglomeration and in the Alföld are in the most favourable position due to their size 3. Villages in Komárom-Esztergom County, in the vicinity of Győr and Mosonmagyaróvár, and on the shores of Lake Balaton also have above-average service provision. The Balaton settlements are in a unique position, as tourism can have a significant impact on services and facilities. Tourist settlements generally have more basic functions compared to their size. In contrast, there are hardly any basic functions in the settlements of areas characterised by tiny villages (certain parts of western and southern Transdanubia, or in the northeastern counties). The most frequently used services in villages in Hungary include the shop, pub, tobacco shop, library, community centre and kindergarten (in 80-98% of the villages), followed by a primary school, a municipality office, a general practitioner and a pharmacy – present in about half of the villages.

Dynamics of villages

Villages can also be classified according to their dynamics. However, dynamics is a complex phenomenon comprising both *demographic factors* (population change, migration balance, age structure) and *economic factors* (dynamism of housing construction, employment). Together, these factors determine how dynamic a village can be. Mathematical methods are required to aggregate these factors.

Many of the regional differences in dynamic types are explained by differences in the size of the settlements. Generally, the level of dynamism increases with the size of settlement. In settlements with more than 2,000 inhabitants, the dynamism indicators are relatively favourable, but they decline in settlements with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants. Among the tiny villages, no more than 15% of settlements can be considered dynamic, and 70% of such settlements exhibit below-average dynamism.

The two categories of settlements that are *more dynamic than average* include 90% of settlements in Pest County, 85% in Fejér and in Komárom-Esztergom, 70% in Győr-Moson-Sopron and 55% in Vas 4. Meanwhile, 80% of settlements in Békés County and 50-55% of settlements in Southern Transdanubia and Alföld (excludintg the environment of the regional centres) are in the two less dynamic categories. These two categories are practically missing in the developed counties of Pest, Fejér and Komárom-Esztergom.

Overall, most of Pest County, the northern half of Fejér, the eastern third of Veszprém, the whole area of Komárom-Esztergom and the whole of Győr-Moson-Sopron, with the exception of the southern border areas, can be considered as a contiguous dynamic area. This includes about half of Vas County. In addition, the agglomerations of some major towns (Zalaegerszeg, Kaposvár, Pécs, Kecskemét, Szeged, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza and Eger) and the Balaton area are dynamic. Underdeveloped, less dynamic settlements also show significant regional concentrations in such areas as the country's northern periphery from Balassagyarmat to Bodrogköz and the border regions of Szatmár, Bihar, South Békés, Csanád, Bácska and Southern Transdanubia. Inner peripheral regions include the entire area of the Central Tisza Region, large parts of Békés County, the area around Csongrád–Szentes, the border regions of Baranya–Somogy–Tolna, the area between Nagykanizsa and Zalaegerszeg from Lenti to the Kis-Balaton in Zala County, as well as the southern and eastern parts of Vas County. It is rare for particularly dynamic settlements and the least dynamic ones to be in the immediate vicinity of each other. In this respect, the southern shore of Lake Balaton can be regarded as exceptional, where some of the least dynamic villages are only a few kilometres away from the highly dynamic settlements near the shore.

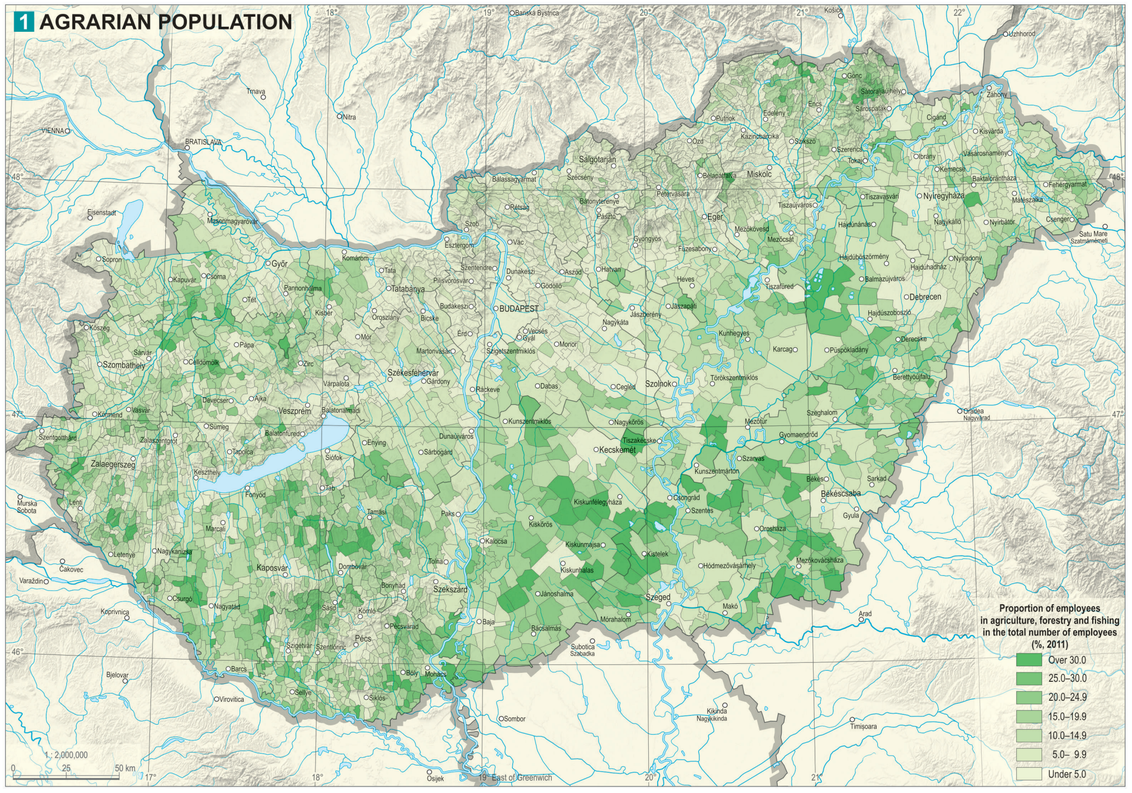
Average or near average dynamics can be achieved when a settlement has outstandingly good values in terms of some dynamic factors and extremely poor values in others. The largest group of settlements where the various factors vary greatly are those where the age structure indicator is favourable, but employment is unfavourable. These settlements lie mostly in peripheral areas of Hungary and are most often characterised by a very high share of Roma population. They are particularly numerous in the southern part of Baranya and in the northern areas of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (Bódva Valley and Cserehát), but also in the eastern part of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg (Szatmár Plain and southern Nyírség) and in Somogy County VI. 3. 9.. In dozens of settlements, the migration balance is favourable, but there are a high proportion of elderly people due to the local major nursing homes 17 VI. 1. 12..

A third group includes settlements where the dynamism of housing and holiday home construction is outstanding but the change in population and age structure is unfavourable. Most of the settlements in this group are small villages that have been transformed into holiday villages (e.g. Szigliget, Balatonszepezd, Mátraszentimre, Nagyhuta). Other extreme settlements belong to many lesser types. Some of them are tiny villages affected by deurbanisation with significant migration gains but an old age structure (e.g. Gagyapáti, Sima, Tornakápolna, Teresztenye and Mogyoróska). Some small settlements have an outstanding employment situation (e.g. Ete, Lócs and Mosonudvar), but there are also extreme cases, such as the settlements that were destroyed by the floods in Bereg in 2001 and then rebuilt (Tákos, Jánd and Hetefejércse). These settlements are emerging with dynamic housing construction and high out-migration rates.

Functions of villages

The functional types of villages today are more complex than ever. In the simplest form, a traditional village had residential and economic functions, the latter being local agriculture. Certain basic services have been added to the above since the second half of the 19th century. At that time, most of the houses functioned as dwellings, the inhabitants worked locally in agriculture, and a smaller or larger number of basic services were available in the village. Today, these basic elements are different 5.

Most of the basic services are still available in most villages, but in around 1,100 villages and in most tiny villages, the services are incomplete or absent. In terms of residential function, most of the houses in most



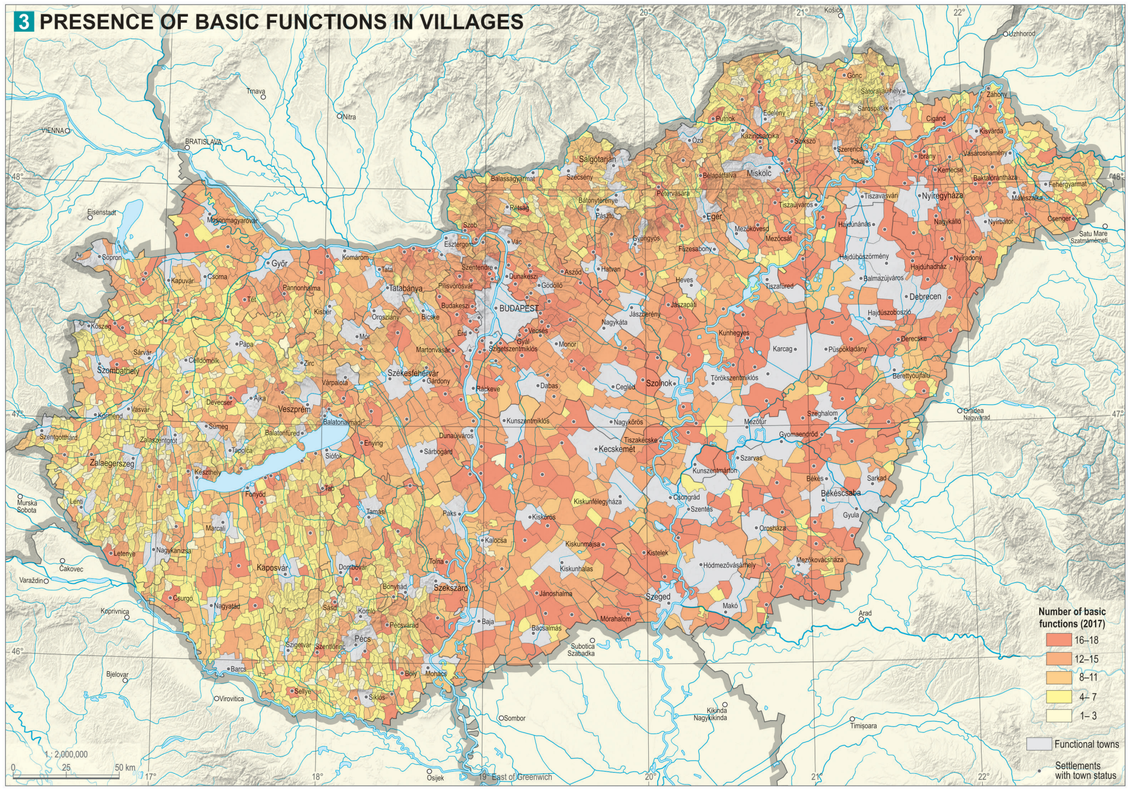
© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

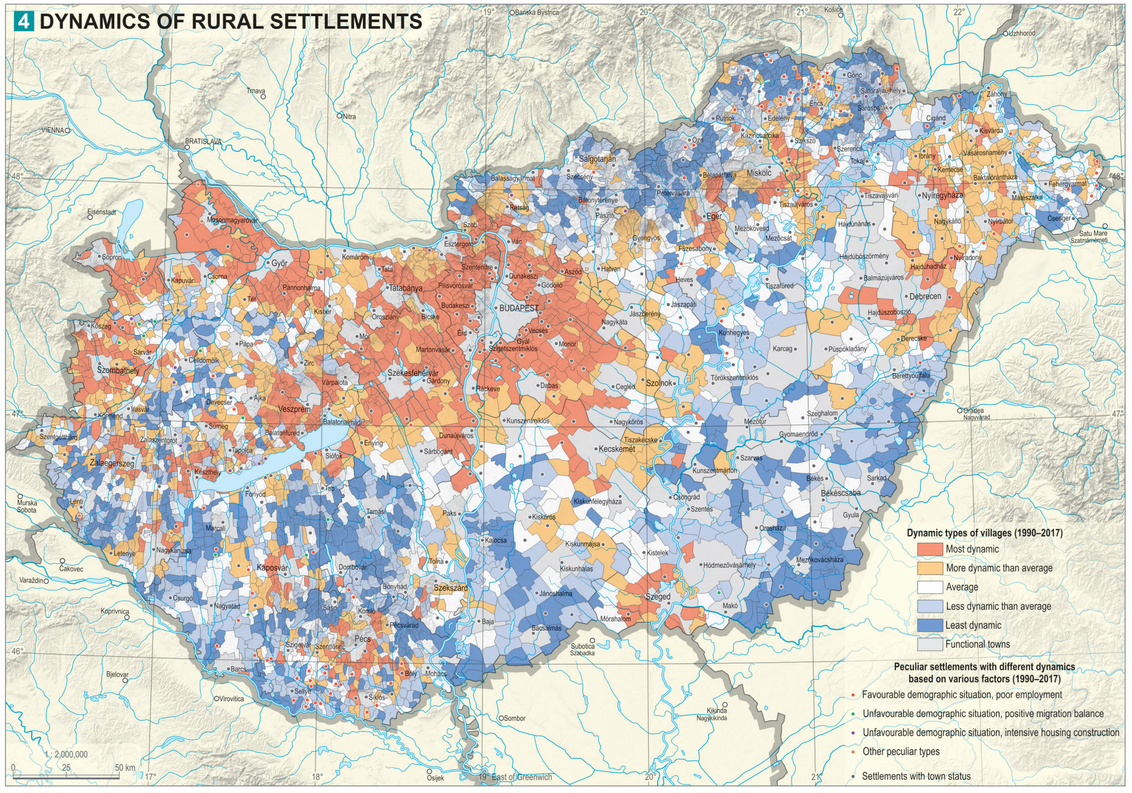
XI.

© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

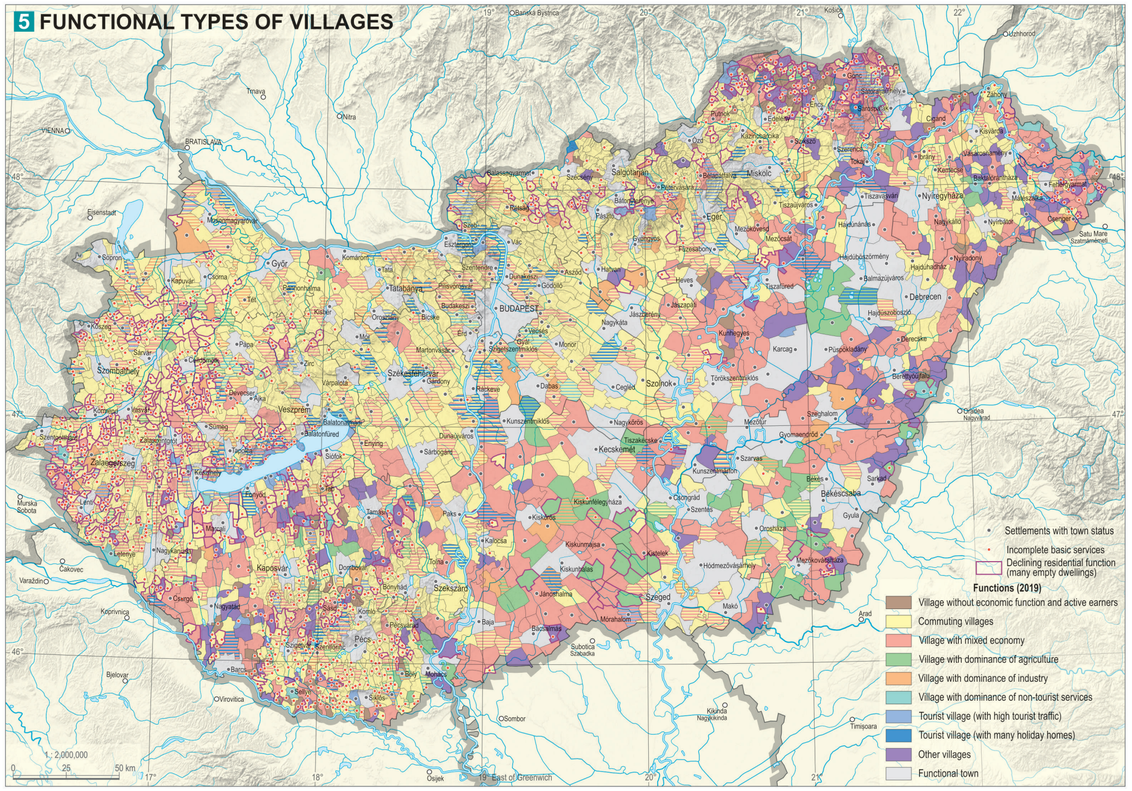
3 PRESENCE OF BASIC FUNCTIONS IN VILLAGES



4 DYNAMICS OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS



5 FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF VILLAGES



villages are still dwellings. However, many of the houses in some villages serve a holiday function. There are about 180 such villages in Hungary, and in most cases holiday homes were built for this purpose. Most such villages lie in tourist areas (Lake Balaton, Lake Velence, the spa resorts, the Danube Bend, Dunapataj, Kunfehértó, Lakitelek, Orfű and Várgesztes). In other cases, buildings that were originally designed as dwellings in depopulated villages (numerous tiny villages in the Balaton Uplands) have changed their function. The residential function appears to be partially lost in other villages as well, but in such cases many dwellings have been left empty, often to decay. In around 500 villages the proportion of empty houses is very high, mostly in areas with tiny villages (in Northern Hungary, in Western and Southern Transdanubia). About 90% of settlements with a large number of empty dwellings are tiny villages, as well as tourist places (e.g. Gyenesdiás, Csopak, Zamárdi, Cserkeszőlő, Erdőbénye) and settlements with tanyas in the Alföld (e.g. Balástya, Zákányszék, Ruzsa, Petőfiszállás).

The greatest changes have occurred in the economic functions of villages in recent decades. In three-quarters of the villages in Hungary, most people of working age work in other settlements. These villages can be considered commuting villages. This is now the most characteristic type everywhere except in the Alföld and some peripheral areas in northeastern Hungary. In around half of the villages, commuting appears only on its own; in others it is mixed with another function. Today, only 45% of villages have significant economic activity, in many cases mixed with a high degree of commuting. Agriculture, the most traditional village economic function, is characteristic in only about 140 villages (less than 5% of all villages), but it is the exclusive function in only 60 of them, mostly in the Alföld and Southern Transdanubia. The number of industrial villages is 150; in such villages there is a large factory or plant that defines the local labour market. Villages where a large number of industrial workers live but do not work locally cannot be regarded as industrial. The industrial function is exclusive in only about a third of industrial villages, while in the others it is mixed. The industrial villages form a diverse group, including traditional heavy industrial or mining settlements (Sajóbábony, Bükkábrány, Visonta, Almásfüzitő, Pétfürdő, Nagylengyel), food industrial settlements (Érsekhalma, Alsómocsolád, Bőcs), some villages that became sites of industry after the collapse of communism (Mosonszolnok, Lövő, Lukácsháza) and settlements with great wineries (Villány).

There are only 60 villages where non-tourist services are decisive. Border crossing points (Záhony, Tiszabecs, Nagylak), commercial–logistical centres (Vecsés, Biatorbágy, Törökbalint, Alsónémedi), small settlements with healthcare facilities (Helesfa, Zsira, Mosdós) are included in this group. The number of villages with major tourism functions is about 125. However, in only 25 of them is tourism the sole economic function. The largest concentration of villages with enhanced tourism functions is found in the vicinity of Lake Balaton, but many of them are settlements with spas, small villages in the mountains and hills 1, and even villages with no significant local attractions where the tourism function is limited to the provision of accommodation (Irota, Patca, Bikács and Gosztola).

About 700 villages, most of them in the Alföld, provide a significant amount of local employment, but with none of the sectors standing out. Around half of them are characterised by out-commuting. In contrast, there are 175 villages, mostly in northeastern Hungary, where there is enough local labour but without significant out-commuting or a sufficient number of local jobs. Finally, there are almost 100, mostly tiny, villages with hardly any (non-public) employees and no jobs. These villages lost their economic functions in all areas; they have become almost entirely inactive. Such villages occur in greatest numbers in the counties of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Baranya and Somogy, with the highest concentrations in the Cserehát region. Except for some extremely ageing tiny villages, all these villages have a high proportion of Roma inhabitants.

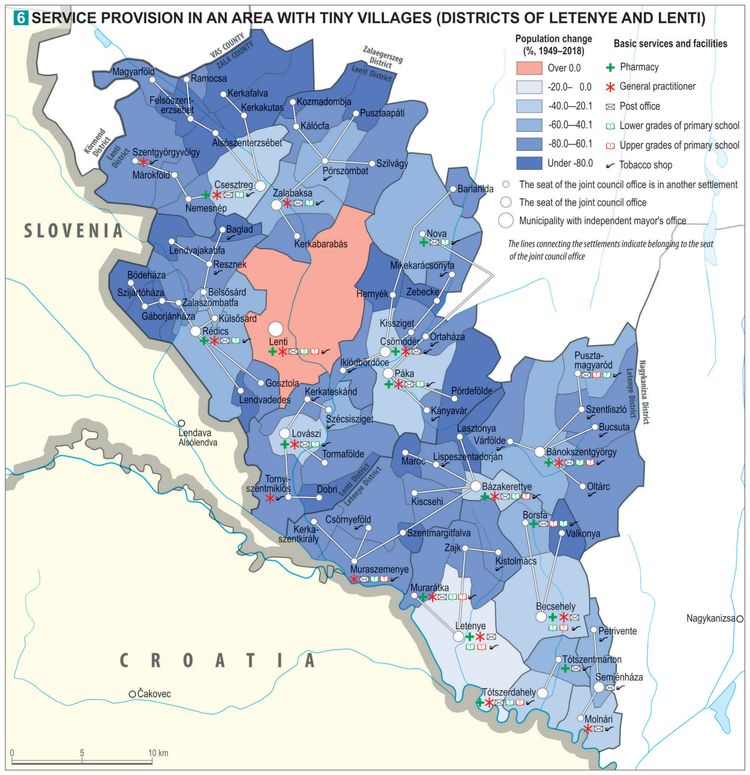
1 *Many livelihoods depend on tourism in the small North Hungarian village of Hollókő, a World Heritage Site (Nógrád County)*

Service provision in areas with tiny villages – the districts of Lenti and Letenye

Two districts in Zala County near the border, the districts of Letenye and Lenti, are presented as examples of the presence – and absence! – of basic services and facilities in settlements in areas with tiny and small villages 6. Lying at an elevation of 240–350 metres,

© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

XI.



Outskirts, scattered settlements

A peculiarity of the urban network of the Carpathian Basin is that some of the population lives in scattered settlements and the outskirts rather than in towns or villages. Most of the scattered settlements were established during the 18th and 19th centuries. They flourished in the late 19th century and early 20th century, when 11-12% of the population lived on the outskirts.

The emergence of inhabited places on the outskirts was linked, in almost all cases, with the economy (in particular, with agriculture). The largest population on the outskirts was concentrated in the scattered farmstead *(tanya)* network of the Alföld 2. In southern regions of the Alföld (mostly in Vojvodina) the tanya is also known as *szállás*, a Hungarian word meaning 'house, accommodation'. *Tanya* settlements are typically inhabited by small and medium-sized landowners and constitute accessory settlements. Families in the market towns created accommodation on plots far from the town, which became temporarily and then permanently inhabited. The tanya system is typical for the Alföld (Danube–Tisza Midland, Tiszántúl) from Subotica (Szabadka) to Nyíregyháza and from Cegléd to Salonta (Nagyszalonta) 7. Tanyas were also characteristic in the peripheral areas of the Alföld (along the Danube, the southern part of Békés, Bihar, Nyírség, and the peripheral areas of the northern Alföld) but with a much lower density than in central parts of the Alföld. Tanyas were most often scattered irregularly, but in some cases they were arranged in rows (e.g. the *row tanyas* in Békés) or in small groups (e.g. the *bush tanyas* around Nyíregyháza, and the *szállás farmsteads* in the hinterland of Kalocsa).

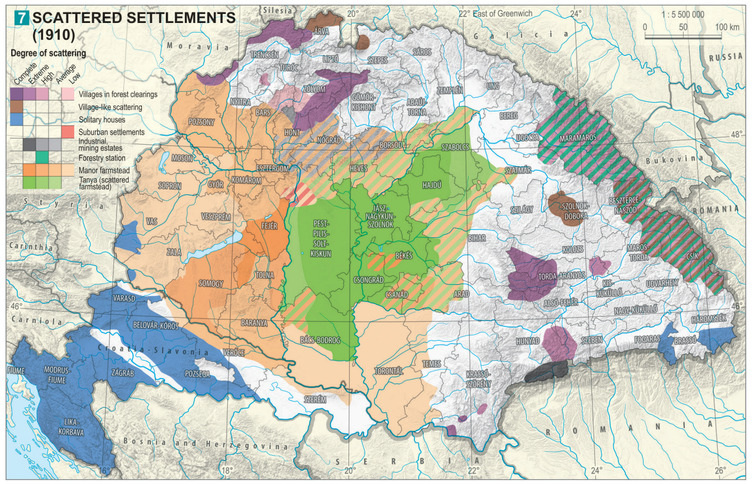
The second most populous scattered settlement type is the *manor* farmstead *(Hung. major)*, which is the characteristic settlement type of the outskirts of large estates (latifundia). The owner of the estate settled his agricultural workers (servants) on his land, forming small cluster settlements. In addition to the houses of the servants, stables and often the owner's manor house formed the building stock of the farmsteads. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were about 6,500 such farmsteads in the Carpathian Basin, of which 3,600 lay on the present-day territory of Hungary. The largest number of manor farmsteads could be found in Transdanubia, but they also existed in the northern part of the Kisalföld (now in Slovakia), in the Banat region, along the River Drava in Croatia and in the North Hungarian Range. Their highest density was in Mezőföld and Somogy. *Vineyards* can be found in almost all parts of Hungary. These are divided settlements like the tanya ones, as the population of villages and towns built small houses on the vineyards of the settlements. Although there were many of them, there was no significant population in them except for in recent decades. Almost village-like *forester colonies* with larger populations were established in the Carpathians, especially in Maramureş, northern Transylvania and Székely Land. Semi-agricultural outskirts, *small gardens* and *allotment gardens* were also created in the second half of the 20th century, which were agricultural–recreational spaces for the urban population and were rarely inhabited before 1990.

Industry and mining also created outskirts *(industrial estates, mining estates)*, many of which later became independent villages. Historically, these arose in largest number in the North Hungarian Range, around Banská Štiavnica and in the Jiu Valley. In terms of service provision, places on the outskirts with functions related to tourism or transport are the *holiday resorts* near Lake Balaton and in the High Tatras and the railway guardhouses throughout Hungary. As a result of urbanisation, *suburban settlements* in the form of residential parks have been established and continue to be established near the major cities. Residential parks appeared first in the surroundings of Budapest but many of them can now be found on the outskirts of Bratislava, too. Inhabited places on the outskirts have also arisen in the form of *Roma colonies* (i.e. rural ghettos), most of which were abolished in Hungary in the 1970s. This type of settlement can still be found in Transylvania and Eastern Slovakia.

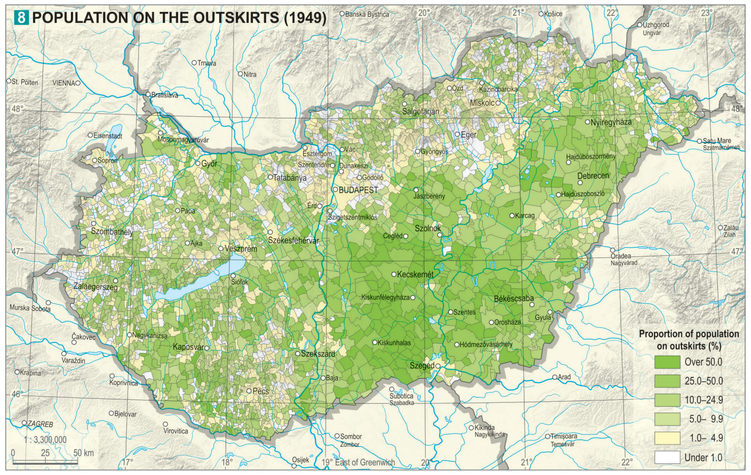
Each of the scattered settlements listed above belongs to the group of the so-called gap-filling scattered settlement, located in the space between villages and towns. However, in some areas of the Carpathian Basin, scattered settlements alone form the settlement system, while compact settlements are absent. Such scattered settlements composed of solitary houses can be found in the southern part of Burgenland, in Prekmurje, most of Croatia and in southeastern Transylvania (near Bran and Întorsura Buzăului). In other areas, scattered settlements are organised into small groups (e.g. villages in forest clearings), filling in this way the entire space. Such settlements occur in the vicinity of Myjava in Slovakia, in the Kysuca valley and in Central Slovakia, in the Apuseni Mountains, and in the southern part of Caraş-Severin County. The fragmented settlement *(Szer)* structure in the Őrség resembles the above in the present-day territory of Hungary. In some regions (Orava, Spiš, Chioar region, some parts of Székely Land) the settlements are village-like, arranged in streets, but the houses are not located along the streets, but further away, in a scattered formation. These village-like scattered settlements form a transition between scattered and compact settlements.

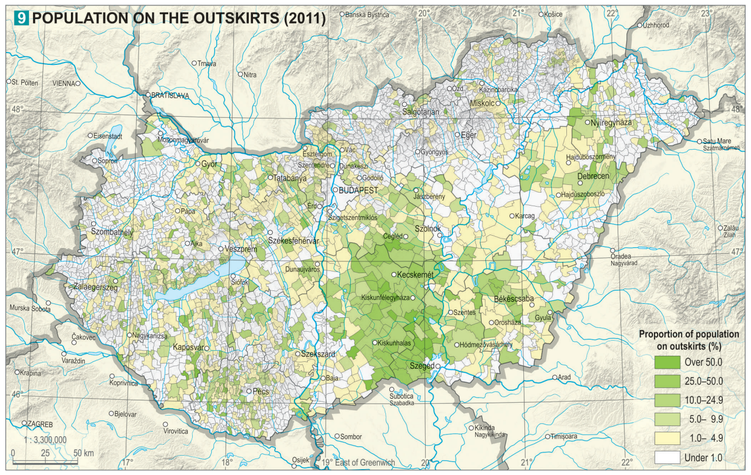
The population on the outskirts decreased significantly in all regions after World War II 8 9. The division of large estates, the establishment of agricultural cooperatives, and government urban policy were all aimed at eliminating inhabited places on the outskirts, and this was helped by objective processes as well (urbanisation and the decline of the agricultural population). Compact settlement centres were created in each of the scattered areas, whereby real scattered settlements were transformed into gap-filling scattered

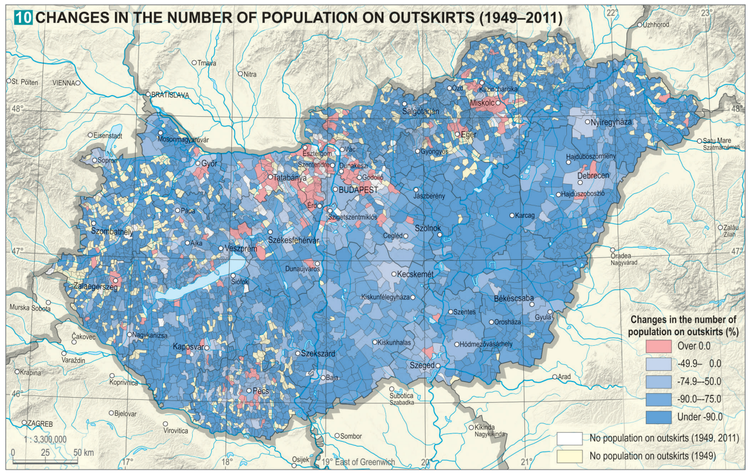
the area includes hills and the winding valley of the River Kerka. Settlements with small populations were formed in the forest clearings with poor soils. The settlement structure of the area, which lies at some distance from major traffic routes and is largely self-sufficient, did not change significantly over time. Only the discovery of an oil field and the start of mining in the 1930s increased somewhat the population of some settlements. The population of the region has been declining rapidly, especially since World War II. Between 1949 and 2018, 20 of the 75 municipalities here lost four-fifths of their population, in a further 32 the population halved, and only Lenti, which became the seat of the district, recorded a small increase. In 2020 33 thousand people live in 75 settlements – 22 thousand in villages – with a population density of 33 people/sq. km, which is less than a third of the national average. On average, there are 7.5 settlements in each area of 100 square kilometres. The average number of inhabitants is 300 in the villages, but 27 villages have fewer than 100 inhabitants. As the economic operation of each service or facility requires a certain level of population, the number of inhabitants (and their purchasing power and requirements) in most settlements in the studied area is not sufficient to maintain the basic institutions with the most modest needs (a convenience store, a pub, the daily bus service, etc.). For this reason, this level of service provision is usually absent from most tiny villages; out of the 75 settlements of the two districts there are post offices in 18, general practitioners in 15, pharmacies in 13 and upper grades of primary school in only nine settlements. (In other words, each primary school is attended by pupils from 8 settlements on average.) The situation of the tiny villages in the countryside is made even worse by the fact that the notary seats providing some care are often several villages away from them. The village cores and notary seats themselves are not very populous settlements either (471 people live in Bajánsenye, 597 in Bánokszentgyörgy, and 598 in Csömödér), so their basic service provision is also highly deficient. The disadvantaged situation that has developed as a result cannot be remedied by traditional means (e.g. settlement policy and establishing facilities). On the other hand, technical advances (mobile phone, internet, distance working, car) may solve certain problems. Local society in these villages is also truncated, with hardly any younger people, intellectual employees, entrepreneurs, or affluent inhabitants.



2 *Scattered farmsteads (tanyas) are a typical settlement form in the Alföld region*







© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

11 THE NUMBER AND POPULATION OF MANOR FARMSTEADS IN SOMOGY COUNTY (1949–2011)

	1949	1960	1970	1980	1990	2001	2011
Population number of manor farmsteads	40,454	29,794	22,807	13,941	10,338	9944	7497
Number of inhabited manor farmsteads	539	433	346	238	174	163	154
with a population more than 10 people	469	321	238	146	106	96	86
with a population more than 50 people	262	176	129	70	56	49	38
with a population more than 100 people	134	91	75	44	37	33	24

settlements. In some parts of the region (e.g. in the Tiszántúl), scattered settlements almost disappeared. After 1990, the very rapid population decline on the outskirts was halted, and the population of the outskirts (tanya areas, small gardens, suburban settlements) began to increase near major cities, but in rural areas decline and decay remain significant 10 11.

The population on the outskirts was significant everywhere in the Alföld in 1949 except for the peripheral areas, with the tanya population exceeding 50% in most settlements in the Danube–Tisza Midland. The latter area is the only remaining major contiguous area of tanyas, where, however, the ratio of the population of the outskirts has also fallen to 10-50% per settlement. Apart from in the above region, there remain some villages with significant populations on the outskirts near Nyíregyháza, Debrecen, Békéscsaba and Szarvas. Between 1949 and 2011, the decrease in the population of the outskirts exceeded 90% in the counties of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Békés, and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, as well as in Bácska and the eastern half of Csongrád-Csanád County. In some settlements near Budapest and Debrecen, however, the population of the outskirts has increased since 1949 – mainly due to the suburbanisation processes of the last two decades. In other parts of the country, only a few patches of inhabited outskirts remain (in Moson, Komárom-Esztergom, Fejér, the Balaton Uplands, Somogy and Baranya) due to the survival of a few manor farmsteads or dwellings in vineyards and gardens. All types of outskirt settlements have followed a similar path in recent decades, but population decline has been particularly acute in the traditional outskirt settlements. In contrast, growth has been observed in outskirt settlements near major cities since 1990.

Complex types of villages, rural landscapes

Complex types of villages

The most complex picture of Hungarian villages can be obtained by selecting the widest possible range of indicators and then categorising them based on a composite indicator. In this case, a complex mathematical–statistical model is required, with the aim being to group settlements that are similar in as many characteristics as possible. In order to describe the 3,019 settlements (excluding functional towns) reviewed in this chapter, 31 indicators (demographic, economic, employment, commuting, housing, income, tourism, outskirts) were selected. These indicators were then grouped according to their similarity. For instance, indicators relating to work, housing and educational attainment were grouped together, while a second group was formed based on the indicators relating to the size of a settlement, service provision, age structure, dynamism, income conditions, tourism. Finally, those relating to in-commuting and local industrial jobs and the population of outskirts and the agricultural character, were also arranged into a separate group. Categorising villages on the basis of the above, 16 different types of villages were identified 12.

3 *The majority of the most dynamic villages offering excellent living conditions can be found in the agglomerations of major cities; Keszü in the vicinity of Pécs*

Villages with outstanding dynamics, service provision and income situation (type 1; 105 villages) have the most favourable living conditions. This type of village can be found in greatest number in the inner belt of the agglomeration of Budapest, but some such villages can be found in the vicinity of other major cities as well 3 and some are on the verge of becoming small towns.

Villages with above-average socio-economic indicators (type 2; 380 villages) have similar but slightly less favourable characteristics than those of the previous type, clustering around most major cities and in northern Transdanubia.

The number of *villages with outstanding tourism–holiday functions* (type 3; 56 villages) is low; these have the highest number of holiday homes and visitor overnight stays. In addition to the Balaton area, several spas and mountain resort villages fall in this group.

Villages with tourism–holiday functions are similar to the previous group but diverge less from the norm (type 4; 124 villages). Settlements of this type are found mostly in the Balaton Uplands and in the Danube Bend area. Yet they can also be found in the mountains and hills or along the Danube and Tisza rivers.

The following groups include villages that are close to the average of the villages, often with good indicators in some areas and less favourable indicators in others. *Medium and large villages with good service provision* (type 5; 414 villages) are the most common in the Alföld 4. However, their advantageous position in terms of services and facilities can be overshadowed by relatively unfavourable employment and demographic conditions. *Villages with in-commuting and/or industrial jobs* (type 6; 138 villages) are characterised by numerous local, mainly industrial jobs. They are most common in northern Transdanubia, where there are traditional industrial villages as well as settlements that have recently seen an influx of industry. Among the villages that had uniformly poor conditions in the pre-1990 period, three groups with relatively favourable conditions can now be identified. *Small villages with favourable conditions and in-commuting* (type 7; 151 villages) are scattered in Western Transdanubia, while *small villages with favourable conditions and out-commuting* (type 8; 357 villages) are scattered throughout Transdanubia. The former have many local jobs, while the favourable employment conditions in the latter are the result of out-commuting. *Small villages with average conditions* (type 9; 368 villages) are common in Northern Hungary and Southern Transdanubia, their situation can be regarded as unfavourable in comparison to all villages. The last group of small villages with relatively favourable conditions is the group of *small villages with special economic functions and significant business activity* (type 10; 45 villages), which is a category of settlements that diverge from the norm. In addition to several tiny villages (where the presence of only a few industrial enterprises results in a high level of business activity), the 'tax haven' villages (e.g. Csomád, Komlóska, Tényő and Újlengyel, where many businesses are registered) are in this group. Apart from the exceptional level of business activity, these villages are average or below average in most indicators.

The presence of sizeable outskirts and/or an agricultural population defines two groups. *Villages with a significant outskirts population and/or an agricultural function* (type 11; 48 villages) are typical of the tanya villages in the Danube–Tisza Midland, where between a third and a half of the population lives on the outskirts which translates into unfavourable indicators in terms of the housing stock. A less special but similar group is formed by *villages with a high proportion of outskirts population and/or an agricultural function* (type 12; 118 villages). In addition to the Danube–Tisza Midland, they are also common in other parts of the Alföld, and even some villages with farmsteads in Transdanubia are classified here. Villages with extreme in-migration and ageing form two further groups that differ only in terms of intensity. In the group of *villages with extremely aged populations and extreme in-migration* (type 13) there are 9 very characteristic small settlements with nursing homes for elderly people.

4 *A street in a typical large village in the Alföld. Jászladány (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County)*

This explains the significant level of in-migration and the aged population. In the group of *villages with aged populations and in-migration* (type 14; 73 villages) there are, in addition to villages resembling those in the preceding group, some tiny villages to which a many people have recently moved, in many cases with a view to enjoying the beauty of environment.

The worst living conditions can be found in the final two groups of villages. The *peripheral small villages with disadvantageous conditions* (type 15; 516 villages) form the larger group of the two. In such villages, many of which are declining rapidly in population size, the demographic, service provision and employment indicators are unfavourable. Villages of this type are common in Southern Transdanubia and Northern Hungary, but they are also found in the Alföld (Bihar, Csanád) and in Zala County. The group of *villages with outstandingly good demographic and extremely poor employment, housing and education indicators* (type 16; 115 villages), include the most youthful settlements in Hungary, which are also the poorest (highest unemployment and participation in public work schemes, lowest income and educational attainment). Such settlements are particularly numerous in the counties of Baranya and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, and the Roma population share tends to be high.

Rural landscapes

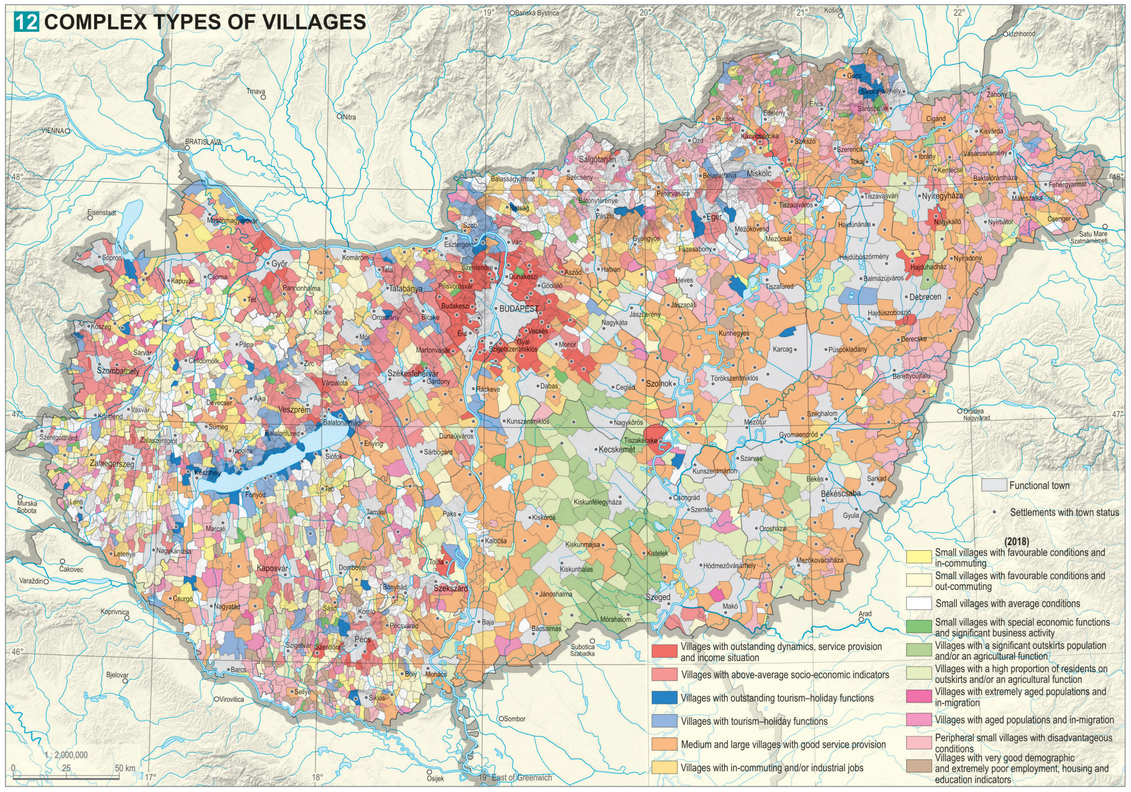
Based on the maps in this chapter, a mosaic-like settlement pattern emerges in the rural areas of Hungary. Nevertheless, some districts, 'rural landscapes' can be identified, areas that are characterised by a particular set of rural settlements with similar functions and character. Their formation is the result of similar natural features, geographical location, history, and economic development. Although the designation of such village regions was partly based on a subjective assessment, it nevertheless provides a good overview of the character of the village stock in each region 13 14.

The 'Rural landscapes' are the following:

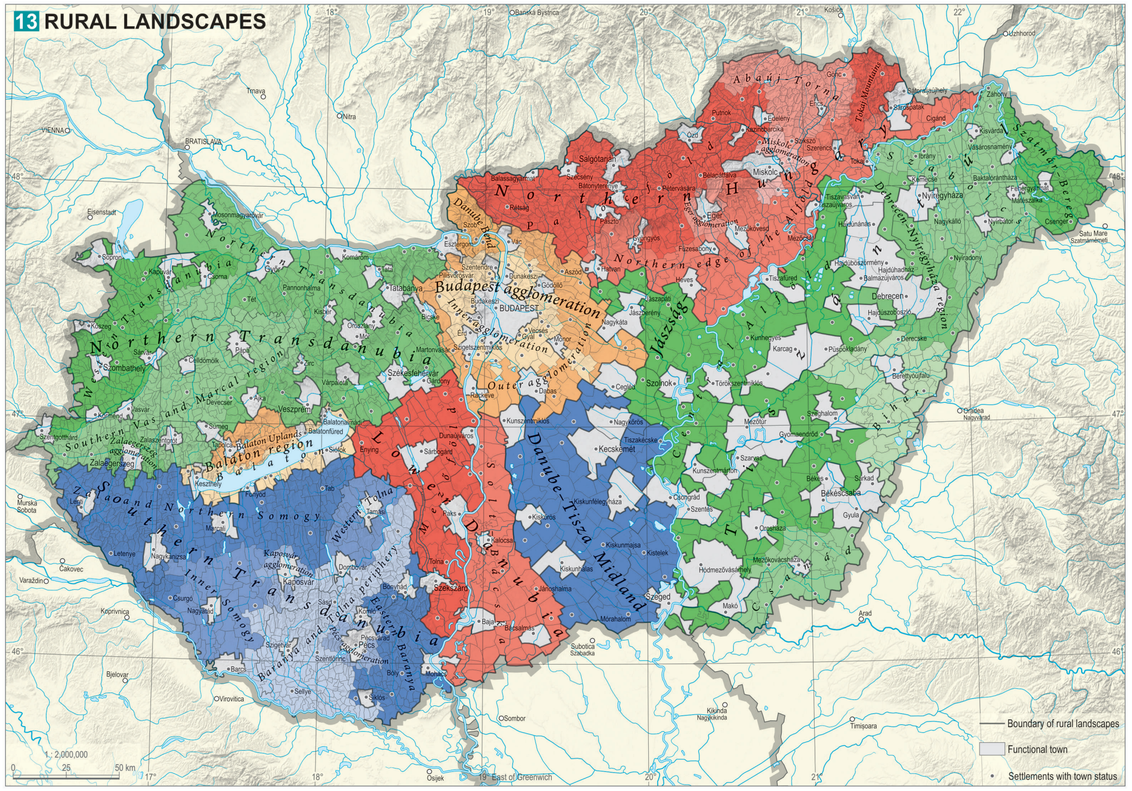
- *Northern Transdanubia* (I.) has the most balanced rural settlement system in Hungary. The region is not homogeneous from a physical geographical point of view, as it covers the Transdanubian Range, the Kisalföld and the Eastern Alpine Foreland. The history of its settlement network is favourable: its traffic and geopolitical situation is advantageous, the Ottoman occupation only extended to the periphery of the region, and the village system remained almost untouched. Overall, agricultural conditions and the rural economic base are favourable. Moreover, the 'mountain economy' of the mountains complemented agriculture and livestock production in the lowlands. The proximity of the markets stimulated the production of goods in the villages and the modernisation of the economy. The communist period saw strong economic development primarily in the Transdanubian Range. Commuting thus became commonplace among the rural population in the 1950s and 1960s. The social structure in these areas was transformed and 'urbanised'. Today, their economic situation is favourable. Modern industry offers good job opportunities for locals, and the area is one of the more dynamic parts of Hungary, with a close relationship with the neighbouring countries. Villages are well-kept, and in the vicinity of the towns, suburbs are slowly being formed.
- An extremely fragmented settlement structure is characteristic of *Southern Transdanubia* (II.), which has some 750 rural settlements and a population of nearly 600 thousand. The consequences of the fragmented settlement structure are out-migration, rapid population decline, the complete depopulation of several villages, an ageing population, a lack of basic institutions in villages, and 'ghettoisation' in some villages. On average, villages in the tiny village area in the counties of Zala and Somogy have barely more than 500 inhabitants. The number of inhabitants is less than fifty in 21 of the 248 settlements in Zala County. A similar situation is found in the areas of Ormánság, Völgység and Hegyhát 5. There, the villages have an average population of barely more than 400 inhabitants. The situation is slightly better only in eastern Baranya, where conditions for agriculture are also more favourable. The economic situation of the region deteriorated after the collapse of communism. Although the level of urbanisation had traditionally been low, in the vicinity of the two cities – Pécs and Kaposvár – a small agglomeration of less than 50 tiny villages was formed. In this region, and especially in Somogy and Tolna, manor farmsteads were common. They are now rural slums or have been depopulated.
- The 90 settlements of the *Balaton region* (III.) form a well-defined settlement landscape. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the tourism function has completely transformed the settlement system. Settlements on the shores of Lake Balaton form a unitary agglomeration, with administrative boundaries being relatively insignificant. The building stock, especially on the southern shore of the lake, was built largely for holiday purposes. Initially, zones of such housing were separate from the old village core. Today, however, there are many mixed zones, including various tourist facilities and, in some resorts, multi-storey hotels. On the northern shore of the lake,

5 *View of a small village in the hills of Transdanubia. Tékes (Baranya County)*

12 COMPLEX TYPES OF VILLAGES



© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021



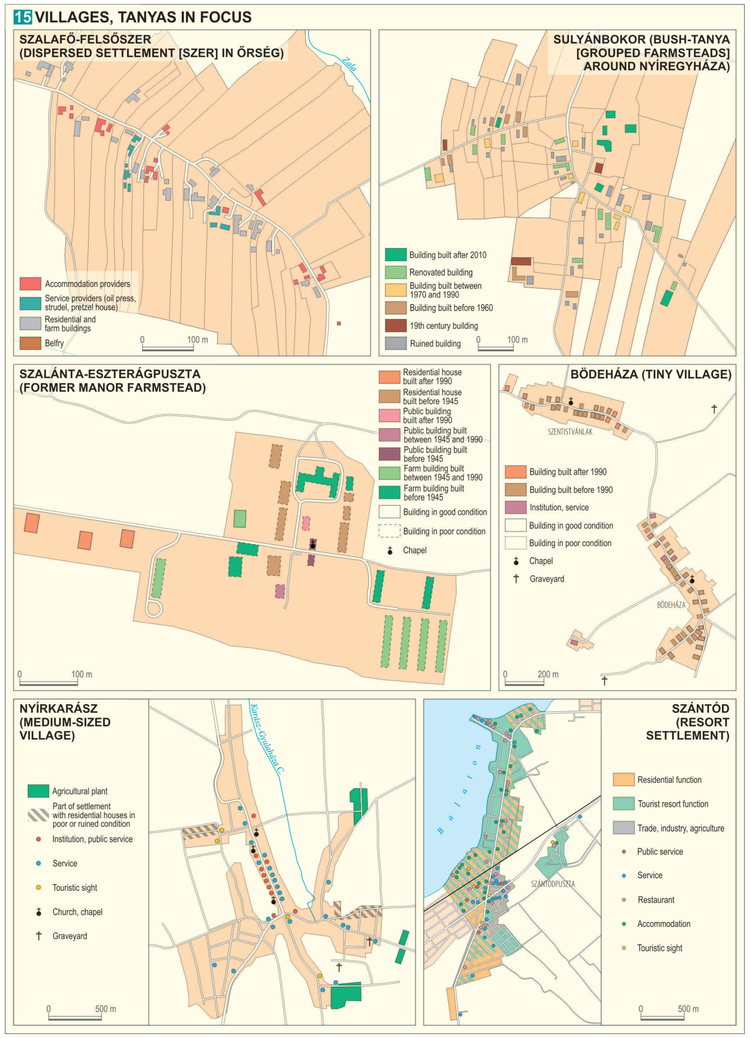
there were once a few small villages with rubble stone houses surrounded by vineyards. Now there are many resorts, although the original appearance of the settlements has been preserved. Many of the inhabitants in such holiday resorts work in nearby towns and industrial estates. The hinterland of the holiday resort area is composed of tiny villages in the Balaton Uplands with 400 or so inhabitants on average. This area likewise offers tourist attractions for visitors.

- In the lowland area of the *Lower Danubia* rural landscape (IV.) 280 thousand people live in rural settlements. The region has good agricultural conditions, and a regular network of mostly medium-sized villages has arisen. Adding to the diversity, especially in the Mezőföld region, are the manor farmsteads, which rarely obtain municipal autonomy. Their appearance and local society are very different from those of regular villages. Tanyas occurred only around a small number of villages, even in the eastern half of the region. The exceptions were the cluster tanyas in the vicinity of Kalocsa. Following the expulsion of the Turks, large numbers of foreign settlers (Germans, Southern Slavs) arrived in Bácska.
- Around 850 thousand people live in the 180 rural-like settlements in the *agglomeration of Budapest* (V.); it is the most uniform region, with a close relationship with the capital (commuting to work, and the resettling of city functions in the surrounding settlements). The administrative units are very populous in relation to their hierarchical rank, with an average population of nearly 8,000 inhabitants in the inner zone. Many of them have town status. The population is increasing, as people move to this area from distant regions of Hungary and from Budapest (suburbanisation), and the population of the agglomeration is in a favourable position in all aspects (labour market situation, income conditions, provision of services etc.). The construction of new housing has made the appearance of these settlements more urban. In the Danube Bend, the residential function is mixed with recreation.
- *Danube–Tisza Midland* (VI.) includes some 80 rural settlements and 240 thousand inhabitants. It arose along the sand ridge that covers the eastern two-thirds of the Danube–Tisza Midland and has poor sandy soils, where livestock farming became the dominant economic branch in the Middle Ages and in the early modern era. The Turkish period brought devastation to most of the settlements here, but the surviving market towns became populous settlements surrounded by vast annexed areas of cultivated land where the desolated villages had been (e.g. Kecskemét, Szeged, Nagykőrös, Félegyháza). Later, an area with a dense network of tanyas was created, from which, almost to this day, smaller and larger population concentrations and tanya villages were formed. Most of the settlement system is still composed of market towns and tanya villages with a pioneer atmosphere. There is still a functioning tanya settlement system, although the tanyas have become rarer and the function of tanyas has also changed. Intensive agriculture (including the production of grapes, fruit and vegetables) has retained its importance.
- *Northern Hungary* (VII.) covers the area of the counties Nógrád, Heves and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén. While its northern two-thirds are mountainous and hilly, in the south there is the wide plain of the Alföld. The region, which includes 600 rural settlements with a total population of 740 thousand people, was characterised – save for the lowland edge – by modest agrarian conditions, a fragmented settlement structure, poor living conditions, and the overpopulated traditional villages of farmers and labourers. Mining and manufacturing burst into this poor peasant world in the mid-19th century, with the establishment of mining and industrial settlements. In the communist period, the process accelerated, and the region became the largest industrial area in Hungary. Meanwhile, agriculture was relegated to the background and the inhabitants of the villages became commuters or unskilled workers in the mines and heavy industrial plants. The labour market situation became more favourable, but the disadvantageous conditions of the region remained. The collapse of heavy industry and the introduction of new economic policies after 1990 resulted in very unfavourable conditions. The deteriorating situation led to rapid out-migration and a further dissection in the settlement system. Properties lost their value, and poor people (mostly Roma) moved into villages and other deindustrialised municipalities, and form even majority in some settlements 6. Particularly disadvantaged regions include the areas adjacent to the border in the counties of Nógrád and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, the tiny villages of Cserhát and villages in the Tokaj Mountains. Near Miskolc and Eger, the development of agglomerations created a more favourable situation. The northern edge of the Alföld is an area with medium-sized villages, where the transport situation is more favourable, out-migration is more moderate. The agricultural population has almost completely disappeared from the region as a whole, with a relatively large number of people (15-25% of the population) still living from agriculture in the villages along the Tisza.
- *Jászság–Tiszántúl* (VIII.): The region, which includes 470 rural settlements and 860 thousand inhabitants, covers the whole territory of the Tiszántúl, the Jászság and some settlements around Szolnok. It is an open and unfragmented lowland in the Alföld, which is primarily suitable for arable cultivation. Except for its northeastern part, its history is also similar. The ravages of Ottoman occupation left indelible traces in the landscape: many villages of the already scarce settlement system were depopulated and permanently destroyed in the warfare. Only some of the market towns survived, and annexed also the areas where the villages were destroyed. The village system never revived after the expulsion of the Turks. In the 18th and 19th centuries, as agricultural production intensified, the uninhabited areas between the market towns were transformed into an extensive region of tanyas. Some villages on the puszta were formed out of these in the 19th and 20th centuries, and then after World War II a series of tanya villages were organised on the outskirts of the market towns. Most of this rural landscape is still characterised by the large villages, with many of the villages being formed when the tanyas became interconnected and grew together. The nature of the village system of Szatmár-Bereg is different: small traditional peasant villages are stuck in a corner of Hungary's borders and their populations are rapidly decreasing. The settlement structure in the Nyírség region does not tend to be of the Alföld type either, as there are no market towns except for Nyíregyháza. In the region with moderately large villages, a high rate of natural increase means that population decline is still moderate. Rapid population growth resulted in high levels of agricultural population density and an associated land shortage. Indeed, more than half of the agrarian population was made up of agricultural labourers and day workers. This made its mark on society and living conditions in the villages. Today, the agrarian nature of the landscape is less marked. The Bihar region was less exposed to the ravages of the Turkish period as a result of hydrographic dissection (marshy areas). Thus, a regular network of villages survived here. In Csanád, where the Turkish period destroyed the village system without trace, a planned settlement system was established with villages with regular layouts 5. In the other parts of the Tiszántúl, some of the larger villages have obtained town status in recent decades.

14 SOME POPULATION DATA OF RURAL LANDSCAPES (2011)

Rural landscapes	Number of subregions	Number of villages	Total population of villages (2011)	Average population of villages (2011)
I. Northern Transdanubia	4	731	691,712	946
II. Southern Transdanubia	7	746	438,661	588
III. Balaton Region	2	87	90,348	1038
IV. Lower Danubia	2	133	281,278	2115
V. Budapest agglomeration	3	180	856,487	4758
VI. Danube–Tisza Midland	1	82	236,634	2886
VII. Northern Hungary	6	591	642,234	1087
VIII. Jászság–Tiszántúl	6	469	1,004,932	2143
Total	*31*	*3019*	*4,242,286*	*1405*

6 *The frescos on the houses have brought international fame to Bódvalenke, a village with a Roma majority population (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County)*



Villages in focus

Villages and scattered settlements in Hungary vary greatly in terms of their size, location, origin and functions. The settlements are best measured by the level of service provision and the condition and functions of the dwellings. Reflecting their small size, scattered settlements have few services and facilities. Dwellings in such settlements are rarely in good condition 15. Houses that are in better condition or have been built more recently, are relatively more common in the western half of Hungary (e.g. in the Szalafő-Pityerszer area) in or near holiday resorts or in proximity to major towns *(Nyíregyháza-Sulyánbokor)*. Dwellings formerly inhabited by servants and labourers tend to be dilapidated both in the peripheral areas and on the manor farmsteads *(Szalánta-Eszterágpuszta)*. Villages are usually in a more favourable condition on account of their size. Even so, the smallest of them differ little from the outskirts *(Bödeháza)*. Medium-sized villages in Hungary tend to have the basic services and facilities. The condition of dwellings in such settlements depends mainly on their geographical location *(Nyírkarász)*. Tourism often impacts significantly on the appearance of a settlement: in the case of *Szántód*, a village on the shore of Lake Balaton, the residential areas constitute the lesser part of the settlement, while the holiday resort zones constitute the larger part. In terms of service provision, such settlements exhibit features of both small villages (post office and primary school) and small towns (department stores, restaurants and other catering sites).

© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

National Atlas of Hungary (MNA)
www.nationalatlas.hu

Editorial board
Károly Kocsis (President)
István Klinghammer (Honorary president), Zsombor Nemerkényi (Secretary),
Gábor Gercsák, Áron Kincses, Zoltán Kovács, Géza Tóth, László Zentai

Cartographic Advisory Committee
László Zentai (President)
Zsombor Bartos-Elekes, Zsolt Bottlik, László Buga,
István Elek, Mátyás Gede, Gábor Gercsák, János Györffy,
Mátyás Márton, László Orosz, Zsolt Győző Török

MNA Society

Volume editors
Károly Kocsis (Editor-in-chief), Zoltán Kovács, Zsombor Nemerkényi, Gábor Gercsák, Áron Kincses, Géza Tóth

Chapter editors
Péter Bajmócy, Lajos Bálint, Pál Beluszky, Lajos Boros, †Bálint Csatári, Zoltán Dövényi,
Károly Kocsis, Zoltán Kovács, Péter Őri, Viktor Pál, Laura Szabó, Judit Székely, Patrik Tátrai

Revised by
Ferenc Probáld, Gábor Gercsák

English translation by
Richard William McIntosh

English translation revised by
Andrew Gane, Gábor Gercsák, Ferenc Probáld

Cover design
Geographical Institute, RCAES, Ildikó Kuti – Civertan Bt.

Design and typography
Ildikó Kuti – Civertan Bt.

Printing
Pannónia Nyomda Kft. (Budapest)

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise,
without the prior written permission of the publishers and copyright holder.

Publisher: László Kiss (Director general)
Eötvös Loránd Research Network (ELKH), Research Centre for Astronomy and Earth Sciences (CSFK), www.csfk.org
© Geographical Institute, CSFK www.mtafki.hu, Budapest, 2021

The publication is supported by:
Government of Hungary
Ministry for Innovation and Technology (ITM)
Eötvös Loránd Research Network (ELKH)
Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA)

Closing date of editing: 1st May 2021

ISBN 978-963-9545-58-8ö
ISBN 978-963-9545-64-9

© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021

NATIONAL ATLAS OF HUNGARY SOCIETY

Authors
Péter Bajmócy
Lajos Bálint
Pál Beluszky
Lajos Boros
Gabriella Branyiczkiné Géczy
†Bálint Csatári
Zoltán Dövényi
Tamás Egedy
Szabolcs Fabula
Tamás Faragó
Jenő Zsolt Farkas
Dóra Gábriel
Tamás Gál
Ágnes Gulyás
Ferenc Gyuris
Zsófia Ilcsikné Makra
Ferenc Jankó
Áron Kincses
Károly Kocsis
Zoltán Kovács
Tamás Kovalcsik
László Kulcsár
Gábor Lados
Zsuzsanna Makay
Judit Monostori
Lívia Murinkó
Gábor Nagy
Gyula Nagy
Csilla Obádovics
Péter Őri
Viktor Pál
János Pénzes
Gábor Pirisi
Laura Szabó
Judit Székely
Péter Szilassi
Patrik Tátrai
Géza Tóth
Pál Péter Tóth
András Trócsányi
Annamária Uzzoli
András Wéber

Authors of maps and figures
Norbert Agárdi
Erika Bácskainé Pristyák
Péter Bajmócy
Lajos Bálint
Dániel Balizs
András Balogh
Olga Baranyai
Zsombor Bartos-Elekes
Pál Beluszky
József Benedek
Zoltán Bertus
†András Bognár
Lajos Boros
Zsolt Bottlik
Gabriella Branyiczkiné Géczi
László Braun
Tamás Csapó
†Bálint Csatári
István Csernicskó
Gábor Demeter
Gyula Dézsi
Zoltán Dövényi
Tamás Egedy
Tibor Elekes
György Farkas
Jenő Zsolt Farkas
Sándor Frisnyák
Tamás Gál
Ágnes Gulyás
Róbert Győri
Ferenc Gyuris
Iulia Hărănguș
Viktor Hegedűs
István Horváth
Zsófia Ilcsikné Makra
Ferenc Jankó
Erzsébet Jász
Laura Kardos
Áron Kincses
Tamás Kiss
Károly Kocsis
Sándor Kókai
Zoltán Kovács
Balázs Kovalcsik
Tamás Kovalcsik
†András Kubinyi
József Kücsán
Gábor Lados
István Máté Lengyel
József Lennert
Zsuzsanna Makay
Kvetoslava Matlovičová
Zsolt Máté
Ciprian Moldovan
József Molnár
Csilla Mucsiné Égerházi
Lívia Murinkó
Gábor Nagy
Gyula Nagy
Ádám Németh
Péter Őri
Viktor Pál
Gábor Pálóczi
István Zoltán Pásztor
János Pénzes
János Pintér
Péter Róbert
Tamás T. Sikos
Balázs Szabó
Laura Szabó
Katalin Szende
Judit Székely
Péter Szilassi
Sándor Szűcs
Patrik Tátrai
†Gusztáv Thirring
Tibor Tiner
Gábor Tolnai
Géza Tóth
Pál Péter Tóth
András Trócsányi
Annamária Uzzoli
†Árpád E. Varga
Gábor László Vasárus
András Wéber
Jernej Zupančič

Chief cartographers
Fanni Koczó
Anikó Kovács
Gáspár Mezei
Zsombor Nemerkényi

Contributors to cartography
Norbert Agárdi
Lajos Bálint
Zsombor Bartos-Elekes
Zsolt Bottlik
Gábor Demeter
Renáta Szabó

Technical staff
Margit Laczkó
Árpád Magyar

© Geographical Institute, CSFK, www.nemzetiatlasz.hu, Budapest, 2021