

ACTUAL AND POSSIBLE ROLE OF SMALL TOWNS IN THE SETTLEMENT NETWORK OF THE GREAT HUNGARIAN PLAIN

J. TÓTH—Z. DÖVÉNYI

Urbanization is one of the most spectacular social processes of our days. Therefore, proper attention is due to be paid to it in population and settlement geographical research, too. However, investigations into urbanization are rather one-sided with problems of cities and agglomerating areas in the fore; medium and small town networks are placed much below their real significance in literature.

It cannot be doubted that in a proportional settlement network these towns are essential. In the case of small towns, this applies particularly to agrarian areas where they should function as 'key settlements' (Cloke, P. 1979). But in extended rural areas, including the Great Plain, this function is not yet performed by small towns. Searching solution for our own problems, it will not be useless to have an outlook for the network of small towns in other parts of the world (Dövényi, Z. 1981ab).

Small towns do not present pressing problems in the *developing countries* since they practically lack any kind of small town network. It is especially distressing for the future that in most developing countries there has not been a policy for the development of settlement network worked out, not even in the form of a draft (Mildner, S. 1976). The 'first city' phenomenon is so much predominant in the developing countries that in the future decades it cannot possibly be expected that a potent small and medium town network should develop.

In the *highly developed capitalist countries* the small town network is multi-colored. This also applies to the *United States of America* where the small town is obviously no longer the dominant type of urban settlement. Small towns in the agrarian areas of the United States are faced with quite a lot of problems. Their central functions in services for agriculture are also declining and this adds to the future difficulties. It is interesting as well as instructive to mention, in connection with small towns in the United States, that in certain areas, e.g. of Illinois, characteristic groups of small towns have formed where some small towns jointly perform the function of a single medium town, the latter not being able to develop in the area (Hofmeister, B. 1972). In relation to the settlement network of the Great Plain, this example is to be taken into consideration. Just in the Great Plain situations arise when the sharing of functions among small towns seems suitable to substitute an absent medium town.

Looking for giant villages, small towns or similar types of settlements common or familiar in the Great Hungarian Plain, *South-Europe* should be visited. In Andalusia, *Spain* and in Southern-Italy primarily agrarian settlements of some ten thousand people have developed, similar to the ones characteristic in the settlement network of the Great Plain. What characterizes giant villages, i.e. their very few functions, is also valid for settlements with population of several ten thousands;¹ they are in want

of functions. In these circumstances the situation may arise, as for instance in Southern-Italy, that there are settlements of as many as 80 thousand inhabitants regarded as giant villages when examined functionally, falling below the level of a small town in a geographical sense (Costa, M. — Pozzo, C. — Battaletti, F. 1976).

In the settlement network of Western Europe, familiar to us, small towns have always been significant factors and they are still characteristic elements today. This does not mean that there would not be problems with small towns in certain regions of the countries; there are backward areas even in some regions of France and the United Kingdom. They are also backward in the sense that small towns stagnate or decline. But it is not common. Examining first the problem of small towns in two countries the agricultural policy of which is intended to be followed in Hungary, too, it can be observed that the small town network in *Denmark* and the *Netherlands* has remarkably strengthened in the past decades, mainly in the 1970s. Investigating the population of Danish settlements within various categories from 1960 to the second half of the 1970s, the trend is manifest that it was in small towns where the most rapid growth took place. At the same time, the population number of the Copenhagen region stagnated or even decreased in some years (Keldborg, I. 1978).

This process is even more spectacular in the Netherlands where the direction of migration between villages or small towns and the metropolitan areas completely reversed in the 1970s (Borchert, G. 1980). While for certain parts of the world 'Landflucht', an escape from the country is mentioned, in the metropolitan regions of the Netherlands 'Stadtflucht', an escape from the city to settlements of some thousand people, i.e. to small towns, is observable.

Small towns have a remarkable place in the settlement network of the *Federal Republic of Germany* as well. If, as a first approximation, settlements with population from five to twenty thousand are referred to as small towns, a third of the FRG's population lives in these settlements; they are the most dynamic elements in the network (Wöhl, H. 1979). They are one of the settlement categories with the highest rate of population growth. Not only settlements with five to twenty thousand people but also even smaller ones function as towns in the FRG. There are examples in West German literature for small towns with 700 to 800 people. They are towns not only because other settlements in their neighbourhood are even smaller but also regarding their functions. On the basis of historical traditions, they are able to function in their vicinity so as to be qualified as towns in a geographical sense as well.

Small towns in the *European socialist countries* are judged somewhat ambiguously. The significance of small towns in the settlement network is theoretically declared in general but in practice, the intensive planned development of this settlement type is far from being universal. Only regarding countries with extended agrarian areas, beside Hungary, they include Poland and the German Democratic Republic, it can be seen that from many respects they share the problems of Hungary.

The urban network of Poland is quite extended; the number of towns changes year by year. Polish statistics registered 803 towns in 1979. Their overwhelming portion can be considered small towns by their population numbers and functions. These small towns used to be very important in the settlement network of Poland before World War II; organization of smaller regions and central-local functions were adequately performed by them. Due to the devastation of the war, these small towns suffered a heavy loss of functions. In the past decades a substantial element in Polish settlement development policy has been dynamization of small towns, not the least of

those in agrarian areas. This had consequences, e.g. the question of small towns was a key problem of Polish settlement geographical research in the 1960s.

However, this boom in research had evidently declined by the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was manifest on the level of national policy that central administration could not or would not undertake to finance the expensive task of the dynamization of Polish small towns. Therefore, a kind of disillusionment arose among Polish geographers and, as a consequence, the problem of small towns is not at all a central target of population and settlement geographical research in Poland now. The decline of interest is present in the population number of Polish small towns: while in 1970, settlements in the small town category counted five million people, in 1979 only 4.5 million people belonged here.

In the northern part of the German Democratic Republic, i.e. in portions of Mecklenburg and Vorpommern belonging to the GDR, there is also a kind of irresolution is felt concerning small towns. The problem roots back in historical past. Small towns in the area became handicapped, in fact, already more than a hundred years ago and this backwardness still characterizes them today. Geographers of the FRG frequently mention that at present impoverishment of functions is typical for small towns in the GDR (Schöller, P. 1969). It is undoubtedly a piece of reality that a certain loss of functions can be observed in small towns of agricultural GDR. So there is not much idea about what to do with small towns in rural GDR, neither do we have much in Hungary in relation to ours.

What can be done with the large or giant villages which are characteristic features in the settlement network of the Great Plain and, as it seems, which could not be managed properly during the past decade when the National Plan for Development of the Settlement Network was in function? Plan for Development of the Settlement Network was in function? What to do with them, what arguments support their development into small towns?

The giant village is a historical settlement type and a typical element in the settlement system of the Great Hungarian Plain. It is their size that makes giant villages prominent in their neighbourhood. Size is a quantitative criterion. This criterion is independent from the quality of the village; just for being, they still remain villages. They remain villages in the sense that the number of their functions is limited, these functions are mainly related to the agrarian economy in the Great Plain, performed on a relatively low level, with a backward structure. From the side of quality, it clearly means that in their initial state, it is doubtless that giant villages are villages. It is also a very characteristic criterion of this settlement type that the settlements belonging here have no wider regional relation systems. As a matter of fact, they make up a relatively autonomous system in themselves or with the scattered farmsteads, tanyas within their administrative area. Consequently and also as a result of the backwardness of their functions, that the system of giant villages is not organized hierarchically. This is a special feature of Great Plain settlements in contrast to all other Hungarian settlements, especially those dominant in Transdanubia and North-Hungary which resemble to Western Europe. A feature, incongruous with the National Plan for the Development of Settlement Network, since placing into the hierarchy was an essential element of this plan.

The concept of *small town* is not easy to grasp either. It is difficult to be formulated in quantitative criteria. It is a wellknown fact that the population number at

which the lower or upper limit of the small town category is set varies with countries. It is difficult and unreliable to define even statistically. A small town can be described by qualitative, functional features, in fact, by its structure. In the approach where settlements are conceived as unities of social, economic and technical structures and these structures are interpreted as systems functioning in a given natural environment, a settlement is demonstrated with a tetrahedron the base of which is the natural environment, the other three planes are the economic sphere, the social sphere and, finally, the technical or infrastructural sphere (Fig. 1.). Their proportional development characterizes the settlement itself. It is important to note that each of these systems should reach a certain level of development and the interrelationship between the systems (relationships along the edges of the tetrahedron in the figure) should be intensive and when it is so there cannot be gaps within the development of structures. Thus social structure (occupational restratification, distribution of population by school education and so on) cannot be highly developed while the economic or infrastructural background is backward.

In this way small towns differ in structural-functional development from giant villages and in their multilateral relation system or merely the existence of such relation system, not always present in giant villages. This system of regional relations means that, though not necessarily, small towns may have an attraction zone. Into this regional system of relations, elements of the settlement network are connected hierarchically; the texture and structure of the settlement network is assimilated to that of Transdanubia or North-Hungary.

Investigating small towns in the Great Plain, their special characteristics have to be mentioned which have been described from many aspects in various disciplines. Of those descriptions of the 'Great Plain character', some facts are important from the viewpoint of settlements, also with regard to their future. Such facts are that there is a system of scattered farmsteads, tanyas in the Great Plain which is not only settlement system but also an economic one; that during the progress after the Liberation, a change took place in the system of tanyas and it has affected the system of tanyas as systems of economy and settlement in essence. This settlement-economic system, formerly characterizing the whole Great Plain, has been deeply differentiated to our days.

Another significant feature is that leading elements in the settlements system of the Great Plain have run the development course of the so-called market towns. It has consequences to the present since during their functional transformation the former market towns followed different ways (industrialization or tertiary functions), some have stuck in the agrarian sector and only a few could get an impetus for development due to the recent dynamization of the agrarian sphere. At the same time a settlement morphological transformation has also taken place in the formerly market towns as it was shown by comprehensive investigations covering the Great Plain (Becsei, J. 1973, 1977).

The sparse texture of settlement network is also peculiar to the Great Plain. A network of widely spaced, relatively large settlements, compared to other regions of the country. But they do not differ too much in comparison with one another. In case of a development model aimed at setting up a hierarchy, it adds to the danger of subjective selection of an element from the network to be preferred.

The whole Great Plain is characterized as a peculiar feature, by the larger share of the agrarian sphere from economy. This partly roots in the past but also provides

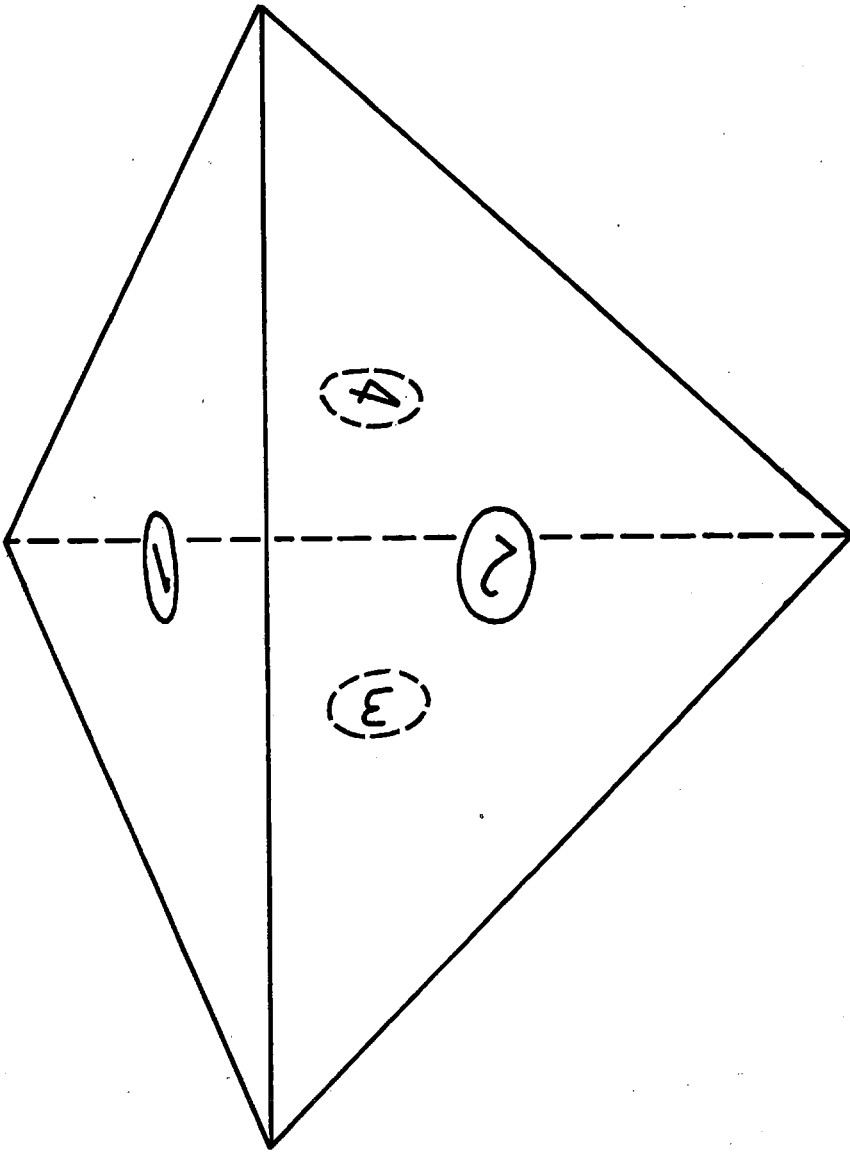


Fig. 1. Tetrahedron model of the settlement
1; social sphere, 2: economic sphere,
3; infrastructural (technical) sphere, 4: natural sphere.

new perspectives, first pointed out by Gy. Enyedi (1978), namely that the place of the Great Plain in the national regional distribution of labour is improved by world-wide economic changes favouring food economy through the dominance of the agrarian sphere and its inherent possibilities. In this way the position of the Great Plain has improved not only within the country but in CMEA as well.

It is regrettable but backwardness is also involved in the Great Plain character. It is reflected in a lot of parameters. To a major degree it is a consequence of past historical development but it has to be added that the post-liberation period has produced some 'achievements' in the development of the Great Plain which led to the conservation of backwardness and its extension to further areas or to a less rapid development of others than it would have been possible or necessary. Investigating macroregions, the Great Plain character still includes backwardness as a qualitative criterion. It can be proven from the aspect of infrastructure as well as from the human aspect in connection with the effect of out-migrating population upon population structure.

A further problem in research is presented by the lack of an unambiguous and generally accepted delineation of the group of the giant villages. The small market towns in the works of Ferenc Erdei or the investigations by József Becsei largely based on them, could have provided an approach to the group of giant villages (Becsei, J. 1973, 1977). Zoltán Dövényi (1980) also determined a hypothetical group of small towns—giant villages for the Great Plain where legally urban settlements were referred to, based on functional features. As the present study approaches to the problems from the aspects of development perspectives, the delineation was made according to other factors, the selected settlements are shown in Fig. 2. The delimited area includes the whole area of six Great Plain counties and portions of Borsod, Heves and Pest counties which are certainly parts of the Great Plain. Thus the group covers 44 giant villages and small towns populated by 430 thousand people where 14 per cent of the 3.2 million people living in the about 40 thousand sq. km of the Great Plain (Tóth, J. 1981.). This itself gives emphasis to the topic since there are large numbers and percentage of people involved. Beyond their nature of key settlements, this is the reason why interest has risen for them recently (Tóth, J. 1977., Dövényi, Z. 1980. Beluszky, P. 1981., Mészáros, R. 1981, 1982).

The group of settlements delimited this way, shows an extremely heterogeneous picture from the side of demography. Taking it as a whole (as it is reflected in Fig.3.), it can be stated that there are some settlements in this group which had their maximum population number for the past 110 years already between the world wars or perhaps around the turn of the century. Most of these giant villages and small towns reached their maximum population in 1941 or in 1949. Later on their population number heavily decreased (due to the large-scale socio-economic changes and the position the Great Plain occupied in the regional distribution of labour). Even settlements where a dynamic population growth has taken place in the last 10 years but the population number is still below the figure for 1949 or 1941, such as Szeghalom, show this demographic peak. So a process has started here but has not yet touched the quantitative level expressed by population number (clearly characteristic of their giant village period). The settlements are in various stages of occupational restratification. On the basis of the familiar triangle diagram method of Edit Lettrich (1965, 1975) and using the names given by her, we can state that most of the settlements have only reached the stage where the population is engaged in both agriculture and industry, the first

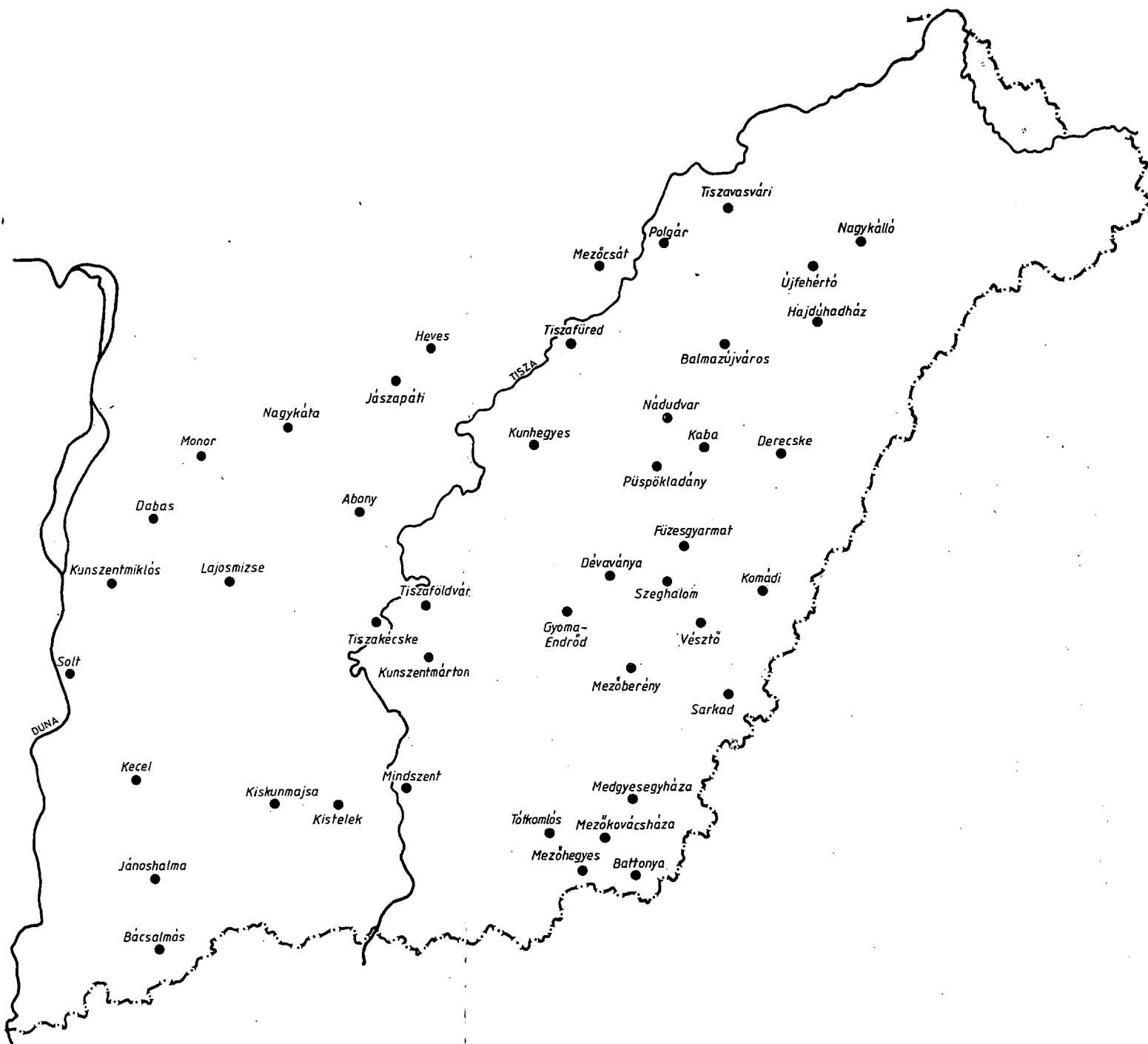


Fig. 2. Giant villages and/or small towns in the Great Plain

still having the major share in active wage-earners employed; others have reached the lower category of the urban standard. There is differentiation taking place in certain categories, so in 1980, settlements show more variations than before.

Regarding their position in the settlement system, the participation of their population in commutation is a significant factor (Fig. 4.). Since the structure of giant villages hardly altered (primarily because they were industrialized at a rather slow rate), after the changes in agriculture the part of the population not moved, commuted to other, dynamically developing centres. The commutation balance of these settlements is generally negative. There are only some exceptions, settlements with central functions from other aspects as well or settlements with large industrial plants in their vicinity such as it can be observed in the Tiszaföldvár—Martfű area.

The settlements of the giant village—small town type are rather loosely attached to the settlement system and strengthened to an extent to which they leave the quality of giant village and approach to the quality of small town. It can be seen in the direction and proportion of trunk calls (Fig. 5.). It can be detected in this way whether settlements in the giant village—small town type which could complete their functions in the past decades, got a 'rank' in regional administration initially, i.e. the function of district seat, and whether they could properly concentrate other related or unrelated functions. (This was decisive and meant a great differentiation within the settlement group.) Accordingly some of the settlements belonging here, e.g. Mezőkovácsháza or Szeghalom and Kiskunmajsa (Bács-Kiskun county), Kistelek (Csongrád county) could attach to the relation system (though the latter two are not county seats, so the effect of the above factor is not exclusive). At the same time, settlements like Dévaványa or Vésztő which kept their conservative structure in the dynamic period of socio-economic mobility cannot be found in this relation system.

Settlements in the giant village—small town category can be referred to three types (Fig. 6.). The three types also represent three stages of development and this typology contains the position of the given settlement in the settlement system and in a concrete sense, its spatial location.

Of these three types, to the first and most developed one settlements of the Szeghalom type belong. (Labels for types are chosen by examples from Békés county.)

The main feature of the Szeghalom type settlements (there are 15 altogether) is that they were relatively early mobilized from the stable and autonomous structure of the giant village, at present they are in an advanced stage of urban development; they have regional-organizational functions, their structure is balanced as a whole, though dissonances may occur (these settlements are generally not characterized by harmonious development). Their hierarchic level and functional accomplishment have reached a stage that they are incorporated into the settlement system with lines having a spatial pattern, too, can be described qualitatively and quantitatively. Today the function as important elements in the settlement system. Beside Szeghalom, only the twin communes of Endrőd and Gyoma and with certain restrictions, Mezőkovácsháza can be assigned to this group in Békés county. (These restrictions will be touched upon later, in connection with other types.) In a broader sense, Püspökladány, Tiszafüred, Kunszentmárton, Bácsalmás, Kistelek and the settlements of the Great Plain margin can be referred to this group where the Great Plain character is not the determining factor; instead the effect of the Budapest agglomeration and of certain elements of the Borsod industrial region dominate which is getting stronger and stronger even in the Great Plain.

The Szeghalom-type settlements, which doubtless perform urban functions in a geographical sense, deserve to be declared towns and this can be done in no time.

The second is the *Mezőberény type*. (Its settlement number 13.) The essential feature of the Mezőberény type is that the settlements have structures as developed as in the previous case, while, primarily owing to their special location, they are not able to stand on their own or to function as a centre in a similar way settlements in the previous group can. The development of Mezőberény is closely associated to the mid-Békés settlement assemblage and the latter is decisive in the life of the large village. This is an uncommon way. In another approach this means that if a similarly developing settlement of the same size were located elsewhere in the settlement network, it would have no problem concerning development perspectives, it would run the usual course. Sarkad can be assigned to the same type, for a similar reason, e.i. their being bound to the mid-Békés settlement assemblage and its development perspectives are to be brought to accordance with that. But settlements like e.g. Abony also belong here, the development of which, though it belongs to Pest county, cannot be separated from the advancement of Szolnok, the seat of the neighbouring county. (Another contribution to the anachronistic nature of Hungarian administrative boundaries.) The situation of Nagykálló, a former county seat, resembles to that of Nyíregyháza. Neither can be set up a real development perspective in case of Polgár without considering those of Leninváros. This applies to settlements around Debrecen: Derecske, Balmazújváros, Hajdúhadház or Lajosmizse in relation to Kecskemét or Solt in relation to Dunaföldvár or Mindszent which could keep its 8,000 inhabitants under the pressure of Hódmezővásárhely and Szentes from both sides; as a matter of fact, it carries out an urban development from its own sources, though its special location deprives it from possibilities of regional influence.

The more developed members of this group (Mezőberény, Sarkad, Abony etc.) can in no time be declared to towns, others need a certain development to reach this level.

A third, least developed type is represented by *Vésztő*. 16 settlements can be referred here. These settlements could not rise above the standard of a giant village, therefore they were characterized by a large-scale population loss in the past decades. (It is to be remembered that they number some ten thousands of population, so the 15 per cent loss rate represents 1.500 people. This makes up the population of five or six, or considering present sizes, even ten settlements, small villages in Transdanubia or in the northern part of Borsod county. High ratios correspond to high quantitative values.) These settlements have got stuck in the stage of giant village and their chances are restricted to run the usual course of development supported by a special force. Beside Vésztő, settlements like Dévaványa or Füzesgyarmat in Békés county or Komádi in Hajdú-Bihar county.

Komádi lies just in the area between Debrecen and Békéscsaba, outside the sphere of Berettyóújfalú and Szeghalom, in void of medium level functions and, consequently, called a townless area by some experts. So Komádi is not merely a settlement out of a dozen but an unfortunately neglected one, in spite of having an attraction zone. Development is essential not only for Komádi but it is in the interest of the attraction zone as well which comprises settlements along the Bihar border with the natural centre of Komádi.

An interesting situation can be observed in southern Békés county where, beside Mezőkovácsháza, grouped in the first type, there are several settlements of the Vésztő

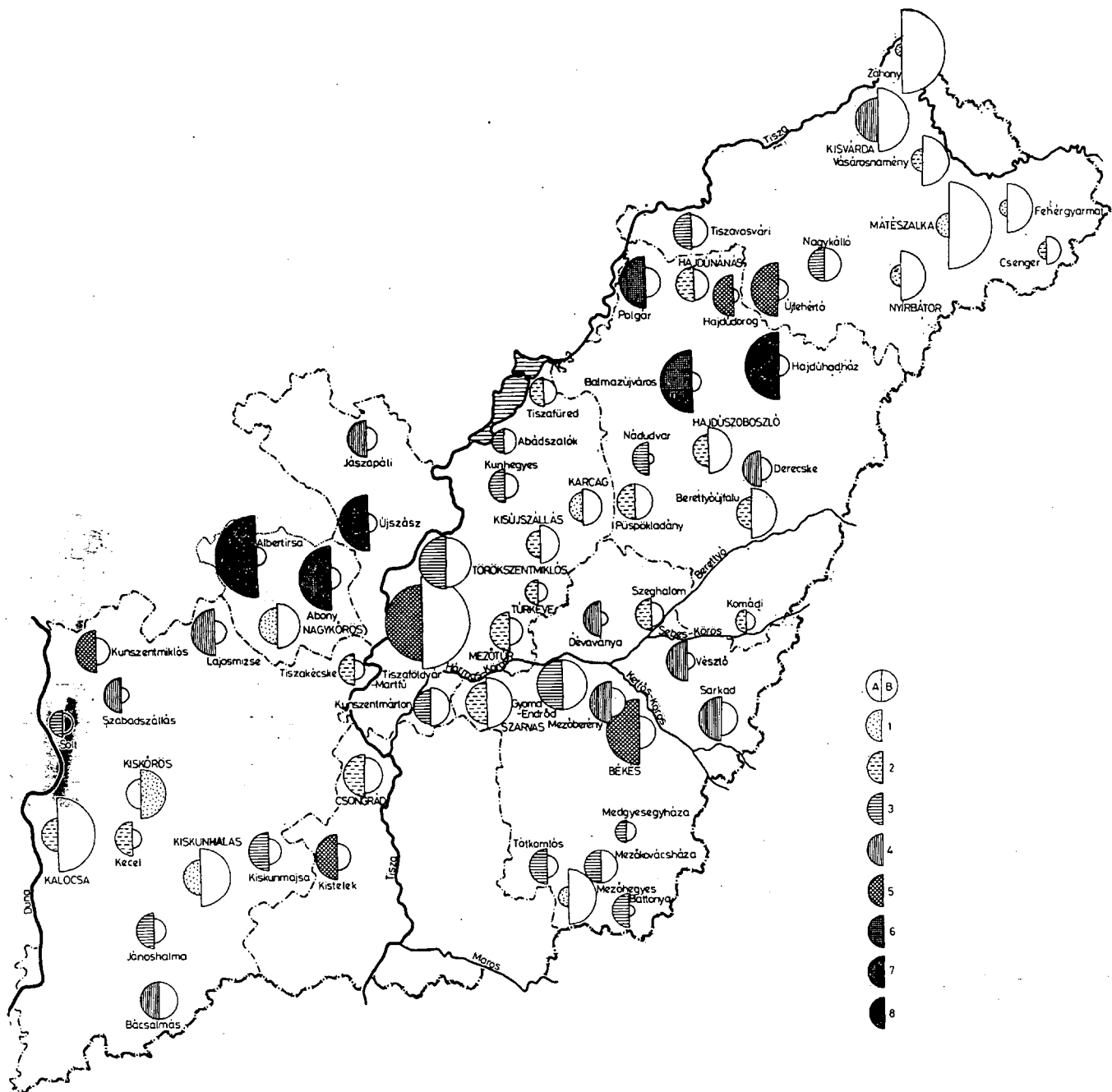


Fig. 4. Mobility of labour in the small towns of the Great Plain in 1970

A: out-commuting, B: in-commuting, (The area of the circle represents 500 commuters) Ratio of out-commuters to people working in place:

1: less than 5 per cent, 2: 5,0 to 1,0 per cent, 3: 10,1 to 15,, per cent, 4: 15,1 to 20,0 per cent, 5: 20,1 to 30,0 per cent, 6: 30,1 to 40,0 per cent, 7: 40,1 to 50,0 per cent, 8: more than 50 per cent.

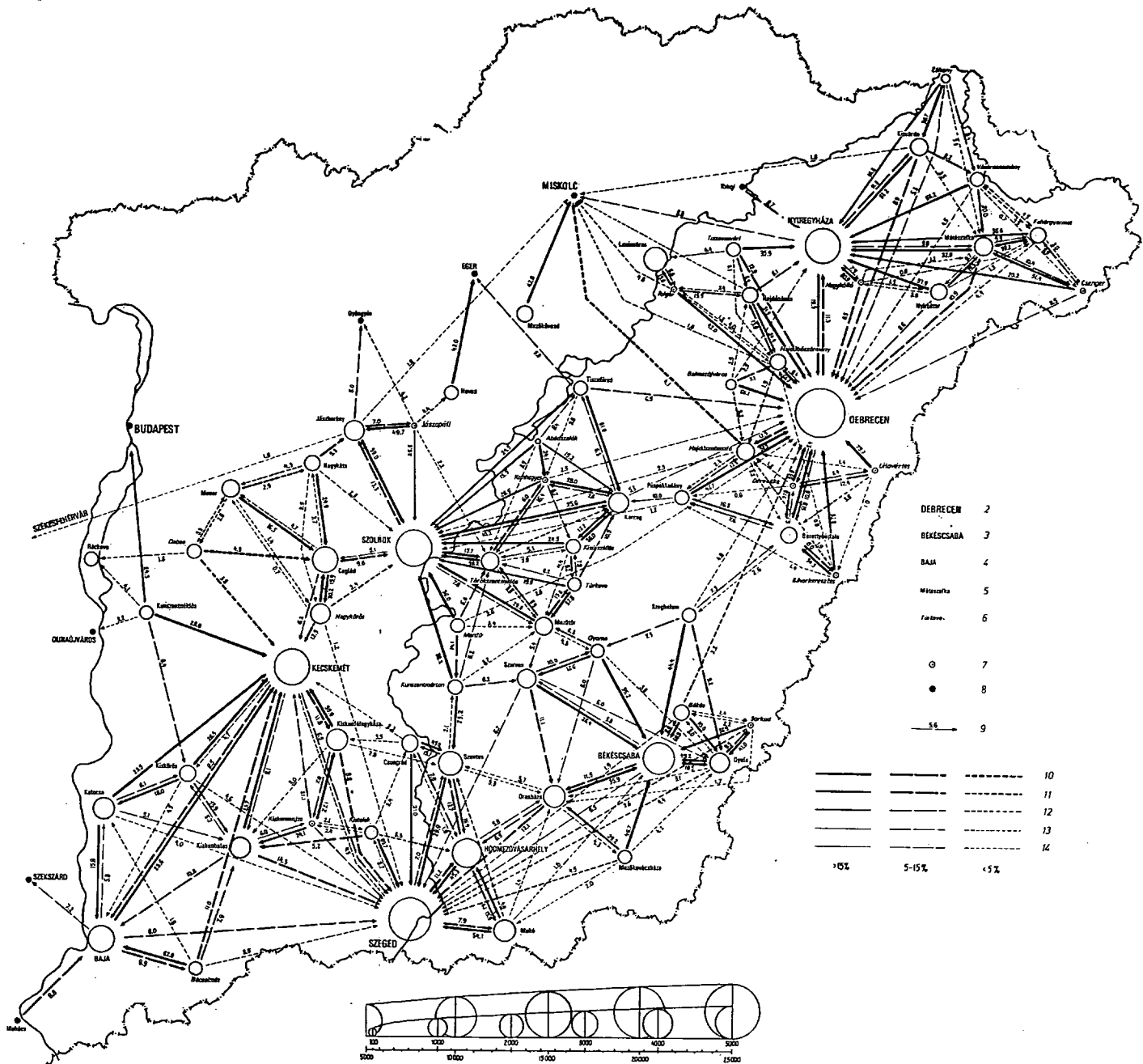


Fig. 5. The Great Plain giant villages and/or small towns in the intercental relationsystem of the region (by trunk calls)

- 1: the area of the circle is proportional to telephones in the network (centres of at least partial secondary rank in the Great Plain)
 2: prominent primary centres, 3: primary centres, 4: partial primary centres,
 5: secondary centres, 6: partial secondary centres, 7: other centres, 8: centres outside the Great Plain, 9: direction of relation (the percentage representing the ratio of trunk calls from the connected settlement to the centre indicated with the arrow).
 Rank of relation:
 10: primary, 11: secondary, 12: tertiary, 13: quaternary, 14: fifth-rank, 15: intensity of relation.

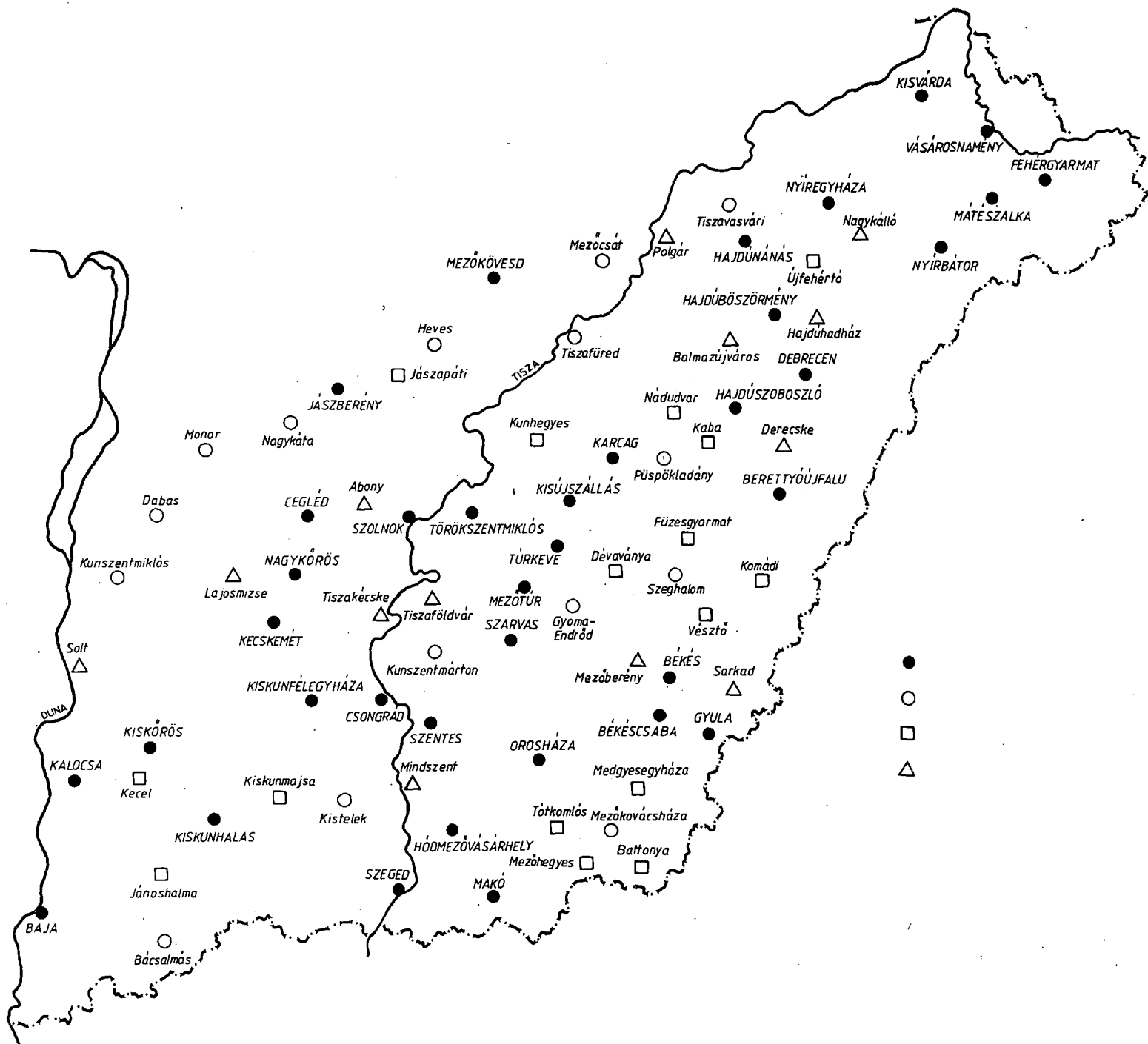


Fig. 6. Development types of the Great Plain giant villages and/or small towns
 1: torvns, 2: Szeghalom-type, 3: Zésztő-type, 4; Mezőberény-type

type. Apart from Medgyesegyháza populated a hundred years ago, Mezőhegyes with a particular development can be found here as well as Tótkomlós and the typical small market town of Battonya belong to the market town development type. Here, of settlements of more or less the same size, the National Plan has selected Mezőkovácsháza and preferred it to all others. It was not justified by real processes and spatial relations. A strenuous development ('in the teeth of the wind') took place here which resulted in permanent competition of the settlements developed from central sources. In the case of Battonya some subjective factors also led to the new categorization of the large village as a co-centre when the National Plan was modified in 1981. Problems of progress, however, are still far from being solved (Mrs. Dövényi, Z.—Dövényi, Z. 1982).

As far as perspectives of development are concerned within this type, it is evident that possibilities inherent in their own structure must be built upon. It will not be to the purpose to industrialize now because an industrial plant will not find enough labour in place. Within the present changed circumstances, the future of settlements, e.g. of Vésztő itself, has to be based on food economy. A similar situation occurs in Mezőhegyes where an excellent agricultural combine is in operation including the sugar factory and performing touristic functions today and in the future (horse-riding and related activities attract tourists primarily from western countries).

Thus it is the utilization of inherent potentialities in own structure that can help giant villages over the dead point.

It is obvious that most problems arise concerning the Vésztő type settlements. But possibilities for interference are given here, too, and properly justified, irrespective of the fact that any settlement can be described by a peculiar structure with a sequence of transitional stages (consequently, any typological attempt is liable to be attacked from many sides).

Taking it as a whole, relating to the various stages of the giant village to, small town development and the whole set of problems, there are alternative strategies for development. They can be put in this way: these settlements are either to be left in their present condition (this has been codified, explicitly or implicitly, in the development¹plans of the past ten years or actions led to this end) or various means are to be sought to influence the development of these important elements of the settlement network; development towards the small town stage is to be promoted where it has not yet taken place and accelerated where higher, more advanced stages of the process have been reached.

There are several benefits of small town development. Some are hinted at below. When having a developed or, at least, developing network of small settlements, its elements are able to counterbalance the network of large and medium towns, to intercept a portion of immigration to them, this way reducing the costs of the process with all of its consequences on the level of society.

Small town development also accords with the decentralization trends in policy. With the purpose that decision-making is to be shifted to the place where most information needed to prepare decisions is available.

The problem of the redistribution of national product is very important; a larger proportion should remain in place, a lesser one should be concentrated.

The alteration of the National Plan for the Development of the Settlement Network (not the present one without essential changes but some more substantial ones to be expected in the 1980s) seem to bring about a certain turn: a less concentrated

model of development will, in the future, substitute¹ the present overconcentrated one. It will provide greater possibility for the development of small and medium towns. Actual changes can only be based on a new redistribution system where more wealth is returned to these levels or left there in the settlement for development (the latter is the better and safer solution). In case more funds remain in the settlements, less central financing is needed. If less central financing is necessary, the main argument impeding the rate of declarations, i.e. if more settlements become towns, more money has to be provided for them from central funds. If this argument is refuted, the legal process of urban declaration can be accelerated.

This additional financial possibility is given or more of local sources remained in place, a period of reanimation may start aided by the legal action of urban declaration, since people are more readily got involved into activities in the atmosphere of parochialism and democratism. It would introduce or, better to say, accelerate the transformation of these settlements to real small towns. It is in the interest of all the Great Plain and, indirectly, of all Hungary.

REFERENCES

- BECSEI, J. 1973: Az alföldi mezővárosok szerkezetének átalakulása (Changes in the structure of market towns in the Great Hungarian Plain), *Földrajzi Közlemények*, Vol. 21 No. 1. pp. 37—67.
- BECSEI, J. 1977: Az agrárvárosok átalakulásának néhány jellegzetessége (Specific traits in the transformation of rural market towns), *Alföldi Tanulmányok*, Vol. 1. Békéscsaba, pp. 96—116.
- BELUSZKY, P. 1981: Két hátrányos helyzetű terület az Alföldön: a Közép-Tisza-vidék és a Berettyó—Körös regions), *Alföldi Tanulmányok*, Vol. 5., Békéscsaba, pp. 131—160.
- BORCHERT, G. 1980: The Dutch Settlement System — In: *The National Settlement Systems. Topical and National Reports*. Warsaw, pp. 218—235.
- CLOKE, P. 1979: *Key Settlements in Rural Areas* — London.
- COSTA, M.—POZZO, C.—BARTALETTI, F. 1976: The Role of Small Towns in the Italian Urban Network — University of Pisa, Faculty of Arts, pp. 111—122.
- DÖVÉNYI, Z. 1980: Die Probleme der Kleinstädte der grossen ungarischen Tiefebene. Greifswalder Geographische Arbeiten (under press)
- DÖVÉNYI, Z. 1980a: A kisvárosok problémái a világ néhány térségében (Problems of small towns in some areas of the world). In: Tóth, J. (ed.): *Változó alföldi falu és a gazdaság (Changing Great Plain village and economy)*, Békéscsaba, pp. 137—143.
- DÖVÉNYI, Z. 1981b: Az alföldi kisvárosok néhány problémája (Some problems of Great Plain small towns). In: Tóth, J. de(): *A Dél-Alföld az ország településhálózatában; a fejlesztés eszköz- és érdekeltségi rendszere (The South Great Plain in the settlement network of the country. Means and interests of development)*, Békéscsaba, pp. 90—96.
- Mrs. DÖVÉNYI, Z.—DÖVÉNYI, Z. 1982: A centrumok helyzete a dél-békési térség településhálózatában (Position of centres in the settlement network of the South-Békés area), *Békési Élet* 2. (under press)
- ENYEDI, GY. 1978: *Kelet-Közép-Európa gazdaságföldrajza (Economic geography of East-Central Europe)*, Budapest, 293. p.
- ERDEI, F. (without date): *Magyar város (Hungarian town)*, Budapest.
- HOFMEISTER, B. 1972: *Stadtgeographie*, Braunschweig.
- KELDBORG, J. 1978: *Small Towns in Denmark and their Conditions for Development* — Technical University of Denmark (Institute of Roads, Transport and Town Planning), paper 1., 49 p.
- LETRICH, E. 1965: *Urbanizálódás Magyarországon (Urbanization in Hungary)*, *Földrajzi Tanulmányok*, 5. Budapest, 83 p.
- LETRICH, E. 1975: *Településhálózat, urbanizáció, igazgatás (Settlement network, urbanization administration)*, Budapest, 96 p.
- MÉSZÁROS, R. 1981: A falusi átalakulás földrajzi típusai a Dél-Alföldön (Regional types of rural transformation in the South Great Hungarian Plain), *Földrajzi Értesítő*, Vol. 30. No. 1. pp. 73—85.

- MÉSZÁROS, R. 1982: Néhány gondolat a dél-alföldi óriásfalvak kapcsán a kisvárosokról (Some thoughts concerning small towns of occasion of South Great Plain giant villages), *Békési Élet*, Vol. 17. No. 7. pp.
- MILDNER, S. 1976: Die Problemanalyse im Planungsprozess. Eine Studie zur Stadtentwicklung-splanung in Ländern der Dritten Welt — Karlsruhe.
- SCHÖLLER, P. 1969: Veränderungen im Zentralitätsgefüge deutscher Städte. Ein Verleich der Entwicklungstendenzen in West und Ost — In: *Deutscher Geographentag, Bad Godesberg, 1967*. Wiesbaden, 243—249.
- TÓTH, J. 1977: Az urbanizáció népességtárajzi vonatkozásai a Dél-Alföldön (Demographic aspects of urbanization in the South Great Plain), *Földrajzi Tanulmányok*, 14. Budapest, 142. p.
- TÓTH, J. 1981: Óriásfalvak — kisvárosok? — az alföldi településrendszerben (Giant villages — small towns? — in the settlement network of the Great Hungarian Plain), In: *Változó alföldi falu és gazdaság, Békéscsaba*, pp. 56—78.
- WÖHL, H. 1979: Verteilung und Wachstum zentralerterreni O Bayern und ihre Verwendung als Raumplanungsinstrument, Frankfurt am Main.