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Boglárlelle, or 13 Years of Changes in the Era of Mass Tourism

Abstract

The aim of the study is to provide a comprehensive picture of the period between 1978 and 1991 when Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle were together, i.e., the development of Boglárlelle. Placing the period under study in context, it describes the economic changes of the two settlements over the centuries, the circumstances of their union and the process of their separation. Finally, it shows what kind of developments were made to bring tourism to Lelle and Boglár in line with modern market economy conditions after their separation in 1991. In order to answer my research question, I made seconder research using professional literature, press materials, archival sources and statistics to learn about the most important developments and economic changes in the settlement during the period of 13 years.

As a result of my research, I was able to present the important turning points of economic development of Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle, highlighting the changes in the 19th century when Boglár became the transport and trade centre of the of the area. Moreover, this time the development of spa culture also started in the region of the Balaton. I found that Boglár and Lelle had different economic roles in the region apart from tourism, thus the idea of their symbiotic development was established and seemed a valid argument for their union. However, while the aggregate numbers of the 13 years show progress, examining details the disparity between Boglár and Lelle becomes visible. My research has proven the validity of the concept of forced marriage for the period of Boglárlelle. Moreover, it is also confirmed by the new developments of the independent towns after their separation in 1991.

Keywords: Balaton, mass tourism, development, Boglárlelle, settlement-union

Introduction

In my previous research I have already examined the long-term economic development of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár, including the common Boglárlelle period. However, I believe that this period, as an example of merged settlements, is worthy of study in its own right. It is well known that in the socialist era, as part of the centralising efforts, independent municipalities were not only organised into joint councils retaining their legal autonomy, but often towns, lying next to each other, were merged. ⁶⁴⁶ There are many examples for unions of settlements in Hungary. In 1951, today's Várpalota was born with the merger of Várpalota, Inota and Pét. ⁶⁴⁷ Kazincbarcika was founded in 1947 with the union of Sajókazincz and Barcika, then 3 years later Berente was also merged into it. However, similar to Boglár and

647 Tolnai Napló 23.10.1951; Pétfürdő (n. d.): https://petfurdo.asp.lgov.hu/telepulestortenet

⁶⁴⁶ Kanczlerné Veréb, M. – Körmendy, I. (2010): 6.

Lelle, Berente became independent again in 1999.⁶⁴⁸ Due to territorial organization measures and modernization Gyomaendrőd was born with the merger of Gyoma and Endrőd in Békés County on the 1st of January in 1982.⁶⁴⁹ In the case of Boglár and Lelle it is an interesting fact that the struggles of their separation took place in the first years of the political, economic and social regime change in Hungary.

Several professional works have been written about the history of Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle. The settlement monograph of Lelle and Boglár, published in 1988, describes the centuries-long history of them up to the first period of the merger, but does not discuss the independence process of the towns or the effects of the separation. Also, there are studies describe the period of Boglárlelle, but most of them are written in a subjective style (by someone with strong ties to Boglár or Lelle). The memoir of Ambrus (2008) gives a detailed picture of the feelings of the people lived in Lelle in connection the separation. She also reveals many facts, such as the referendum and the hunger strike mentioned later, but overall, the work is characterised by a serious emotional overheat, understandably because of the grievances she has experienced. There are several descriptions showing the economic and social past, the development of one of the two settlements hunders works also show emotional (over)heating, or they do not give a detailed picture of the period of Boglárlelle. Some conclusions can be also seen according to the press materials about how the city administration at that time viewed the common period. These include the term forced marriage the study aims to examine.

During my research, I am trying to give a detailed view of a period that has not been objectively analysed yet. I used the mentioned works to write my study, but I tried to concentrate on the facts, filtering out the emotional effects. By using contemporary articles, archival sources, statistics and legal sources I tried to give an overall picture of the period. I sought the answer to the following professional questions:

- 1. What could be expected from the merger of two settlements at that time, and what potential economic and other benefits could be expected?
- 2. How can the union of Boglár and Lelle in 1978 be justified by the common features of their past and economic development?
- 3. Does the development of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár after 1991 justify the correctness of the decision to separate, so the description of the period of 13 years as a forced marriage?

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⁶⁴⁸ Mogyoróssy, P. (2014); Kismarton, Zs. (2020)

⁶⁴⁹ HU-MNL-BEML-XXXV. VB 642/75 1982.02.10

⁶⁵⁰ Andrássy, A. (1988); Honti, Sz. – Költő, L. – Németh, P. G. (1988); Kanyar, J. (1988); Magyar, K. (1988); T. Mérey, K. (1988); Takács, É. (1988); Tóth, P. (1988)

⁶⁵¹ Horváth, I. (2015); Horváth, J. (1943); Paál, L. (2002)

⁶⁵² Somogyi Hírlap 22.05.1993

The facilities and economic development of Boglár and Lelle

In order to understand the significance of the period of Boglárlelle and to place it in the development-process of the two today's town, Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle, it is essential to describe their history before 1978.

The settlements lying next to each other and having been physically melded for decades have different economic geography facilities. Balatonlelle used to be a marshy, boggy area, which was extensively drained to make it suitable for agriculture and to get its present form. However, the deepest point of marsh in Lelle has been a boggy area until today. The highest point in the administrative territory of the town is the top of Kishegy reaching about 300 meters height above sea level. This part of Lelle and the Gamási-hát on the border of the town are home for the viticulture of long history. In addition to Lake Balaton, Balatonlelle has an other important standing water, the fishpond system of Irmapuszta was established in the 1920s. 653

In contrast, Balatonboglár lying on the west is situated in a hilly, downy landscape. Its situation and favourable climate have served the production of grapes and fruit for a long time. ⁶⁵⁴ For centuries, agriculture was the dominant economic activity in this settlement, too, based on the vineyards and the arable land on the south of the hill of Boglár. The settlement also soon became the transport and thus the trade centre of the area: the roads from the south, coming from the centre of Kaposvár County, and the roads running under the southern shore of Lake Balaton met here.

Both of the towns are one of the oldest settlements in the region of the Balaton. ⁶⁵⁵ In centuries b. C., people also lived in Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle. ⁶⁵⁶ According to the first written memories of the latter settlement, we know the Hadút, also known as the Great Road, was one of the most significant routes in the country at that time, passed through its centre. The name of Lelle appeared at the foundation letter of Abbey of Tihany in 1055 ⁶⁵⁷, but the first written mention of Boglár was later, in the 11th century, when it was mentioned as the property of the Abbey. ⁶⁵⁸ During the Turkish occupation both settlements emptied, and the area became marshy and uninhabited. ⁶⁵⁹ After that, they became several times repopulated at different rates, since the beginning of the 18th century both of them have been inhabited again.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian economic developed fast, and simultaneously a significant social transformation went through. 660 This era brought important changes in the history of Boglár and Lelle. The beginning was not easy as the south coast was looking pretty miserable. The south coast was still a marshy area at that time, so first it had to be drained and then embankments had to be built. The condition of the lake was already a major issue during the reign of Maria Theresa. Sámuel Mikoviny was responsible for the first draft, and in 1776, Sámuel Krieger made a hand-drawn map of Lake Balaton based on Mikoviny's ideas. However, these initiatives were not implemented due to conflicting interests, and landowners were not

⁶⁵³ Paál, L. (2002): 14-17.

⁶⁵⁴ Nádorfi, L. – Völgyesy, J. – Hubert, A. (1954)

⁶⁵⁵ Kardos, I. – Simalya V., F. (1907): 67., 75.

⁶⁵⁶ Honti, Sz. – Költő, L. – Németh, P. G. (1988)

⁶⁵⁷ Horváth, J. (1943)

⁶⁵⁸ Magyar, K. (1988): 51.

⁶⁵⁹ Magyar, K. (1988): 70.

⁶⁶⁰ Kaposi, Z. (2002)

interested in creating dry areas for some time, so they were in no hurry to take on the task of draining them. ⁶⁶¹ The first successful steps were taken with the construction of the railway line: in 1863, the Sió Canal was opened, which succeeded in lowering the water level of the lake by 3 metres, thus drying up a large part of the southern shore. Later, in the 1870s and 1880s, further efforts were made to transform the South-Balaton region, including in the areas of Nagyberek, Lelle, Kis-Balaton and the Sió Canal. ⁶⁶²

In 1847, a wooden pier was built in Boglár as the port of the first steamboat on Lake Balaton, the Kisfaludy, which confirmed the economic role of Boglár as the transport and trade centre of the neighbourhood. Then, in 1861, the railway line was opened which touched the both settlements, but initially it had stations only in Boglár, Szántód and Keszthely. ⁶⁶³ By the 1910s the railway station of Balatonlelle was built, too ⁶⁶⁴, then, by 1930 the upper station of the settlement was also completed. ⁶⁶⁵

From the turn of the 1880s and 1990s, the bathing life of that time was replaced by a conscious need for leisure and leisure-related holiday fun available to the civil class, too. 666 Thus, another significant change of the period in the settlements along Lake Balaton, including Lelle and Boglár, was the emergence of wealthier families from the capital and the countryside in the 1880s. 667 The development of the studied settlements took part in the development process of the Balaton, in which the secular landowners, the Bishopric and the Chapter of Veszprém, as well as the Abbey of Tihany, played a major role, because they owned a part of the countryside and started the first modernisation. 668

After draining and filling, local landowners began to parcel out their coastal land. Earl Imre Hunyadi was the first to build a summerhouse in Balatonberény in 1881-82, and then, following the example, the development of other southern coastal settlements also started, creating a new source of income for the manors and the rural peasantry. At first, the growing number of visitors was catered by large and medium-sized landowners in the coastal settlements. Thus, Lelle owed its development mainly to the Szalay- and Jankovich-families, while Boglár owed its development to the Bárány-, Körmendy- and later Gaál-families. 669

The increasing role of the bathing life in the economic situation of settlements became a common trend. As time went on, the bathing associations of Lelle and Boglár, like those of the other settlements in the area, took on a major role in the development of a civil bathing life, beside the local landowners. The first association was founded in Balatonszentgyörgy in 1895, followed by similar associations in other settlements. ⁶⁷⁰ In 1904, the bathing associations of Lelle and Boglár were founded ⁶⁷¹, which changed the appearance of the settlements as a whole in parallel with the landowner developments. Agriculture was the main source of income for the settlements in the region of the Balaton, but by the first decades of the 20th century, tourism

⁶⁶¹ Halász, I. (2010)

⁶⁶² Halász, I. (2014)

⁶⁶³ Sági, K. (1988)

⁶⁶⁴ Paál, L. (2002)

⁶⁶⁵ Andrássy, A. (1988)

⁶⁶⁶ Katona, Cs. (2002)

⁶⁶⁷ Katus, L. (2004)

⁶⁶⁸ Halász, I. (2014)

⁶⁶⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2021)

⁶⁷⁰ Kanyar, J. (1983): 24.

⁶⁷¹ Paál, L. (2002)

became an increasingly important source of income. Overall, it is true that new social patterns emerged in the area of Lake Balaton, but at the same time the settlements became more regular. Two of the most important changes of the period were the decline of agriculture and the increasing role of services. ⁶⁷²

After the Second World War, there was a major political, economic and social transformation in Hungary, which also affected the development of Lelle and Boglár. For a time, Lelle retained its agricultural character, while Boglár was already a more industrialised settlement. ⁶⁷³ In the middle of the 20th century, the settlements started to develop again, but now with a focus on tourism and catering. The labor union holiday played a major role in the economies of Lelle and Boglár, the former settlement became one of the most popular tourist centres in the region. ⁶⁷⁴ It was only in the 1960s when a significant industrial production started to develop in Lelle. ⁶⁷⁵

The population of the two settlements showed an increasing tendency in the 20th century (1. Table), in which only the Second World War caused a fracture. At the beginning of the war, both settlements had a population of about 3000. ⁶⁷⁶ In 1941, 2613 people lived in Lelle and Boglár had 2997 inhabitant. In contrast, eight years later, in 1949, the population of Lelle was 2970 and 2443 people lived in Boglár. ⁶⁷⁷ In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of inhabitants rose rapidly, thus the common population of Lelle and Boglár exceeded the 10 thousands. ⁶⁷⁸ It is visible that in the first eight decades of the 20th century the combined population of the two settlements more than tripled.

1. Table: Population trends in Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle between 1910 and 1980

	1910	1930	1941	1949	1970	1980
Balatonboglár	1522	2199	2997	2443	4047	10324
Balatonlelle	1452	2147	2613	2970	4129	

Source: Own editing (2022) based on Takács (1988) and Népszámlálás (1910), (1930), (1990)

The grape and wine production has always occupied an important place in the economic structure of Balatonboglár. In 1956, the State Farm of Balatonboglár was established on the estates taken away during the socialization process. At the beginning, only grape and fruit production and research were carried out on the farm, but in time processing and sales were also carried out. He first 10 years, it did not have any unprofitable year. During this time, the farm won several awards, including the title of Élüzem. One of the most famous Hungarian wine regions, Tokaj, a World Heritage Site, also owes its revival to the State Farm of Balatonboglár after the devastation of the peronospora epidemic in 1950: 300-300 thousands rooted grape cuttings were sent from Boglár to Tokaj in 1956-57, helping to renovate the wine region. There was also a

673 Népszámlálás (1950/a)

⁶⁷² Kaposi, Z. (2019)

⁶⁷⁴ Takács, É. (1988)

⁶⁷⁵ Paál, L. (2002)

⁶⁷⁶ Mészárosné K., M. (1988)

⁶⁷⁷ Népszámlálás (1950/b)

⁶⁷⁸ Népszámlálás (1990)

⁶⁷⁹ Reőthy, F. (1989)

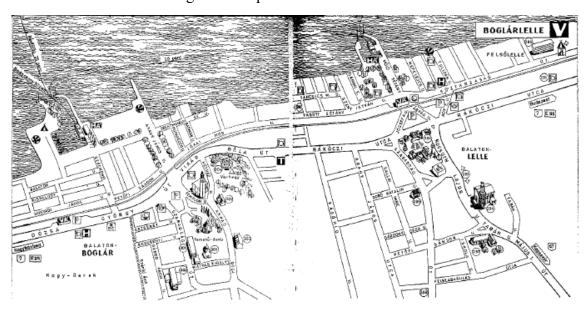
⁶⁸⁰ Podmaniczky, Sz. (2012)

⁶⁸¹ Somogyi Néplap 03.10.1965.

laboratory on the farm where constantly new varieties were being experimented with. Grapes were preserved for the first time in 1965. In the first year, a total of 5 quintals of raisins were produced, and in 1967, 10 carriages of grapes were preserved. A large part of the products was exported to the so-called 'people's democratic countries', while others were exported to the capitalist countries of the West. 83

After the Second World War, the bathing associations in the region of the Balaton were dissolved, putting the bathing life on a new footing. A new clientele emerged, the era of the workers holiday began. The lakeside settlements were invited to participate in a so-called work competition, the aim of it was to develop bathing culture. Expectations included the creation of free beach baths, the development of bathing infrastructure, the formation of propaganda ⁶⁸⁴, in other words, a development started that laid the foundations for mass tourism.

By the 1970s, mass tourism had developed in the Balaton region, based on social tourism. In addition, the importance of tourists from the countries of the KGST and from the former GDR, who, forced by the Iron Curtain, met their German relatives near Lake Balaton, increased. This development also included Lelle and Boglár, which began to get in connection and showed a common direction in the development of tourism. By 1978, the year of their union, they had grown together physically, as clearly visible on the map below (1. Figure).



3. Figure: A map from the end of the 1970s

Source: Zákonyi, F. (1980): 168–169.

⁶⁸² Somogyi Néplap 03.02.1967

⁶⁸³ Somogyi Néplap 02.02.1967

⁶⁸⁴ Kanyar, J. (1988)

⁶⁸⁵ Lengyel, M. (1995)

The reasons of the union and the developments of the common era

The question occurs to us: after all these years of independence, why Boglárlelle was born? What was the cohesive force linked Lelle and Boglár more than other similar tourism-focused settlements on the shores of Lake Balaton?

The idea of Boglárlelle was occurred several times before 1978, moreover, between the two World War the thought of so-called Nagyboglár was born, too. Oliver Gaál, who were the son of the respected Gaston Gaál, boosted the case of Nagyboglár when he parcelled his territory connecting the Jankovich-settlement and the centre of Boglár in 1935. At that time, on the east some parts of Boglár were already physically connected to Lelle, and on the western border the Jankovich-settlement was linked to Fonyódliget. This parcelling thus made it possible to create a united Nagyboglár, lying from Fonyódliget to Lelle, which, with Boglár as its centre, would have been a large and important future settlement on the shores of Lake Balaton. Due to the rapid land purchases, the three settlements - Fonyódliget, Boglár, Lelle - were soon physically united, but their administrative unification was never implemented. ⁶⁸⁶ In a guidebook from the 1950s, it was alluded that the time would soon come when Boglár and Lelle would merge, not only physically along their borders, but also in terms of administration. ⁶⁸⁷ The development plans made after the Second World War often treated the two settlements as one: a joint solution was planned for the water supply and sewage disposal of Lelle and Boglár. Lake Balaton, as a tourist centre, was a key element in the development of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár from the 1960s. Furthermore, they also had a similar role in the life of the southern shore of the Balaton, facing the same problems and often relying on each other to solve them (e.g. water and sewage disposal). Their administrative classification, their size and their settlement structure were the same. National networks such as railways, main road number 7, electricity and telephone networks also connected them. Lelle and Boglár were essentially distinguished by their natural geographical features and, partly as a result of it, by their different economic functions. Under these circumstances Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár were united into Boglárlelle on the 31st of December in 1978, following a decision of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic. 688 The reason for the decision, as described above, was the unidirectional development of the settlements and their serious interdependence in certain areas of development.

However, was their union really necessary? After 1978, the resort character of Boglárlelle was established, significant social and economic changes took place. In addition to the intellectuals, the number of artisans, retailers and small-scale producers increased. The number of people working in industry was close to 30%, while the number of people working in farmer's cooperatives continuously decreased. However, the number of industrial and technical intellectuals, teachers and health workers did not change sufficiently to cope with the increased population. In the years following the merger, the number of inhabitants over 60 and the number of children under 14 increased at the same time. As mentioned above, in some sectors the local labour force was no longer sufficient to serve the population of the settlement, so workers from

⁶⁸⁶ Somogyi Ujság 17.09.1935

⁶⁸⁷ Takács, É. (1988): 380.

⁶⁸⁸ Takács, É. (1988)

the surrounding villages were also employed in Boglárlelle. This meant that the settlement and the employers had to face a new problem: the difficulties of commute and commuting workers.

The sewage system was (partially) upgraded in line with previous plans. Thus, by December 1979, in the merged settlement there were 19 km of sewage system and 85 km of plumbing at the disposal of the inhabitants and tourists. To improve transport, 12 km of paved roads and a further 16 km of constructed roads were completed. A number of new commercial and catering facilities were created. Furthermore, one of the biggest investments of the period of Boglárlelle was the construction of the shore protection project at the Balaton, which added 18 hectares of green areas suitable for beaching. 689

The State Farm of Balatonboglár continuously developed during the period of 13 years. In the 1980s, it became the largest Hungarian wine exporter of the United States. The BB champagne is still one of the most consumed champagne in Hungary, and its production began in 1982. ⁶⁹⁰ At that time, the farm of Boglár had 1050 hectares of vineyards, the largest in the country. ⁶⁹¹ In the following year the farm made a huge profit, partly as a result of this and partly due to the continuous development over many years the state farm was declared an agricultural combine in 1984. ⁶⁹² In the same year, the Balatonboglár Agricultural Combine was awarded the South-Balaton Wine Region as an honourable mention of its achievements. In the countryside, the number of small producers teamed into specialised groups also increased continuously. ⁶⁹³ In 1985, the state farm, which by then became a combine, was operating in the borders of 16 settlements on a land of 3,700 hectares, with 1,700 employees. About 40% of it, 1500 hectares, was used for viticulture. ⁶⁹⁴ The "Bonus Bonorum Borrend" was founded in 1986, whose signal wine was the "Boglári muskotály". ⁶⁹⁵ In honour of the high level of grape and wine production in the settlement, in 1987, Boglárlelle was awarded the title of Town of Grapes and Wine by the International Association of Grapes and Wine Office. ⁶⁹⁶

Following the merger, as a result of the developments, Boglárlelle became the second largest settlement on the south coast of the Balaton, and got the title of a town in 1986 (2. Figure), which both Lelle and Boglár were able to retain after their separation in 1991. 697

⁶⁸⁹ Takács, É. (1988): 394-396.

⁶⁹⁰ BB (n.d.): https://bb.hu/tortenet

⁶⁹¹ Buday-Sántha, A. (2007)

⁶⁹² HU-MNL-SVL XXXV. 1.b. 1984. 02.29

⁶⁹³ HU-MNL-SVL XXXV. 1.b. 1984.10

⁶⁹⁴ Békés Megyei Népújság 30.09.1985

⁶⁹⁵ Podmaniczky, Sz. (2012)

⁶⁹⁶ BB (n.d.): https://bb.hu/tortenet

⁶⁹⁷ Kanyar, J. (1988)

4. Figure: Certificate justifying the town status of Boglárlelle



Source: Laczkó, A. (ed.) (1988): 500.

The population increased during the period of Boglárlelle. From a population of nearly 10,000 in the late 1970s, the town grew to a population of 11,034 by the time of the regime change. 698 It is clear from the above that the settlement as a whole was developing over the 13 years, but if we separately look at the parts of Lelle and Boglár, we can see that there are significant differences. So, the growing numbers alone cannot prove that the merger in 1978 was the right decision for the two settlements.

The reasons of the separation and the first years spending in the new system

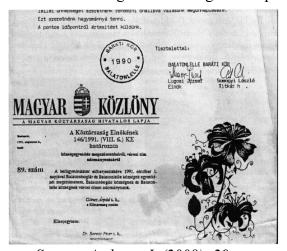
During the period of 13 years, there was a continuous discord in the administration of the settlement, which made it impossible to work together and led to increasingly serious problems. When examining the separation of Lelle and Boglár, one should not ignore the fact that it coincided with a change at national level, namely the regime change. At that time, a new political and economic system was being established. It means that it also put tourism on new foundations, which played a significant role in the life of Boglárlelle. Thus, the last decade of the 20th century Boglár and Lelle began with fighting each other and struggling to adapt to the new economic system (as one settlement in the first year of the decade).

In the separation of the two settlements, the role of Lelle Baráti Kör is undoubted, which initially consisted of local patriots, and then the number of its members rose by the joining of the population of Lelle. The inhabitant of Lelle initiated the cancellation of the "idyllic" situation of Boglárlelle. They felt that only Boglár as one part of the joint settlement was supported. They regretted that many of the improvements promised at the time of the merger did not been implemented or had only affected Boglár, but not Lelle. The establishment of a centre between the two towns, which was planned in 1978, was not implemented, thus almost all public institutions were located in the west part, so in Boglár. The development of health care remained at the planning stage. During a period of almost 13 years, the administrative boundaries were modified to the detriment of Lelle, and a number of areas reserved for public

⁶⁹⁸ Wilhelm, R. (2021)

aims were sold or leased. During this period, a total of 47 streets were drained, 41 of them were in the area of Boglár. Of the 69 streets affected by the new gas pipeline network, 27 were only in Lelle. In addition, the merged city administration abandoned a number of public areas and public buildings to nature. The members of the Lelle Baráti Kör also drew attention to that there are many vacant parcels in the area of Lelle, and their sale could support the budget of the town by substantial sums of money. They believed that the reason why the management of Boglárlelle, which members were largely from Boglár, had not pushed for the separation was that the more developed western part of the settlement would have lost this source of income in the privatisation process. The process of separation, which can hardly be called peaceful, or even a struggle, began already in 1990. On the 9th of December in 1990, a referendum was called on the separation of Boglárlelle, which the leaders of the town tried to manipulate in every possible way, but with a turnout of 53%, 1800 votes were cast in favour and 380 against. In other words, 83% of those who voted wanted separation, and only 17% voted in favour of maintaining Boglárlelle as it is. The numbers were very impressive, but not enough to justify separation, so the Friends decided to appeal to the Constitutional Court. In the course of the long legal battles, the inhabitant of Lelle, who were very committed to their case, used other means: on the 1st of July in 1991, a peaceful demonstration in front of the town hall turned into a hunger strike. They achieved their goal: they won the unanimous support of the Council of Representatives for the request for separation submitted earlier to the Ministry of the Interior, thus speeding up the process. As a result of the legal procedure, which took more than half a year after the referendum, the Minister of the Interior approved the separation on the 6th of August in 1991, and the two independent towns of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár were reestablished on the 1st of October (3. Figure). This marked the end of the era of Boglárlelle. The separation, which could not be described as peaceful, had effects on the relationship between the inhabitants of Boglár and Lelle for some time, for which the former Boglárlelle administration was blamed. 699

5. Figure: Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár became again independent settlements



Source: Ambrus, J. (2008): 29.

⁶⁹⁹ Ambrus, J. (2008)

After 1991, both the Lelle and Boglár management worked to repair the damage caused by 13 years of joint management. In 1994, Miklós Németh, the then mayor of Boglár, also referred back to the period in Boglárlelle as the "forced marriage" of two settlements with different development. ⁷⁰⁰

After the separation, the priority in both settlements, as in other settlements in the region of Lake Balaton, was to save the lake and restore its water quality. In addition, in Lelle, after 1991 first, public works were carried out to make up for the unfairly distributed developments of the era of Boglárlelle. While three quarters of Boglár, only about a quarter of Lelle was connected to the sewage disposal. In the first three years, 2.2 km of plumbing, 10.8 km of rainwater drainage and 6.5 km of new sewage disposal were constructed. The length of paved roads, pavements and gas pipelines were also increased. A number of public buildings were renovated and extended (e.g.school, clinic). In order to ensure safe transport, 1.6 km of street lighting was carried out and the cycle path system was extended by a section of 2.8 km. ⁷⁰¹ These were all infrastructure improvements which the local government of Lelle considered to be essential for the town's vitality and which were intended to establish the tourism improvements that followed. During this period, a number of private investments were also made, all of which were already part of the tourism-oriented development. ⁷⁰²

In the first half of the 1990s, in Boglár on the west of Vörösmarty Square the development of a town centre started with the construction of 2 or 3-storey residential and commercial buildings. As one of the first examples of tourism-oriented development, a landscaped square was also completed at this time, which was the start of the pedestrians only. ⁷⁰³

The developments show that the separation had a positive impact on both settlements: in Lelle, modernisation was achieved that was essential for the development of a tourist town at the end of the 20th century. In Boglár, too, improvements were continued, now in a market-based economy. The facts therefore justify the characterisation of 'forced marriage' mentioned above for the period of 13 years and the correctness of the separation. It is interesting to note what did not work together, worked separately: the opportunity for independent development allowed Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár to follow a similar path in the 2000s, i.e. to organise their economies around tourism.

Conclusion

The primary aim of the mergers of settlements carried out as part of socialist centralisation was to share insufficient administrative resources between towns and villages. The potential advantage was seen in the complementary development and possible future symbiosis of settlements with different economic facilities.

Focusing on the main processes, the economic history of today's Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár was presented, showing that apart from the bathing life, they played different economic roles in the life of the region, so that at the time of their union, the two settlements could rightly be

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⁷⁰⁰ Somogyi Hírlap 22.05.1993

⁷⁰¹ Ambrus, J. (2008): 46-49.

⁷⁰² Wilhelm, R. (2021)

⁷⁰³ Pór, P. (2018): 17.

thought to complement each other. It can be said that Lelle and Boglár had a history of common or complementary development that justified their merger, but in reality, it did not produce the expected results.

The economic indicators show progress over the period of 13 years, but if we look at the details, we can see that this growth has not been equal between Boglár and Lelle. This was continuously increasing the antagonism between the leaders of the settlements and led to dissension on economic and administrative issues. Thus, the term of forced marriage proves to be right, describing well the common period in the history of the two towns, Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár, from 1978 to 1991.

After the separation, in 1991, in both settlements the developments got under way, mainly in the tourism sector. By the beginning of the 21st century, in both Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár a tourism-oriented, small-town life was developed. The interesting part of the story is that what could not be done together was eventually done separately, but occasionally in cooperation between the two settlements. Our research shows that after their separation, Lelle and Boglár developed independently, yet in support of each other.

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