



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Case Study Report
György-telep
Ten Years of Urban Regeneration in a Poor Neighbourhood,
Hungary

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Source of pictures: <https://jelenlet.maltai.hu/helyszinek/pecs-gyorgy-telep/>. Credit: András Hajdú D.

Abbreviations

DNHR	Department of Natural and Human Resources, Municipality of Pécs
ECC	European Capital of Culture
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
FDSNC	First Danube Steamship Navigation Company
HCSO	Hungarian Central Statistical Office
HD	Housing Department, Municipality of Pécs
RMSG	Roma Minority Self-Government
UDC	Urban Development Company, Pécs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Executive Summary

Background

This case study analyses a series of place-based developments carried out in a marginalized neighbourhood called György-telep since 2007. Our field is a former mining colony situated in a peripheral part of Pécs, which is the fifth largest city of Hungary with a population of ca. 150.000, and which is the seat of Baranya county. From 2007 there have been altogether EUR. Through these projects 90 low comfort social housing units were renovated, three community houses were established, various social services were provided (both through individual and collective social work), and numerous community programs were organized. The main idea behind these projects was to develop one of the most stigmatized parts of the city. The area has been characterized with extremely high ratio of substandard flats, very low level of education, high level of unemployment and high ratio of Roma residents.

Findings

The case of György telep is regarded as one of the most successful place-based projects in Hungary. It is often cited as a “best case”, because in the fields of unemployment, housing quality, household indebtedness and criminal activities the development projects achieved significant positive results in the targeted neighbourhood. However, due to the changes of national and local policy frameworks, and due to the different logics of the different projects, we found several contradictions in the developmental trajectory. First, we show that in some cases different projects built on different methodologies and logics while targeting the same – or close – areas, as a result of which they interfered with each other. Second, we show that infrastructural investments implemented without proper planning can cause local tensions through not matching with the justice-perceptions of the local inhabitants. Third, we show that local institutional reshuffling and local politics can counteract the main aims of these development projects.

Besides these contradictions, one of our main finding is how as an unintended consequence these different rounds of development projects could lead to the strengthening role of the Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Málta as a broker in the local developmental coalition. Málta was able to provide continuity across different interfering project logics through its turntable position. While Málta could smoothen the negative effects of these contradictions, it could not completely eliminate them.

Outlook

With Málta as a broker in local issues, the relation between the local residents in György-telep and the Housing Department of the municipality became much smoother, and more constructive. In the future this could provide the basis of a more humane treatment of administrative issues related to poverty. However, it is still questionable whether high rank politicians could be influenced in any way. The recent top-down reform of the local housing regulation suggests that the nation-wide shift towards a more oppressive, exclusionary welfare regime has more impact on high rank local leaders, than the positive effects of the György-telep investments. This issue has an important political economic context as well. Almost all the György-telep investments were financed by large international donors (mainly the EU), and not national or local bodies. This characteristic is also true for other similar projects in Hungary. In the context of austerity in the domain of welfare spending, this might imply that the future of György-telep is very much dependent upon the future of the EU's Cohesion Policy, and the willingness of other donors to step in, in case the available funding for the post-2020 period would shrink.

1. Introduction

The most well-known case of a socially sensitive, integrated urban regeneration project in Hungary beyond the capital city of Budapest is the case of “György-telep”¹, the focus of our case study. György-telep (which translates to English as György colony, or György settlement) is a former mining colony situated in a peripheral part of Pécs, which is the fifth largest city of Hungary with a population of ca. 150.000, and which is the seat of Baranya county. Pécs has been an important cultural and economic centre of southern Hungary for many centuries. One of the most important sources of its growth in the 20th century was coal and uranium mining, but after the global crisis of the 1970s the mines were gradually closed down, and as a result of this the city started to shrink: between 1990 and 2017 the city lost almost 12% of its population. Demographic decline went hand in hand with economic hardships: GDP per capita produced in Baranya county (whose economic centre has always been Pécs) relative to the national average declined from 75.5% in 2000 to 63.2% in 2015 according to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office. This is the second largest relative decline in this period among the 19 counties in Hungary. Thus György-telep can be considered as a peripheral part of a peripheralizing, rapidly shrinking city, whose history is tightly connected to the historical importance of mining in the area.

From 2007 there have been altogether six different development projects carried out focusing on György-telep and the surrounding area. Based on our rough estimation ca. 5,5 million EUR has been spent in the area, through which 90 low comfort social housing units were renovated, three community houses were established, various social services were provided (both through individual and collective social work), and numerous community programs were organized. The main idea behind these projects was to develop one of the most stigmatized parts of the city. The area has been characterized with extremely high ratio of substandard flats, very low level of education, high level of unemployment and high ratio of Roma residents.

As we will show in detail in the following chapter, György-telep is not an entirely precisely defined place with clear-cut boundaries; for different people it carries different meanings and different mental maps. According to the most common understanding György-telep is the name of a few dozen houses built approximately a hundred years ago in a valley for miners, where ca. 200 people live nowadays. However, György-telep is part of a larger area usually called Hősök tere (meaning Hősök square, the centre of the neighbourhood), which consists of a few other neighbouring streets, populated by ca. 1000 people. Hősök tere is the northeast end of Pécs, and part of the larger area called Eastern Neighbourhood (Keleti városrész in Hungarian) or Meszes, which are the colloquial names for the Eastern part of Pécs. Eastern Neighbourhood is the area where most of the miners lived, and nowadays it is the poorest part of the city, as it becomes obvious from Maps 1-5 in the Annexes. György-telep, together with Hősök tere, is one of the poorest parts within the Eastern Neighbourhood, and it has been one of the most stigmatized one. For the rest of the case study when we use the word “György-telep”, we will refer to the area incorporating both György-telep in the narrow sense and the neighbouring streets called Hősök tere. The projects and actions that we analyse were all executed within this larger area, but with different action areas (see Map 6)– we will elaborate both on the porous boundaries of these places, and on the different territorial foci of various projects in the following analytical chapters.

¹ For a set of professional photos and a short video of György-telep see:
<http://jelenlet.maltai.hu/helyszinek/pecs-gyorgy-telep/>

The first project initiated by the Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Malta (in the following we will refer to them as “Málta”, since this is the nickname commonly used in Hungary) in György-telep started in 2007 under the name “Presence program”. During the “Presence program” a few social workers started to work with the local community financed jointly by Malta and the municipality. Between 2012 and 2014 the city of Pécs started a “soft” project funded by the ESF of the EU, through which social work in the area was intensified, and it was coupled with various community development programs. In the same period UNDP lead a pilot project in the area, through which a special method of community coaching was carried out with local residents. Between 2014 and 2016 the former “soft” approach was supported with two so called “hard” urban regeneration projects, financed jointly by EFRD and ESF funds. From 2016 another round of integrated social urban regeneration was launched, which is currently being implemented, and which is also financed both by ESF and EFRD funds. While the consecutive rounds of urban regenerations and development projects targeting the area might seem as a linear trajectory of development, our interviewees identified a few junctures, which reshaped the development path of the locality. Besides 2007, the beginning of the series of interventions, our informants saw 2012, 2014 and 2016 as important turning points. 2012 was a milestone, because from that point strict external rules applied to all of the later projects. The juncture in 2014 was characterized with the inflow of many resources dedicated to infrastructural development, which led to the reconfiguration of relations between stakeholders, and between stakeholders and local residents. The juncture of 2016 was defined as a shift towards a new logic of investment introduced by the new regulations of the 2014-2020 EU financing period. In the analytical chapters we will describe the significance of these junctures, but we will focus mainly on the period before 2016, as the developments since then are still not finished, and thus hard to analyse in its entirety.

An important part of our analysis will be to show the ever-changing structure of the “development coalition”, which has designed and implemented the various projects. The most important actor, whose dominance within this coalition has continuously increased in the last decade, is Málta. Their role will be a central theme in our analysis, and one of our conclusions will be that an unintended consequence of the projects – in the context of the changing national and local policy landscapes – have been the growing formal and informal impact of Málta on the developmental trajectory. The role of the local municipality has been different in various phases of the development trajectory of the area. Until 2014 the bureaucrats of the Department of Natural and Human Resources (DNHR) of the municipality were key brokers in putting together the development coalition. However, in 2014 this department was abolished, and since then the municipality plays partly a technical role through its Urban Development Company (UDC)², and partly a role of political discipline through a number of high level politicians. Besides Málta and the municipality, the third most important actor is a Roma NGO called Khetanipe³, whose importance has gradually declined. We will also include in the analysis the insights of a recently formed (2015) group of radical housing activists, who had critical insights about the developments in György-telep in the context of city-wide processes.

² See their webpage at <http://www.pvfzrt.hu/>

³ For an English language introduction see: <http://khetanipe.hu/aboutus/>

2. Methodological Reflection

During our field research we used a mixed-methods approach. On the one hand, we conducted altogether 21 interviews with 23 different people (see their list in the Appendix). Most of them were part of designing or implementing one of the projects carried out in György-telep or had professional experience relevant for our research (e.g. a former chief architect of the city of Pécs). On the other hand, we collected and analysed dozens of documents and articles about György-telep, or about urban development in Pécs. Finally, we visited György-telep with social workers of Málta, and thus we had the chance to pursue participant observation in different relevant situations (e.g. we attended a staff meeting of Málta, and we observed several client-social worker interactions in the community space of Málta). We also did walking interviews with different social workers in and around György-telep.

Apart from these qualitative methods, quantitative indicators were gathered in order to depict the spatial patterns of socio-economic inequalities at very low territorial levels. The data source for this process was the Hungarian Census of 2011, conducted by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO), which provided access to census microdata through the Safe Centre of HCSO and HAS CERS. The census microdata we used was aggregated at census district level (blocks with 200-250 people), which is the lowest possible territorial level (sub-division within municipalities) available for spatial analysis from official sources in Hungary. After defining the average value of a selected indicator in the case study area, value of standard deviation was also calculated. These two measures helped to define four classes in the case of each mapped indicator: High (higher than average + standard deviation), Higher than average (higher than average), Lower than average (lower than average), Low (lower than average – standard deviation). The results of this mapping exercise are attached in the Appendix.

There is an important methodological decision that would worth to highlight and explain here. Our “entry to the field” was guided mainly by Málta’s presence and local embeddedness. Within György-telep itself, we were regarded as people connected to Málta, and thus we did not have the chance to have an honest discussion with local residents, who might have had different view of what has happened in their habitat. We tried to balance this bias with the selection of expert interviewees: we approached local opinion leaders who have been in touch with local residents, and who had a critical approach towards the role of Málta. Furthermore, within Málta itself we found a variety of opinions regarding the evaluation of the different projects, many of them being self-reflective and self-critical. Even though we feel that with this choice we could counteract the bias rooted in this situation, but in a reflective manner we must highlight both the advantages and the disadvantages. On the one hand, the clear advantage of relying on Málta was that we had access to their uniquely deep and historical knowledge about the locality and the actions carried out there. On the other hand, the main disadvantage was that in situations where we interacted with local residents the setting was clearly influenced by our imagined “attachment” to them.

3. The Locality

3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Name of Case Study Area	Social urban rehabilitation in 'György telep', Pécs
Size	162,6km ²
Total population (2016)	Pécs 144.675, György-telep around thousand inhabitants
Population density (2016)	890 inhabitant/km ²
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disadvantaged within a developed region/city? Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region? 	Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region György-telep can be considered as a peripheral part of a peripheralizing, rapidly shrinking city.
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predominantly urban? Intermediate? Predominantly rural? 	Intermediate
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	HU231 – Baranya megye (Baranya county)
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	HU23 – Dél-Dunántúl (Southern Transdanubia)

Table 1 Basic socio-economic characteristics of the area

Pécs is the fifth largest city of Hungary with its ca. 150 000 inhabitants, located on the slopes of the Mecsek mountains in the south-west of the country, close to the Croatian border. It is the administrative and economic centre of Baranya county, and seat of the Roman Catholic Diocese. Pécs has always been a multicultural city, where many cultural values were intermingled, and where Hungarians, Croatians, Germans and Roma people have lived together for centuries. In 1998 Pécs won the UNESCO prize "Cities for peace" for maintaining the cultures of the minorities, and for its tolerant and helping attitude toward refugees of the Balkan Wars. The first Hungarian university was founded in Pécs in 1367, and after the Trianon Treaty signed in 1921, the University of Bratislava moved there, and made the city one of the largest university centres in the country. In 2010 Pécs held the title of European Capital of Culture (ECC) together with Essen and Istanbul, with the slogan: "The Borderless City". Since 2005 most of the city's available development resources were channelled into the ECC project.

Besides this historical layer of the city, which was the main target of culture-led investments, the city has another important heritage: coal and uranium mining had catalysed the development of working-class neighbourhoods parallel with the development of the traditional city centre inhibited by the middle-class and the elites, creating a dual structure of the city. Around Pécs, in the Mecsek mountains, coal mining started in the middle of the 19th century, mainly by the First Danube Steamship

Navigation Company (FDSNC), to get cheap coal for trade towards the Balkan. By the turn of the 20th century the company built its “Mining Empire” by buying and leasing estates, and by building worker colonies in the valleys around Eastern Pécs. FDSNC had been a crucial economic player in the life of Pécs for decades, employing hundreds of employees, among them many Germans.

After 1945 the coal mines were nationalized, and intensive development has started, in order to increase productivity through continuous technical improvement. Uranium mining has started in the 1950s⁴ as part of the import substitution industrialization strategy of the state socialist regime. FDSNC provided housing in the workers colonies, which were typically built close to the mines, and further away from the city centre. Depending on the dwellers’ social and economic status, these colonies consisted of houses with different size and comfort, but typically they were small, low comfort flats. The miner colonies were typically situated in the North-Eastern part of the city, in different valleys. The most important ones were Szabolcstelep (until 1947 Szabolcsfalú as an independent village included Hősök tere and György-telep), Pécsbánya and István akna. In the 1950s a large modernist housing estate was developed in the Eastern part of the city called Meszes, which provided better quality housing for miners, than they previously had in the colonies. While the mines were nationalized right after the Second World War, the apartments in the miner colonies were used by the factory until 1971. After 1971 the city took over the management of the apartments in the miner colonies. As miners were relocated into better quality flats, many of the original lower quality flats in the colonies were given to Roma families, who were relocated from Roma colonies in the nearby forests. These Roma colonies had been eliminated following a national program started in 1965. As the local authorities did not invest in the renovation and modernization of these apartments, from this point onwards the physical conditions of these neighbourhoods continued to decline, as a result of which by the 1980s the former miner colonies were characterized with the worst housing condition in the city. Due to these changes the colonies, among them our field site, György-telep, became a highly stigmatized space, which was used by the local government to “hide” the poorest families, often with “behavioural difficulties” (Márfi 2005, Zolnay 2009, Pörös (manuscript)).

After the global crisis of the 1970s, the mines were gradually closed down, and since the 1980s there have been massive losses in industrial work places, especially in coal mining and the related machinery industry, in processing, and in construction industry. A rapid rise of unemployment began, mainly affecting the low skill workers with low level of education. As a result of this, the city started to shrink: between 1990 and 2017 the city lost almost 12% of its population (see Table 3). Demographic decline went hand in hand with economic hardships: GDP per capita produced in Baranya county (whose economic centre has always been Pécs) relative to the national average declined from 75.5% in 2000 to 63.2% in 2015. This is the second largest relative decline in this period among the 19 counties in Hungary, according to the HCSO.

In the early 1990s, in a period of FDI-led economic transformation, new investments of multinational companies were carried out in the country, but most of these investments avoided Pécs and Baranya county. This happened partly because of the proximity of the Balkan, suffering from violent conflicts at that time, and partly because of the lack of

⁴ From 1955 the city started to build a new neighbourhood for uranium miners called Uránváros (Uranium-city) in the Western part of the city. Today 25 000 inhabitants live in this area, which is dominated by modernist housing estates.

proper highway and railway connections⁵. From the turn of the millennium until 2011 the largest employer in the city was a Finnish company called Elcoteq, which provided employment for low skilled workers in its factory (the highest number of its employees was 7 000). After 2011, due to the global crisis, the factory was shut down and relocated, thus recently the largest employer, and the main catalyser of the local economy is the university. These changes resulted in rising inequalities within the city. The historical city centre is populated by relatively highly qualified people, and unemployment is low. In contrast, in the Eastern Neighbourhood, people are less educated, unemployment is high, and housing deprivation is prevalent (see map 1-5 in the Appendix).

3.2 Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

The most common narratives of spatial injustice we encountered were revolving around the **dual structure of the city**, and mostly emphasized how the Eastern Neighbourhood differs from the rest of the city. Regarding the Eastern Neighbourhood, the stakeholders' main narrative was that a regular citizen of Pécs has no reason to go to that part of the city, therefore the common knowledge about this part of the city is usually based on prejudice and rumours. This situation is one of the roots why this area is the object of spatial stigmatization. Those informants who had worked in the Eastern Neighbourhood, and thus had have regular encounters with the local dwellers, had a more differentiated perception.

The main **division within the Eastern Neighbourhood** is between the flats of Meszes with all modern conveniences, located in housing estates built in the 1950s and 1960s, and the low comfort, small flats located in the old houses of former miner colonies (see Map 3). There are further distinctions between the miner colonies which are officially considered as segregated places⁶ (Jónás, Tistyán 2016: 53-57).

"If we look at the map we see 9 segregated areas in the city. The population of these segregated areas are small, and these are the "backyards" of old industrial complexes [...] There is György-telep, Hősök tere, Pécsbánya, István akna, Somogybánya-telep and Rücker⁷. I used to say that they look like top of the fingers, with forest in between them." (3.)

The main distinction between these former miner colonies is based on their spatial position within the city structure. György-telep and Hősök tere are situated on the edge of the Eastern Neighbourhood and have many spatial and institutional connections to it. Pécsbánya-telep and Somogybánya-telep are located further in the "forest", but they are much more differentiated socially. István akna was one of the economic and administrative centres of FDSNC in the forest, 11 km from the city centre. Because of its nice location, and because of the peculiar built environment connected to the mining industry, in the 1990s different cultural and art projects were initiated there. Then due to the city-wide economic restructuring, the status of the place radically declined, and for the mid-2000s it became the main spatial target of experimental urban rehabilitation programs (see later).

⁵ The highway connecting Budapest and Pécs was finished only in 2010. The fastest train between Budapest and Pécs (220 km) takes more than three hours.

⁶ In Hungary cities can only apply for EU funds for urban development projects if they have an "Integrated Development Strategy", which has to consist a part called "Anti-segregation plan". A governmental decree specifies what an official "segregated area" is: the rate of the households with elementary education and without regular income within the active age group is higher than 35% and the territorial unit has minimum 50 inhabitants. Only these official segregated areas are eligible for funds supporting socially sensitive, place based, integrated urban developments.

⁷ Rücker akna was the smallest former miner colony in the forest with a few dozen dwellers, but it was eliminated in 2014, and the dwellers were relocated to Somogybánya-telep.

Recently, due to the failure of these development programs, and due to the specific nature of the housing policy of the municipality *"István akna is one of the oldest, and one of the toughest [...] It is the worst from every aspect. I would say in a footnote that this area is, how to put it, a sort of "penal colony". If there is someone whom you cannot manage, then he or she will be moved there into a public housing unit. And then it creates an incompatible, helpless setting, thus what you find there is an unmanageable situation."* (4.)

Within the Eastern Neighbourhood there are two official segregated areas: **György-telep and Hősök tere**. However, in the everyday practice these geographical names do not always precisely define a place with clear-cut boundaries; for different people it carries different meanings and different mental maps. According to the most common understanding György-telep is the name of a few dozen houses built approximately a hundred years ago for miners in the bottom of a valley, where ca. 200 people live nowadays. György-telep and Hősök tere is connected with a stair, which has a strong symbolic meaning in the everyday practice. People from György-telep always should go up the stairs to do shopping, to reach the school etc. But people from Hősök tere never go down, they have no reason to go down to György-telep. *"They are in such a secluded place, that I think 80% of the residents of Pécs have never been to György-telep. There are 100 000 people in the city, who have never went in their entire lives to György-telep. There might be people from nearby Meszes, who have never been to György-telep"* (5.). Formerly, before the development project has started in 2007, György-telep was the 'penal colony' of the city, similar to what István-akna became in the last decade. There were exclusively social housing units with the lowest possible size, without comfort, and without basic infrastructure (running water, gas or sewage). The municipality often relocated dwellers from the other parts of the city, who had rent arrears. *"It was deep down, in every sense of the word"* – summarized one of the stakeholders (2.). There were considerable differences between György-telep in the bottom of the valley, and Hősök tere on the top of it. This was not only because of their different spatial positions, but because the different physical conditions of the houses, and also simply because of different perceptions: *"György-telep was really rough, it was the home of the "gypsies with the axes". Compared to that, Hősök tere defined itself as having a higher prestige, so we had to ease this tension"* (4.). However, before the development programs Hősök tere was not considered as a safe place either. Moreover, one of the main results of one of the development projects was the "clearance" of the square. *"Hősök tere itself.... It used to be a real jungle, in front of the basketball court and the playground. It was a perfect place for the drunken regulars of the nearby shop to pee there, perfect for shady trysts, and perfect for being knocked down and robbed. I always said to everyone that I do not fear Hősök tere, but sometimes I did fear to get off from the bus there. In some situations, when certain people were there, it was not a secure thing. But now it is much cleaner and much better."* (14.)

	National level		Local level: city of Pécs	
	Spatially targeted programs to tackle segregation	Main development goal	Spatially targeted programs in different neighbourhoods	Main actors/stakeholders of spatially targeted programs
2006-11	<p>Social urban regeneration (ROP)</p> <p>Nationally financed Roma Settlement Integration Program mainly for villages</p>	Elimination of Roma settlements	<p>István akna – Borbála program (2004-2006) HEFOP</p> <p>Presence program/social work in György telep (2007) financed by Málta and LG</p>	<p>Municipality was not involved.</p> <p>Different organizations worked parallel, among them many Roma and pro-Roma NGOs.</p>
2011-14	TÁMOP 5.3.6-11/1 (ESF) Complex settlement program First round 22, second round 18 projects in the country	Mainly soft elements: social work, community work, provides social services	<p>György-telep – complex settlement program (ca. 500 000 EUR) (TÁMOP)</p> <p>UNDP pilot program (ca. 80 000 EUR)</p>	<p>Wide developmental coalition</p> <p>UNDP as international actor with own methodology</p>
2014-17	<p>TIOP (EFRD) 3.2.3.A-13/1 complementing call to TÁMOP 5.3.6 – 116/1 22 granted projects</p> <p>DDOP 4.1.2/B-13 (EFRD) call only in the Southern Transdanubia Region.</p>	<p>It aimed to renovate social housing units, the relocation of dwellers was supported but not mandatory element.</p> <p>Complex program for renovating social housing units, relocation of dwellers was mandatory. The project had soft elements too.</p>	<p>György-telep (ca. 1 100 000 EUR): 22 flats renovated, 5 flats bought in integrated env. (TIOP)</p> <p>Hősök tere (ca. 1 200 000 EUR): 20 flats renovated, 10 flats bought (DDOP)</p> <p>Pécsbánya (ca. 1 000 000 EUR)</p> <p>Rücker akna-Somogybánya (ca. 1 000 000 EUR)(DDOP)</p>	<p>Changing project leadership – EFRD projects coordinated/managed by Urban Development Corporation of Pécs from 2015.</p> <p>Changing power relations within the developmental coalition, strengthened of Málta.</p>
2016-	TOP project for urban regeneration.	Soft elements + renovating social housing units.	Eastern Neighborhood (ca. 2 000 000 EUR) TOP	The only one Roma NGO is out of the developmental consortium. Málta step on regional level.

Table 2 Timeline of the development programmes on urban regeneration between 2006-2017

3.3 Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion: development trajectory and chronology between 2006-2017

3.3.1 Diverging development projects within the city 2006 – 2011

From 2005 the main developmental goal of the city was to prepare to be the European Capital of Culture in 2010 (ECC)⁸, which was imagined as an opportunity to boost development and to redefine the spatial structure of the city through large-scale cultural development projects and through rejuvenating public spaces. A central idea was to open up the historical city centre towards east through a series of culture-led developments. The backbone of this idea was to create the so called Zsolnay Cultural Quarter through partly changing the function of a famous porcelain factory. Within the new Quarter exhibition places, museums, cafés, a theatre, and some new buildings of the university were opened. The large-scale transformation of the architecturally heterogeneous, peripheral area between the historical centre of Pécs and the new Zsolnay Cultural Quarter was supposedly made through two flagship projects: the construction of a new Music and Conference Centre, and the opening of the new building of the Regional Library. As part of the ECC project, initially a complex urban rehabilitation project was planned for the Eastern Neighbourhood, but due to the time pressure, financial shortage, and the lack of capacity and interest of the main experts and stakeholders, this part of the development was first postponed, and later completely forgotten. Retrospectively we can say that the ECC-related investments did not even touch the Eastern Neighbourhood, besides a small reconfiguration of a public space in front of a local school (Füzér 2017).

Parallel with the planning of these large-scale urban development projects, there were a few smaller initiatives targeting the Eastern Neighbourhood, and aiming to renovate some of the former miner colonies. Two of these projects were implemented parallel with the planning of the ECC-related mega-investments, but the main stakeholders, and their methods were different in these cases. Both projects were financed by different EU funds, but neither of them was part of any systematic national level urban regeneration agenda. Between 2004 and 2006 the so called “Borbála-program” targeted the furthest miner colony situated 11 km away from the city centre (István akna). The aim of the project was to renovate 18 social housing units out of the 90 situated in the area, involving local dwellers trained and employed by the program itself. Beside the infrastructural development the project included community building practices and wanted to develop the access to various services. Unfortunately, parallel with the Borbála-program, another development project started in the same neighbourhood. The so called “Lakmusz program” aimed to provide housing in the remote István akna for young people leaving state foster care. The young people had no social connections in the colony, and the program neither included any social work, nor provided any social services for them locally. Thus, Lakmusz became a disaster, according to our informants. The failure of this program was a strong negative reference point for many experts whom we interviewed. One of them said that “[a]ll the mistakes you could imagine was done there.” (3) “István akna with its 300-350 inhabitants. No one dares to touch this area from the municipality. It took one year from my life to prepare a project targeting István akna, but they did not dare to apply for the tender, they do not dare to bring those 300 people into the city” (3) The interview refers not only to the stigmatized position of the neighbourhood, but to the lack of political will to launch another development project as well.

According to several informants, in 2007 the national leaders of Málta visited István akna with local politicians, in order to observe the outcomes of these projects. Somebody from

⁸ http://www.pecs2010.hu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/pecs2010_english.pdf

the municipality offered to visit another former miner colony on the way back: Györgytelep. A member of that delegation recalled vividly that “[w]hat we saw there, I do not know.... I have never lived a gentry life, but that was a different temporal and spatial dimension, something very different.” (2.). After that visit, the leader of Málta immediately initiated to start a development program in that colony. The regional organization of Málta proposed to start a small-scale project in Györgytelep based on the long-term presence of social workers, which started to become the hallmark method of Málta at that time. The so called Jelenlét (Presence) methodology was developed around the mid-2000s in a village called Monor (Csonkáné, Dusa and Fehér 2011, Fehér, Marozsán and Patterman 2011, Kiss 2011). The Presence project in Györgytelep was financed mainly by Málta, with the contribution of the municipality. This period was remembered as a “crystal clear, socially very sensitive period” (2.), because of Málta’s independency from other actors and from other project-related pressured. They used this “crystal clear period” for years to build deep personal relations between the families and the social workers.

3.3.2 The Masterplan: wide developmental coalition for urban regeneration 2011-2015

By the end of the ECC project (2011-12) the spatial and social inequalities between the Eastern Neighbourhood (especially the former miner colonies within that) and the city centre became considerably high for several reasons. First, because of the ECC-related investments, mainly all other development projects were postponed. Second, the spatial target of the large-scale culture-led development projects was very unbalanced. Third, the economic crisis hit particularly hard the working-class Eastern Neighbourhood. By that time the former miner colonies became not only the “problem zones” of the city, but also rather criminalized and stigmatized spaces. Furthermore, “in 2011, for some reason, local politicians were very much open towards the civil society, and towards pioneering initiatives, especially in the sphere of urban planning” (4.). As a reason of this, the political will of the municipality to “do something” with the most disadvantageous neighbourhoods in the city met the capacities and ambitions of the Department of Natural and Human Resources (DNHR, in Hungarian *Természeti és Emberi Erőforrás Referatúra*) within the municipality. They could rely on the local embeddedness and knowledge of Málta in Györgytelep and the previous experiences of the most powerful Roma NGO called Khetanipe in different Roma development projects. In the spring of 2012 a new development call⁹ was opened by National Development Agency (NDA), which provided ESF resources to improve the education, employment and health status of those living in segregated communities. The call did not support any housing related infrastructural investments, only “soft” measures.¹⁰

The target area was Györgytelep, partly because Málta’s Presence program had already been running, and partly because “Györgytelep was a concept circulating within the city. It was relatively close to the centre, it was relatively small, the municipality knew it, it was visible, and it was a problem. Somogybánya-telep was more differentiated. Pécsbánya-telep was a divided neighbourhood. The other places in the forest were not visible for them. Györgytelep was favoured by many. It could be imagined that you can help them. [...] That it can be

⁹ TÁMOP 5.3.6-11/1 Roma settlement program

¹⁰ The call was criticized by many experts, because in spite of the fact that an amendment of the EU’s ERFA regulation in 2010 made it possible to use EU funds for investment into housing, the call did not make it possible to invest into housing infrastructure. The main idea of the NDA was to launch a parallel call financed from another operational program (TIOP, financed from EFRD) for social housing investments, in order to ensure that some housing mobility and improvement of general living conditions can be financed in these neighbourhoods. But that call has been delayed and appeared only in 2013.

integrated into the city, so it had a solid base.” (3.). Previously different development strategies of the city mentioned György-telep as a neighbourhood listed for elimination. Due to the physical conditions of the houses (which were built without proper fundament) and the lack of infrastructure, and due to the physical distance from the city, most of the architects and urban planners agreed to demolish the colony. However, these plans slowly started to change, partly because of Málta’s activity in the neighbourhood, and partly because on the national level a new developmental approach took shape, not entirely unrelated to the lobbying power of the national organization of Málta. “Before 2008 the mayor – who is the present mayor – wanted to eliminate this area. Practically to bring bulldozers and destroy it. It was not envisioned what to do with the people living there, but there was a vision to eliminate such places. And then the mayor met him [the national leader of Málta], they talked a lot about the situation, and finally he convinced the mayor that there are other solutions, and let’s choose one of those, maybe Pécs itself can profit out of it.” (4.) According to another informant, this “profiting” on the political level meant that the city did not have to face a potential resistance from the citizens, who could have opposed the relocation of “problematic” dwellers into “non-problematic” neighbourhoods.

Parallel with that TÁMOP project the UNDP¹¹ started a development project in “Szabolcs-telep”, which included György-telep and the neighbouring streets. The UNDP project was based on community work led by community coaches¹². Coaches played an important role in the mobilization of the community. The main idea was to collectively define development goals, which may be implemented even without external resources, with the help of the coaches as mediators between local people and institutional stakeholders. Coaches encouraged local people to do voluntary work for the community. UNDP employed one coach from Málta, and one from Khetanipe, which symbolized the equality of these two main actors in the development process.

3.3.3 Transforming structures: infrastructural projects, political changes and changing leadership 2014- 2017

Since 2010 – as almost in every larger city in the country – the Local Municipality of Pécs has been led by a strong right wing coalition¹³. After the local governmental election in Fall 2014 this coalition reinforced its power. Though in 2014 the political power-balance within the municipality did not change, but with the second landslide electoral victory of right-wing Fidesz in the parliamentary elections in the same year, several radical public policy reforms have started in the country, which had an effect locally as well. The most common explanation for this is that as Fidesz felt that their governing position is secure, they started to think big and initiated mid- and long-term structural changes. One of these changes is the radical centralization of the local governmental system. Following the national trajectory, considerable changes has started in the planning and managing structure of the municipality of Pécs, which had an effect on the running projects. In 2015 the DNHR, which was the main catalyser of the emerging “development coalition” was abolished. *“For the local politicians it became unpleasant that the civil society, and the people thinking about the city, have such a large freedom. So, they did a clearance...”* – as one of our informants put it (4.). The former tasks of DNHR were assigned to the UDC, which was responsible previously to manage the large-scale infrastructural projects related to the ECC. After 2014, all the large-scale infrastructural development projects connected to urban regener-

¹¹ <http://localdevelopmentforinclusion.org/assets/01-coaching-adventures.pdf>

¹² The project had a twinning pair in Cluj Napoca.
<http://localdevelopmentforinclusion.org/action!.html>

¹³ The mayor of Pécs has been Zsolt Páva since 2009, after he won an interim election scheduled after the death of the previous left-wing mayor.

ations were implemented by UDC, mainly because of UDC's experience in and knowledge of project management.

At the end of 2013 two related tender opportunities with EFRD resources (called TIOP and DDOP) opened and ran parallel. Both provided funds for renovating social housing units and supporting the relocation of dwellers from segregated areas to an integrated environment. The two tenders belonged to two different ministries (TIOP - Ministry of Human Resources and DDOP – Ministry for National Economy) and had different logics to improve disadvantageous neighbourhoods. TIOP was the complementing call of the previous TÁMOP projects, and was available only for those municipalities, who successfully ended a TÁMOP project. The infrastructural investments of the TIOP projects had to target the same neighbourhood. In this project desegregation, i.e. the relocation of dwellers to integrated neighbourhoods was a possible, but not a mandatory element. The TIOP project in György-telep resulted in the renovation of 24 housing units, and additionally 5 families were relocated to an integrated neighbourhood.

The other relevant tender opportunity was DDOP, which was opened only in the South Transdanubian Region as an experimental opportunity to develop pioneering integration models. It combined soft and hard elements: a community building was built, some dwellers were assisted during relocation into integrated neighbourhoods, social service provision was strengthened, and social housing units were renovated. Within DDOP stronger desegregation requirements were imposed: for each project, the relocation of 30 to 36 families to an integrated environment had to be undertaken. Three DDOP projects were implemented in Pécs, targeting Hősök tere and two other former miner colonies of Pécsbánya and Rucker-akna together with Somogybánya.

The four urban regeneration projects financed by TIOP and DDOP ran at the same time and reshaped the relations between the main actors. A new actor came into the picture: UDC was responsible for the technical management of the four projects. From the municipality the role of the Department of Public Housing increased, as they were in close, daily cooperation with the staff of Málta. Málta was responsible for assisting the families and for logistically organizing the relocations. For this reason, the organization of Málta had to expand. One consequence of this was that employees of the former HDR and Khetanipe were hired by Málta. Thus, while the organizational infrastructure of project implementation changed largely, the most important persons remained in key positions, but now mainly as Málta staff. Thus, these four projects strengthened the position of Málta, and made the organization a powerful local actor in social issues within the city. In the next chapter we will pay special attention to this unintended consequence of the infrastructural projects.

In the new developmental cycle (2014-2020) urban regeneration continued in György-telep, but its content, spatial target and organizational background has changed. The spatial target of the new urban regeneration project is the Eastern Neighbourhood, and in the first phase social housing units close to Hősök tere are renovated. One of the most important changes is that the new tender doesn't allow the relocation of families from segregated areas. Another important organizational change is that Khetanipe was left out from the consortium, which made explicit the shifting power relations between Málta and other stakeholders. Since this newest round of urban regeneration within György-telep is still in the making, we will not provide a full analysis, rather we will highlight some specific features in the next chapter.

4. The Action

4.1 Basic Characteristics of the Action

As we have already shown, “the Action” in our case was a series of development projects between 2011 and 2016, which targeted two adjacent disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Pécs (György-telep and Hősök tere). These development projects were built on each other and consisted both “soft” and “hard” elements. Between 2011 and 2014 the Municipality of Pécs as the leading partner of a consortium (including Málta and Khetanipe as well) started a “soft” project funded by the ESF (TÁMOP). During this project individual social work was coupled with various community development programs in György-telep. In the same period UNDP initiated a pilot project parallel in Hősök tere and György telep, through which a special method of community coaching was carried out with local residents. Between 2014 and 2016 the former “soft” projects were supported with so called “hard” urban regeneration projects. While the TIOP project targeted György telep parallel with it another round of integrated social urban regeneration was launched as a pilot project in the South Transdanubia Region, which targeted three segregated areas within the city. One of these was Hősök tere. This project was financed jointly by EFRD and ESF funds (DDOP). (see Table3)

Based on our rough estimation ca. 3,8 million EUR has been spent in the area between 2011-2016¹⁴, through which 90 low comfort social housing units were renovated, three community houses were established, various social services were provided (both through individual and collective social work), and numerous community programs were organized. Nationally it is a remarkable project, since it is one of the few interventions, which aims to tackle spatial and social segregation in a complex way over an extended period of time, going beyond the time horizon of a single project. Because of this, the example of György-telep became a positive reference point for similar projects across the country. In the context of the EU, this case can be studied as a paradigmatic case of an integrated, completely EU funded urban regeneration project implemented in an Eastern European member state. Moreover, it can also be observed as a testing ground of how the modification of the ERDF regulation (allowing housing related spending in integrated urban regeneration projects¹⁵) in 2010 works, which was lobbied for mainly by Eastern European member states and experts (Tosics, 2008).

	TÁMOP	UNDP	TIOP	DDOP
György telep	individual social work 2011-2014	community coaching and community working groups 2012	renovation of each house based on community planning 2014-16	-----
Hősök tere	-----	community coaching and community working groups 2012	-----	individual social work and selective renovation of the houses 2014-2016

Table 3 Development programmes on urban regeneration in György-telep and Hősök tere

¹⁴ Excluding the TOP project, which is currently running. As we discussed above, we will not analyze the TOP project here in details. Including the TOP project there will be 5,5 million EUR spent by the time it will be finished.

¹⁵ See https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/cocof/2010/cocof_10_0024_01_en.pdf

4.2 Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action - the changing dynamics within the development coalition

In terms of **power dynamics** during planning and implementing the actions in Györgytelep, one of our main finding is the emerging role of Málta as a broker (see Lewis, Mosse 2006), or as one of the key leaders of Málta put it, Málta as a „turntable”. One of the social workers described this process as follows: *“There was the project which required this, and required that, so both the Municipality and the residents had to take part in it. And there was Málta, which could take the lead in opening up something like a communication channel, which connects all these actors in a way, that besides a necessary relation they can even look at each other in a humane way.”* (2.). Málta’s role as a broker in the beginning was rooted in the fact that they had deep knowledge of Györgytelep. Thus, when the consortium applying for the first TÁMOP fund was put together, the role of Málta was imagined as an NGO bridging the local realities with the realities of the project world. The two other important actors in this initial consortium were the DNHR and Khetanipe. While the role of the DNHR was imagined as project manager and as coordinator to fulfil all the bureaucratic and technical criteria, Khetanipe was expected to give voice for the specific issues concerning the local Roma population (see later)¹⁶.

The phase when the consortium put together the tender for the TÁMOP fund, and when later it was implemented between 2012 and 2014 was remembered by all the partners as a golden age. *“We volunteered for the task to include all those actors who have routine, knowledge, practice or connections related to this territory. We could not leave them out, and it would not worth to leave them out, we had to lean on them. And not only after we put together the project proposal, but including them in its production, because we would implement it together. If you would like to put it this way, it was practically a community planning procedure.”* (4.) The relation between these actors were described retrospectively as more or less equal, despite their different institutional logics.

In Málta’s case it had a crucial impact that Málta is a national organization with a clear ambition to expand its authority¹⁷. This ambition has met the central government’s strategy to outsource social service provision – and in general the “management” of marginalized communities – to non-governmental, church-related or religious organizations. All in all, Málta not only had an organizational ambition, but it was backed by a relatively large institutional capacity. The institutional logic of the municipality (more precisely its Housing Department [HD] in this case) was very different. Their system of managing poverty and the social housing system at that time was described by insiders as “chaotic”. In some cases, they did not even know who live in the social housing units supposedly managed by them. Thus, while there was a political will to somehow contain the social tension emerging from the process of marginalization (and from all the related processes of social problems, like prostitution, petty crime, the visibility of poverty, etc.), the relatively inflexible and ineffective bureaucratic structures hindered them to fulfil this goal. Finally, Khetanipe,

¹⁶ The consortium had 5 members, but two of these members were obligatory because of the national regulation. One was the Labour Office, the other one a public institution (*Türr István Képző és Kutató Intézet*) responsible for different trainings. Based on our interviews, the role and power of these two institutions were not significant compared to the other three from the viewpoint of this research, thus we leave them out from our analysis.

¹⁷ Málta, as a national organization works in different fields of social services as introduced a pilot project for homeless people called “inclusive village”, operate homeless shelters, elderly care centres etc.. The methodology of TÁMOP project built on the ‘Presence’ methodology of Málta was introduced in mid 2000 in a small town Monor and spread to different other localities. Besides the settlements programs in 2010 Málta was asked by the government to take part in the “Give Kids Chance” program in eight disadvantageous districts.

as an organization labelling itself as a Roma NGO, had the main aim to frame the development as a “Roma project”, and not only as a project aiming to ameliorate poverty. However, their institutional capacity was much smaller than that of the other two organisations.

And while these different logics could have resulted in structural problems during the planning of the project, it was in the end a synergic alliance until 2014. *„In fact, we took the risk to create a consortium, where the members had a bit of tension between each other [...] So neither the municipality, nor we, nor the Roma NGO could do what they really wanted to do. So, it became a combination of different players being aware of each other, where each of them has to.... And then later not only out of necessity, but because of their own libido, they performed their best. So not just building a facade for the outside world, and do the smallest requested amount of work, and then tick the boxes. The opposite happened, because the composition of the consortium created a little internal competition” (2.)*

However, this synergy came to an end around 2015, mainly for three reasons. First, the municipality decided to shut down the DNHR, and the management of the project was taken over by the UDC, whose technocratic logic was very different from the previous social sensitivity of DNHR. Second, with the new infrastructural investments in the TIOP and DDOP projects, the success of the project started to hinge upon the function that was fulfilled by Málta. Namely, to efficiently manage the relocation of more than 140 households in a very short time-span. Third, because of its larger institutional capacity, a few key employers of Khetanipe decided to join Málta, thus further increasing the gap between the organizational effectivity of the two organizations.

4.3 Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement

4.3.1 Outsourcing the governance of urban marginality: Málta becomes “shadow municipal”

As a result of these organisational shifts (see 2.3.3), the more or less equal triadic pattern of the consortium transformed into the duo of Málta and the HD of the municipality, at the expense of the informal peripheralization of Khetanipe in the decision making situations (formally Khetanipe remained a member of the consortium). We call the position that Málta had after that organizational shift as “shadow municipal”, because the growing power of Málta within the consortium was accompanied with the informal outsourcing of some of the municipality’s functions related to managing poverty due to the weakness and lack of the capacity of local public institutions. This “shadow municipal” function of Málta has been restricted both functionally and spatially: it has been connected to social services and housing issues of the inhabitants of György-telep. However, as a phenomenon and as a potential future trend, we find it essential.

In short, Málta transformed the previous „chaotic” relation of the HD and the residents of György-telep into a more stable relation of informal paternalism, where Málta’s role as a proxy and translator between the municipality and the poor residents of György-telep became inevitable. From the perspective of the local dwellers, it resulted in a more humane and careful treatment, and it also contributed to the growing sensitivity of the municipal bureaucrats towards the social problems of the developed marginalized neighborhoods. The everydayness of becoming “shadow municipal” is nicely illustrated by the following quote. *“We used to, you know, go in[to the HD of the municipality] a little bit, organize a bit the documents with them, because they could not find something. I used to create spreadsheets [...] and then you hear back that they were admired for my spreadsheets. So yes, we make a lot of jokes, for example saying that once we will go in their office for a week and reorganize everything. You know, after six years of working together, and after all those heroic days, you can make such jokes [...] It was very different in the beginning. For pushing*

through our agenda about the first 30 families being relocated, we needed five tough meetings. They had a certain knowledge about them, we had our own knowledge about them, and to put all these different perspectives together.... after a while they had no time, no capacity, no manpower and no enthusiasm for this. So nowadays it is much easier. [...] We are the ones who get it right. Because they look at it only from a distance. And after a while you can accept this.” (13.)

In the last few years Málta’s role in managing marginality through different development programmes became even more inevitable and reached well beyond the boundaries of György-telep. Currently Malta manages three different settlement projects within Pécs, and eight other, but similar projects in the wider region, with ca. 180 employees. One of them reflected upon this organizational expansion jokingly as follows: *“At times it is very hard, we have just spoken about this with the girls, that this project world, and the world of institutions, they all require more and more professional technical and administrative background. And our organizational structure cannot necessarily adjust, because we are this homey, family like thing. And now I have a ‘multinational corporation’, with 180 employees. And you know, to push it forward as a family business...” (2.).*

Thus, the backbone of Málta’s shift toward its more powerful position was rooted in its “turntable” position, which is seen as beneficiary by the municipality. The demanding “burden” of staying in touch with “problematic” families is taken off from them. From the residents’ perspective it can also mean a relief, since they are guided and helped through the bureaucratic labyrinth of administrative issues. The legal framework for this “turntable” or “translation” work is that residents who sign a so-called “co-operation agreement” with Málta, are usually treated preferentially by the municipal bureaucrats, until they fulfil all the necessary criteria (e.g. regularly pay rent and instalments of their arrears, behave in an orderly manner, etc.). And Malta ensures very efficiently that people do so.

4.3.2 The main actors’ diverging interests and viewpoints

In terms of accountability, transparency and justice, the system of outsourcing the governance of marginality, which has been translated in the everyday practices of development as “informal paternalism”, has raised concerns among other local stakeholders. One symbolic manifestation of this is the changing relation of Málta and Khetanipe, the reasons of which goes well beyond local processes. A key process to understand here is the shifting role of “Roma projects” in the practice and discourse of the national government. From 2002 the Hungarian public policies gradually turned away from Roma targeted projects towards ‘colour-blind’ projects, where the policies and development projects targeted different vulnerable social groups defined on objective criteria, such as educational level, labour market activity, housing condition, living in a disadvantageous region etc. But since under the framework of the Roma Decade program 2005-2015 the EU required a ‘Roma inclusion Strategy’ from each member state¹⁸, in all of these ‘colour-blind’ projects the representation of Roma beneficiaries was ensured through the obligatory involvement of Roma organisations. All this created a potential for tension between ‘Roma’ and ‘non-Roma’ development organisations.

The national tender which financed the TÁMOP project in György-telep has also a lot to do with this shift towards colour-blindness, since the tender was rooted in an experimental program called Roma Settlement Integration Program financed by national sources in 2005. This program targeted small villages and segregated neighbourhoods. The idea was to prepare for the incoming EU funds, and to run a program that could be later trans-

¹⁸ http://autonomia.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/civil-society-monitoring-report_en.pdf
<http://www.eurasia.undp.org/content/dam/rbec/docs/DORI%20REPORT.pdf>

formed into an EU funded national program. The process of launching the “first” EU (co-)funded call, however, was very slow. Originally, a call was published in April 2010, which was then withdrawn after the landslide electoral victory of a right-wing government. The call was published again only in 2012 (which later financed the TÁMOP in György-telep). The title of the project was „Komplex telep program” (which translates into “complex settlement program”). In Hungarian the notion of “telep” usually refers to a Roma neighbourhood, therefore some actors could interpret it as a ‘Roma program’ as a continuation of the previous Roma settlement program. However, using “telep” also left space for different interpretations, since the word “Roma” was not explicitly used. All of these national level changes caused several local conflicts, confusion and contradictions in the implementation of the development projects, and it partly explains the different institutional logics of Málta and Khetanipe.

During planning and implementing the TÁMOP project and the following infrastructural developments Málta and Khetanipe accurately shared different tasks, which was represented spatially within the neighbourhood: Málta ran the family based social work in the György-telep settlement house, while Khetanipe ran the educational and cultural programs in the renovated community house outside of György-telep in the narrow sense. But even at that time the different institutional logics were visible. For Málta the main target of the development project was spatially defined; it was György-telep. For Khetanipe, as a Roma association per definition, the target was a Roma community within the city. This ethnic framing has been very central for them: *“I will be honest. And it has to do with different interests about saying different things. We all know, that first and foremost the targeted people within the project were Roma. There were non-Roma as well, but the majority were Roma.”* (8.)

It is not surprising then, that one employee of Khetanipe was critical with the fact that they were side-lined in the recent dialogue between the municipality and local NGOs. According to our informants, this process of side-lining can be explained with two main things. The broader issue at stake is the semantical and political changes of framing the projects in György-telep – and similar projects elsewhere in the city and the region as well. They are now explicitly not labelled as Roma programs, but as programs targeting poverty. This shift resembles the semantic shift on the national level, whereby “social” urban rehabilitations had to be renamed by eliminating the word “social”. From this perspective local changes mirror larger shifts in the politics of developing poor and/or Roma communities. The more locally oriented explanation is also related to this larger issue, and it says that politically Khetanipe was not compatible with the shifting emphases of the local politics of development. Once this mismatch resulted in confrontative practices from the side of Khetanipe, local politicians felt safer to increase their distance from Khetanipe. However, the complexities of this issue go well beyond the limits of this case study, thus we refrain ourselves to engage in a deeper analysis without all the necessary background information.

Other stakeholders raised different critiques. A civil activist explained that in their view *“Málta is only a drop in the sea. It is good what they are doing, but the whole housing system is very problematic, and thus Málta’s practice is not enough.”* (17.) A fellow activist from the same organization pointed out that while residents signing a co-operation partnership agreement with Málta are genuinely helped and taken care of, at other segregated areas in the city beyond and around György-telep, evictions are constantly carried out. Thus while injustice is counteracted with a concentrated effort in one territory, injustices are reproduced systematically elsewhere in different places. Moreover, from their perspective, through the informal “turntable” role of Málta, the system of social housing provision and management remains unaccountable and non-transparent. Only the social workers of Málta know whether their interventions were just or not. And they do raise these concerns

themselves, as this self-reflective excerpt from one of the social workers of Málta shows: *"So it is always there, that none of us knows what the best solution is. We cannot know; how would we know? So, based on all the experience we have, and after putting together what we know about all the 60 families, one solution seems the best. But it cannot be ruled out, and we mention this several times for the colleagues, that many times our decisions are not rational. We follow our hearts, or we follow a certain logic, or we choose from two bad options the one, which we think the better is, and in fact that might be the worse one. So the chance is there to make a mistake, because we work with human beings, or because we project something more or something less onto a certain family. But we will also be here afterwards, and we will be able to correct our mistakes, or to change things. So we will not leave any family in a bad situation, for example, if we help them to move into a certain flat, we will not let them be indebted and lose their new homes. And we have this trustful relation both with the families, and with the Housing Department."* (13.)

4.4 Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability - Málta and its clients: informal paternalism and its contradictions

During the TÁMOP project social workers of Málta continued the family based social work, which had started with the Presence program four years earlier in György-telep. The hardships of building trustful relations at the beginning was explained many times, similarly to this quote: *"There are still serious problems down there, but back then it was a whole different world. You needed very personal relations and a strong vision that it will be better. Because they were very disenchanted when we started to work with them. Before that, they were regularly bothered with questionnaires, for example they got two kilos of flour to answer, and they heard all the promises in four year [electoral] cycles, that there will be new roads built, new infrastructure, that there will be huge changes. And nothing has ever changed."* (14.) The methodology, which helped to build deep personal relations between the dwellers and the social workers, was based on the permanent presence of the social workers, and their daily encounters and conversations with the local dwellers. The permanent presence, the deep knowledge and the embeddedness helped not only to understand the local situation, but to elaborate helpful strategies tailored to the specific needs of different individuals and families. The dwellers got used to the permanent presence and the availability – even on weekends – of the social workers, through which they could get help to solve their problems at almost any time. However, this type of relation also created a kind of dependency from the social workers, which we call "informal paternalism". The constant attention of the social workers, and their readiness to help had the effect that some people got used to this service, instead of developing their autonomous tactics to deal with problematic situations. This is a classic dilemma of social work, but in the case of György-telep this informal paternalism was clearly more helpful for the local people, than the previous neglect that they experienced.

All in all, the main advantage of the TÁMOP project was that it was based on previous knowledge and experiences. As one of the social workers put it: *"During writing the project proposal we knew very personally what people would want: he needs this, she needs that, they would need some allowance for being able to attend a vocational training, and otherwise it would simply not work. This mother will need help in looking after the children, because otherwise she will not be able to participate. We knew every single person in a very detailed manner. So that was a great planning period."* (14.)

Parallel with the TÁMOP project the UNDP project was started, which was based on a different method: community work led by coaches. According to the UNDP methodology the coach just facilitated the process, and the members of the community group defined the

main goals, and the necessary activities to reach them. During the UNDP project two community groups were set up at two different locations (György-telep and Hősök tere). The story of the two groups, including its successes and failures, was very different: in György-telep nobody understood the intention of the coaches, since they were used to the more individual method of the Presence program. They got everything for years in one-on-one situations with the social workers, and they were unable to shift towards another, more collective logic of tackling everyday problems. On the contrary, in Hősök tere, where there was no preceding development project, the community group operated well. The most important principle of the working group was that “you get something if you do something” - for the community. This principle was completely contrary to the individual social work methodology and principle used previously in György telep. *“It was extremely clear how differently those people reacted, who started with communal social work, and how those reacted, who started with individual social work at the beginning.”* (2.) It also raised the question of distributional injustice between the dwellers from different part of the neighbourhood. While someone outside of the community working group might have “got something without doing something” as a result of the logic of a different project, the people involved in the UNDP project “had to do something” before getting something. Finally, the coaches gave up the community work in György-telep and focused only on Hősök tere, but in order to mitigate the methodological contradictions, they tried to involve some people from György-telep as well. For example, a man lived in György-telep as a pensioner in a small apartment, together with his large family. Their main problem was a continuous tension within the family, which could be handled through the help of the community coaching exercise. This man learnt how to sew while he was in prison, and this skill was recognized by the coaches. They encouraged and helped him to open a small shop in the community house in Hősök tere, in order to sew and repair the clothes of other community members as a volunteer. In that way he found a peaceful place in the community house, and the tensions within their overcrowded home was eased. The “price” paid for his work by other community members was translated into a reciprocal barter system, thus this way the local dwellers could help each other without requiring external material resources. Another example could be that local dwellers regularly volunteered collectively to pick up trash in the neighbourhood and thus clean their living environment. The main collective action of the Hősök tere community group was the reclaiming of Hősök tere. This central square of the neighbourhood was formerly characterized by prostitution and drug trafficking. The cleansing and reconstruction of the square was based on community planning and voluntary work. The main symbolic action connected to the reclaiming of the square happened when the working group organized and celebrated a national holiday completely independent from the coaches and social workers. As a part of the event they put a time capsule into a concrete statue (designed and created by them), in which everybody from the working group put a paper with their vision about the neighbourhood and about their personal lives in the coming years. Regarding our informants this was the most telling event during the activity of working group in Hősök tere, showing the capability and autonomy of the working group.

After 2014, the new wave of development projects focusing on infrastructural investment (mainly the renovation of social housing units) transformed the social relations of the locality. At the end of 2014 two development projects (TIOP and DDOP) were started parallel. These two projects had different logics of renovating social housing units and different approaches about the relocation of dwellers.

The TIOP project (as a follow up project of TÁMOP) targeted György-telep in the narrow sense. Given the relatively small size of this area, and given that all the houses were in municipal ownership, the project could finance the renovation of all the buildings, and the assistance of all the families. As we described above, the previous experience of the Málta social workers enabled a very efficient and productive participatory planning process.

Contrary to the failure of the UNDP method in this area, relocation could motivate the mobilization of the dwellers to do something collective.

"It was very joyful for all of us, how as a community we planned the infrastructural investment. We worked in small groups, drawing our dream houses on big paper sheets, and designing their interior. The municipality said that we should not have done this, as they would ask for everything imaginable regardless its rationale. But it was not true. The ladies asked for double basin kitchen sinks, or a separate water pipe end, in case they will be able to purchase a washing machine in the future. So the housing element of the program was designed with incorporating these very practical and very modest wishes [...] We talked about different heating systems. That they would want heating stoves, because you can easily heat only one part of the house with that, so you can save money if you need to. What was for sure is that every utility will have a prepaid meter. They got used to it very quickly. It is very useful and efficient. [...] We made it a prerequisite, because being indebted is something to avoid. Anyway, it was completely participatory how we planned, it was a great summer. And something happened that we have never seen previously: before submitting the project proposal, I brought it down for them, and all of them blessed it in their own ways, for example spitting on it. And it was an excellent dramaturgy: that we submit the documentation of the infrastructural investment, we were all going to pray for its success, and we were going to win. Because it was submitted by the whole community." (2.)

Unlike the success of the TIOP project, the DDOP project, which aimed to renovate houses around Hősök tere, broke the formerly successfully operating community working group. The UNDP methodology of step by step community building was clearly at odds with the quick pace and radical impact of the DDOP project. As one of the social workers put it: *"our [collectively defined] principle of 'you get something if you do something' was washed away by a lot of money, and you were not required to do anything for the renovation of your house"* (10.). Another social worker used a very catchy metaphor to illustrate the contradiction between the different logics of the two projects: *"with the TÁMOP project we wanted to build a train station, in order to make it possible for the people to catch the train, in case it would once arrive. With the TIOP and DDOP a TGV speeded across the neighbourhood, even before we could finish the construction of the train station, plus it neither stopped, nor slowed down. So everyone local dweller had to try jumping on it."* (10.).

Moreover, the DDOP project was more explicitly selective and unjust from several local points of view. According to the project regulation, only municipality-owned properties could be renovated, while at this part of the neighbourhood the ownership structure was mixed and similar to a patchwork. Thus, for example some families, who were formerly active in the community working group, but lived in privately owned houses, were excluded from the renovation, even if their homes were in a worse physical condition, than their neighbours' living in municipality-owned units. In a similar vein, those who lived outside of the target area, even in municipal owned houses, could not benefit from the infrastructural developments, even if they played a key role in the community. This contradiction undermining the justice paradigm of the local community was summarized in one of our interviews: *"And in the meantime there is the DDOP project, whose logic is not 'you get something if you do something', but simply that at certain territories, because of some given calculations, a few selected families will receive a lot of support, but in the neighbouring streets we cannot give anything for the people. Simply because this is how the project works. And this is something different than the logic of 'you get something if you do something', which the people themselves decided to follow"* (13.). In contrast, the parallel running TIOP project was flexible, and due to the successful community planning process, the size of the apartments was tailored to the needs of the given families. Due to the rigid project structure and narrow timespan of the DDOP project, the apartments renovated during this project were the same size and quality. *"It was very hard to explain why the neighbour can get a freshly renovated flat with three rooms, even though they have not paid the rent previously, while he lives*

two streets away, and his family needs to squeeze into 28 sqm. But why? And indeed, it is such a logical question: why?" (13.)

Relocating families from the official segregated areas to "integrated" parts of the city were mandatory element of both projects. This part of both programs raised several questions. The municipality had social housing units in different parts of the city, but as many experts criticized it, they only wanted to relocate families from György-telep and Hősök tere to the surrounding Eastern Neighbourhood. This was partly explained with affordability issues: in other parts of the city the social housing units are usually situated in large housing estates, where utility costs are much higher. However, it is known that the municipality had social housing units in the historical centre of the city as well. According to our informants, the municipality requested that poor families should not be relocated to these prestigious parts of the city.

When the social workers inquired the families about their own preferences, they usually preferred to move only a few streets up from the valley, or a bit closer to the city centre. The social workers interpreted this preference with general characteristics of poorer families. According to their experience, families living in poverty, often without regular income, rely much more on their kinship networks, which binds them to their neighbourhood. These connections are often based on reciprocity, trust and solidarity, which are essential for getting support and protection in their everyday lives. Thus, it is in their interest not to move further away, and this is the reason why their visions of social mobility is coupled with a very limited geographical horizon.

An essential question during the relocations was how to choose those families who should move, and who should stay put. The main methodology of the social workers to assess the capability of integration of each family was to count on their experience of working with them. They usually preferred – as a rule of thumb - young families and couples, whom they saw as more capable to adopt to the new living environment. The perceived ability to pay higher utility costs was also an important factor during their decision. Besides these more professional dimensions, sometimes local politicians also intervened along their political interests. We heard about one case, when a local politician put pressure on the social workers to relocate a family with 14 members into a small but renovated flat. The social workers warned this politician that it is a potential conflict situation. However, they could not stop this particular case of relocation, and it did cause an upheaval among the new neighbours, which in turn had a bad symbolic impact on the whole project.

Besides these problems, the relocations could have a traumatic effect on the families themselves. *"Relocation is traumatic for anyone. But when it turns out during relocation, that a whole family has only three boxes of things to possess.... So all these everyday problems came to the fore. Very hard and very depressing things came up, so it was very demanding for the social workers. Not only physically, but psychologically. Because when you have to move, things will be uncovered from under the carpet. This is just a metaphorical example, but many things came up within the families, for example the question whether we should move together, or not. Thus, for one or two years, social work was almost impossible."* (13.) It was very hard for the social workers, that after putting a lot of effort to improve the housing conditions of their clients, many of them were not entirely satisfied. But as one of them concluded: it turned out that relocation cannot solve all the individual and social problems of the clients. On the contrary, in some cases it might highlight that even in a much better-quality physical environment problems do not vanish, and thus something additional would be needed to improve their lives.

	TÁMOP	UNDP	TIOP	DDOP
György telep	consolidation of the neighbourhood dependency from the social worker	Nobody understood the methodology and the intentions Partly failure	Community planning was successful, each house was renovated	-----
Hősök tere	----	Strong community building	-----	Selective renovation leading to tensions, broke the community working groups

Table 4 Success and failure of development programmes on urban regeneration in György-telep and Hősök tere

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

When looking at the more than a decade long series of place-based developmental interventions targeting György-telep, the role of Málta as a promoter (and translator/broker, as we explained above) is a crucial factor. Without their stubborn presence, careful social work and lobby activity György-telep would have been most probably the object of elimination, and the residents would have been forcefully relocated, probably to similar, or even worse living conditions. Thus, the fact that until now six different projects have been implemented in the area is clearly a unique situation (and probably only comparable to the story of Magdolna Quarter in Budapest in the Hungarian context), a sort of “living laboratory” to test the effectiveness of a long-term, socially sensitive urban regeneration project.

In other words, Málta as an organization has had a very clear interest in pursuing a specific justice-regime (influenced by external constraints). This justice regime departs from the acceptance of external constraints (a sort of “realpolitik”) and aims to maximize the developmental effect of different projects within that framework. Their role included both a bottom-up perspective, which was based on their continuous presence and commitment, and a top-down perspective, which was mostly effective on the national level. In reality Málta was the glue between the different projects with different logics in György-telep. However, this very effective strategy has its own contradictions as well, as it was expressed by some employees of Málta, and different organizations raising very clear critiques about this justice regime. In terms of procedural justice, there is a clear shift from a horizontal alliance of different stakeholders, towards a more rigid, more hierarchical, but more effective (in the technocratic sense) system of project management, which was mainly pushed forward by the local municipality. In short: local politics provides a visible limit to the developmental strategies of the main actors. Another contradiction rose from the different logics of the projects themselves. Not even Málta’s efficient turntable role was enough to counteract these interfering logics imposed upon the local reality by the specificities of the different projects.

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

Tightly connected to this, we found deep concerns among some stakeholders about the results from the perspective of distributive justice. The largest question is whether it can be called just to concentrate so many resources in the development of György-telep, while in the city as a whole the systematic production of injustices is not tackled. By one of our informants this situation was described as Málta being compromised by an otherwise essentially exclusionary local regime. However, from the point of view of many Málta employees, their main function is to operate in certain institutional niches, where limited, but still crucial opportunities arise to improve the lives of some of the poor people from the many in the city. As researchers, we found it extremely hard to draw a concluding judgement in this moral dilemma about justice. Instead of that, we find it important to pinpoint not only the parallel presence of a unique, socially sensitive urban regeneration pilot project in one segregated neighbourhood, and the systematic (re)production of social and spatial inequalities in other parts of the city, but the intricate relation of the two. In our understanding the presence of the former (the series of experimental development projects in György-telep led by Málta) rests upon Málta’s cautious diplomatic manoeuvring, through which they openly and harshly never criticize the latter (the unjust nature of municipal policies). However, we found evidence that with the emerging informal power of

Málta there might be opening possibilities to progressively influence these policies “behind closed doors”, in an informal way. While in 2018 in Hungary this might be an effective way to influence decision makers, this setting can easily be described as one producing democratic and accountability deficits.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

Though we are not aware of any representative statistical data about the achievements of the last decade, but our informants unequivocally highlighted that regarding unemployment, housing quality, household indebtedness and criminal activities there have been significant positive results. However, these achievements were reached through a very specific arrangement, which we might call the “György-telep model”. The emergence of this model was not exclusively led by Málta’s intentions, but also shaped by external factors (the shifting attitude of the municipality regarding civil activity, the changing bureaucratic requirements of the projects, national level priorities and regulations, etc.). As a result, we can see a development trajectory, where the expansion of Málta’s role, the willingness of the local municipality to outsource the management of poverty at some localities, and the national level political and semantic shifts are tightly connected to the fate of the residents of György-telep.

Most of our informants agreed that even in the case of György-telep, several years of similarly intensive work would be needed to have a truly transformative outcome in terms of eliminating poverty. One social worker estimated that even after that there would be a significant segment of the population who would need the assistance of social workers in order not to fall back into the poverty trap. When putting into a broader perspective, all informants agreed that they cannot imagine a transformative positive outcome “spilling over” to a larger area. In other words, they claimed that the inequalities present between the Eastern Neighbourhood and the rest of the city is something that cannot be tackled through these focused projects. A common example they brought was how a few hundred meters southwards from Hősök tere there is a new segregated area in the making around a place called Feketegyémánt square, which has similar features that Hősök tere had a decade ago. The main reason for this, in their view, is the unfavourable economic outlook of the city, and the specific policies that the municipality pursues. Less frequently, but it was expressed that maybe indirectly the development projects in György-telep could have a catalysing effect on the socio-spatial processes developing around Feketegyémánt square. Thus, it seems that even though the György-telep developments could help a few hundred families in a narrow territory, it could not significantly modify the overarching trend of growing inequalities in the city.

Finally, there have been an unintended consequence of the actions implemented in György-telep, which might have a larger effect on the future of spatial (in)justice in the city, than the direct results of the actions themselves. This unintended consequence of Málta’s emerging role as a “translator” has had an impact on specific actors and relations. Most importantly, with Málta as a proxy, the relation between the local residents in György-telep and the Housing Department became much smoother, and more constructive. In the future this could provide the basis of more humane treatment of administrative issues related to poverty. However, it is still questionable whether high rank politicians could be influenced in any way. The recent top-down reform of the local housing regulation suggests that the nation-wide shift towards a more oppressive, exclusionary workfare regime has more impact on high rank local leaders, than the positive effects of the György-telep investments. This issue has an important political economic context as well. Almost all the György-telep investments were financed by large international donors (mainly the EU),

and not national or local bodies. This characteristic is also true for other similar projects in Hungary. In the context of austerity in the domain of welfare spending, this might imply that the future of György-telep is very much dependent upon the future of the EU's Cohesion Policy, and the willingness of other donors to step in, in case the available funding for the post-2020 period would shrink.

6. Conclusions

From the perspective of official project indicators, the case of György-telep is one of the most successful place-based projects in Hungary. It is often cited as a best case, because hundreds of people could move from substandard flats into modern homes, and because various social services and social assistance were provided for poor inhabitants of a formerly neglected and stigmatized neighbourhood of Pécs over an extended period.

However, we highlighted a few contradictions rooted in the institutions of these development projects. First, we showed that in some cases different projects built on different methodologies and logics targeting the same – or close areas – can interfere with each other. Second, we showed that infrastructural investments implemented without proper planning can cause local tensions through not matching with the justice-perceptions of the local inhabitants. Third, we showed that local institutional reshuffling and local politics can counteract the main aims of these development projects.

One of our main findings was how as an unintended consequence these series of contradictory development projects could lead to the strengthening role of Málta as a broker and “turntable” in the local developmental coalition. Málta was able to provide continuity across different interfering project logics through its turntable position. While Málta could smoothen the negative effects of these contradictions, it could not completely eliminate them. This finding echoes the conclusions of James Ferguson claiming that irrelevant to the projects’ results, development brokers can secure or strengthen their position through the projects themselves (Ferguson, 1997).

While we cannot blame a single case for not transforming the whole system of structural injustice, it is possible to speculate about more general conclusions about the function of such development projects. In Pécs we saw that one of the most important limits of place-based developments is that they are situated in an institutional and policy landscape, which systematically reproduces spatial injustices. While a strong local institution can achieve important local results through attracting significant amount of development funds from different projects, the very roots of these injustices remain intact. Thus without addressing the question of how this systematic reproduction of injustice happens through national and local policies, narrowly targeted place-based projects will only help a portion of the population in need, in spite of the best intentions of the funders and the “developers”.

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8. Annexes

8.1 List of Interviewed Experts

Reference number of interviews	List and type of experts	Date and time of the interview
1.	expert on development programmes	2018. 02. 26 2 hours 2018. 06. 26. 1,5hours
2.	Programme participant	2018. 06. 25 2 hours
3.	Municipality officer	2018. 06.26 2,5 hours
4.	Programme participant	2018. 06.26. 1 hours 15 min
5.	Municipality officer	2018. 06.25. 1hours
6.	Municipality officer	2018. 09. 13. 1 hours
7.	Municipality officer	2018. 06.28. 1,5 hours
8.	Civil activist	2018. 06.28. 1,5 hours
9.	Programme participant	2018. 06.26 1 hours
10.	Programme participant	2018. 06. 27. 2 hours
11.	Programme participant	2018. 06.27 1,5 hours
12.	Programme participant	2018. 06. 27 1 hours
13.	Programme participant	2018. 06.28. 2 hours
14.	Programme participant	2018.06.28 2 hours
15.	Programme participant	2018. 06.29. 1,5 hours
16.	Programme participant	2018. 06.29 1 hours
17.	Civil activist	2018. 06.28. 1,5 hours
18.	Civil activist	2018. 09.13. 1 hours
19.	Municipality officer	2018. 09.13. 1,5 hours
20.	Municipality officer	2018. 09.13. 1,5 hours
21.	Officer in the Ministry for Human Resources	2018. 04.17 1,5 hours
22.	Officer in the Ministry of Finance in charge of planning developmental programmes for urban rehabilitation.	2018. 06. 12 1,5 hours
Group discussion	Officers in the Ministry for Human Resources in charge of social policy and spatially targeted development programmes.	2018. 06.19 2 hours
Group dis-	Experts on urban rehabilitation and other spatially targeted development programs	2018. 06. 12 2 hours

cussions		
Group discussion	Programme participants	2019. 03.11. 3 hours

8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project
Local politicians	City of Pécs	Invited to participate as interviewees
Local administration	City of Pécs	A number took part in interviews and some of them will be invited to the stakeholder events
Associations representing private businesses	---	Not relevant
Local development companies/agencies	City of Pécs	Took part in interview.
Municipal associations	Not relevant	
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	City of Pécs National level	Have taken part in interviews; some of them will be invited to feedback and stakeholder events
Other local community stakeholders	City of Pécs	Took part in interview
Local state offices/representations	Not relevant	
Regional state offices/representations	Not relevant	
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment	Ministry for Human Resources Ministry of Finance (formerly Ministry of National Economy)	Have taken part in interviews; some of them will be invited to feedback and stakeholder events
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)	Metropolitan Research Institute, Budapest – national level	Have taken part in interviews; some of them will be invited to feedback and stakeholder events
Primary and secondary educational institutions	Not relevant	
Colleges and universities	University of Pécs	Have taken part in interviews; some of them will be invited to feedback
Social and health care institutions	----	
Cultural institutions and associations	----	
Media	Local and national level	May be invited to stakeholder events

8.3 Map(s) and Photos

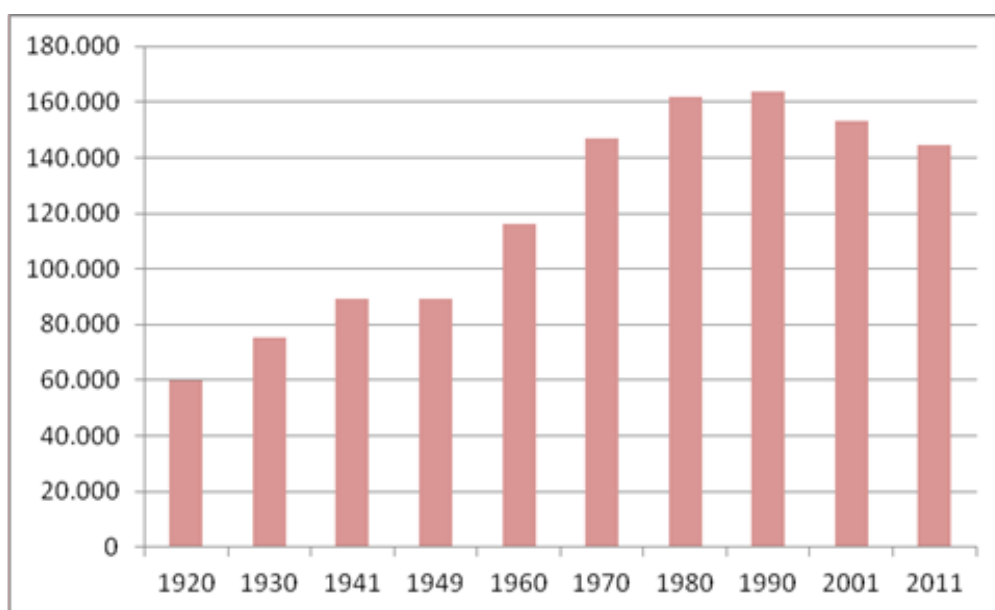


Table 5 Population change between 1920-2011 in Pécs

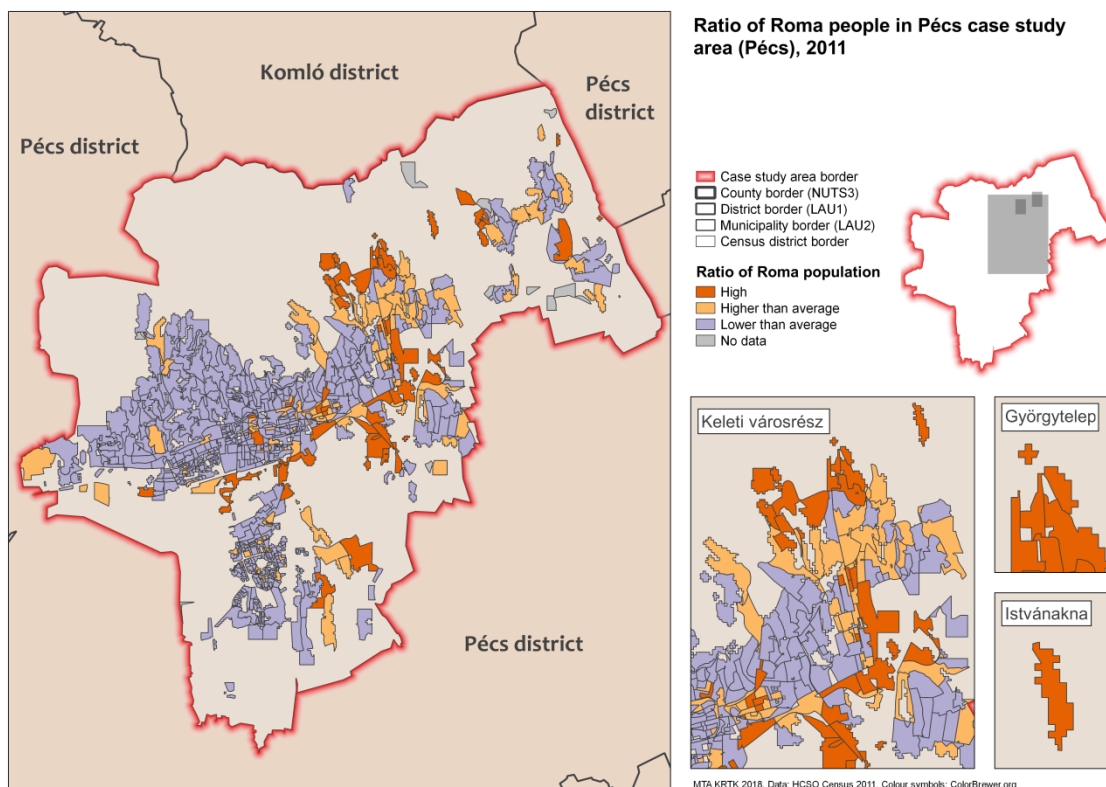
	Ratio of children under age 14 (%)	Ratio of Roma people (%)	Ratio of jobless households (%)	Ratio of dwelling without comfort (%)	Ratio of population with high qualifications (%)	Unemployment rate (%)
Hungary	14,6	3,2	38,3	4,4	21	12,7
Baranya county	13,9	4,5	41,9	4,2	18,7	15,4
Pécs	12,8	2	41,3	1,4	29,4	13,2
Hősök tere	18,3	nd	63,1	54,7	0	43,8
György telep	30,9	nd	63,9	65,7	1	46,1

Table 6 Socio-demographic characteristic of Pécs and Hősök tere, György telep

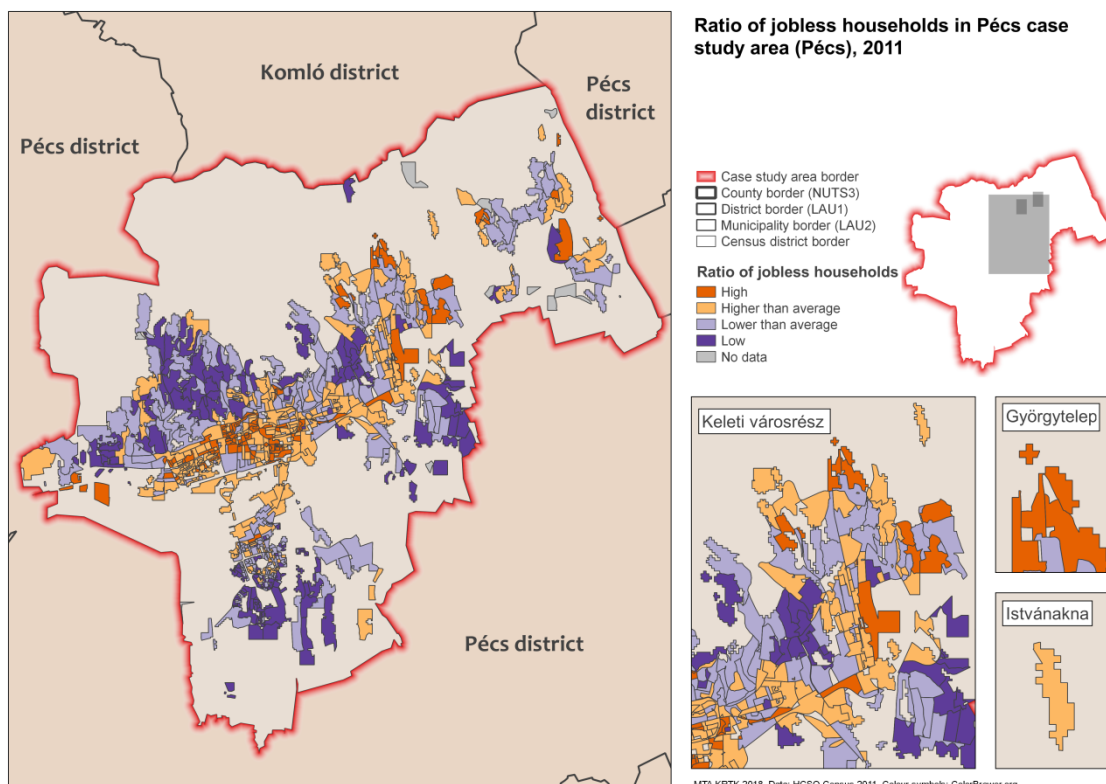
Sources: National Census 2011,

Regarding to Hősök tere, György-telep ASZT 2014. p. 18-19. (based on National Census)

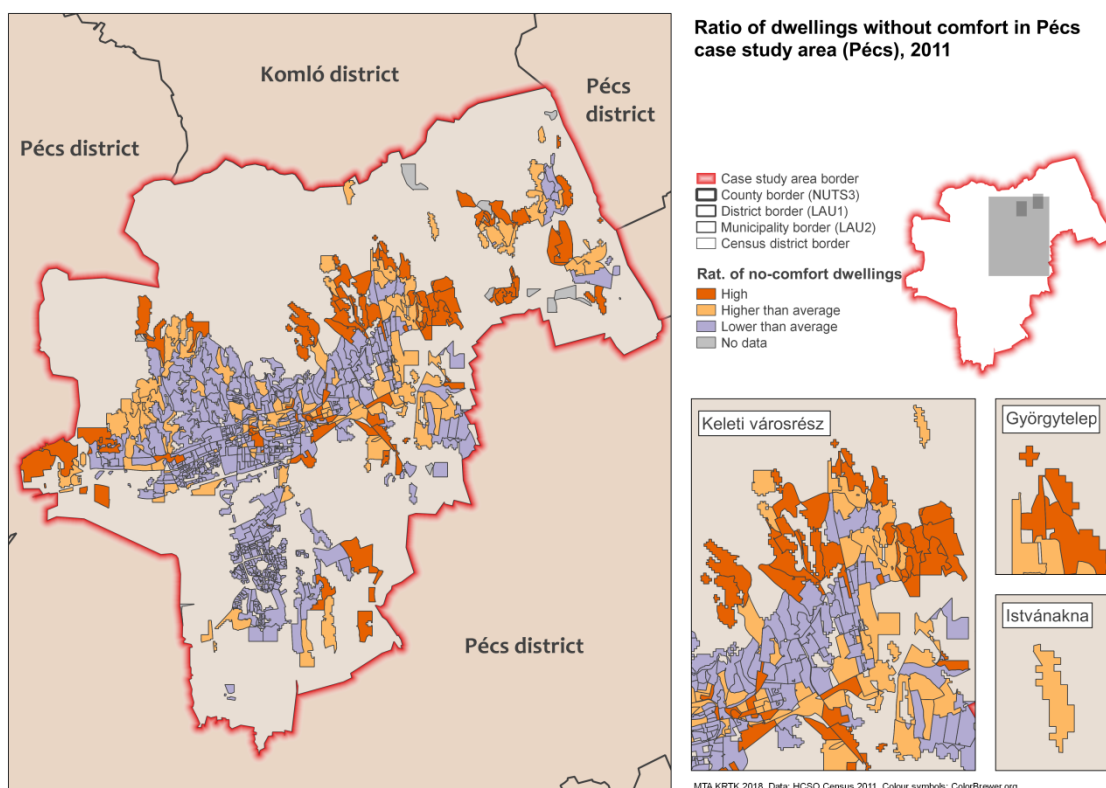
Maps 1-5 made by Gergely Tagai 2018 CERS HAS



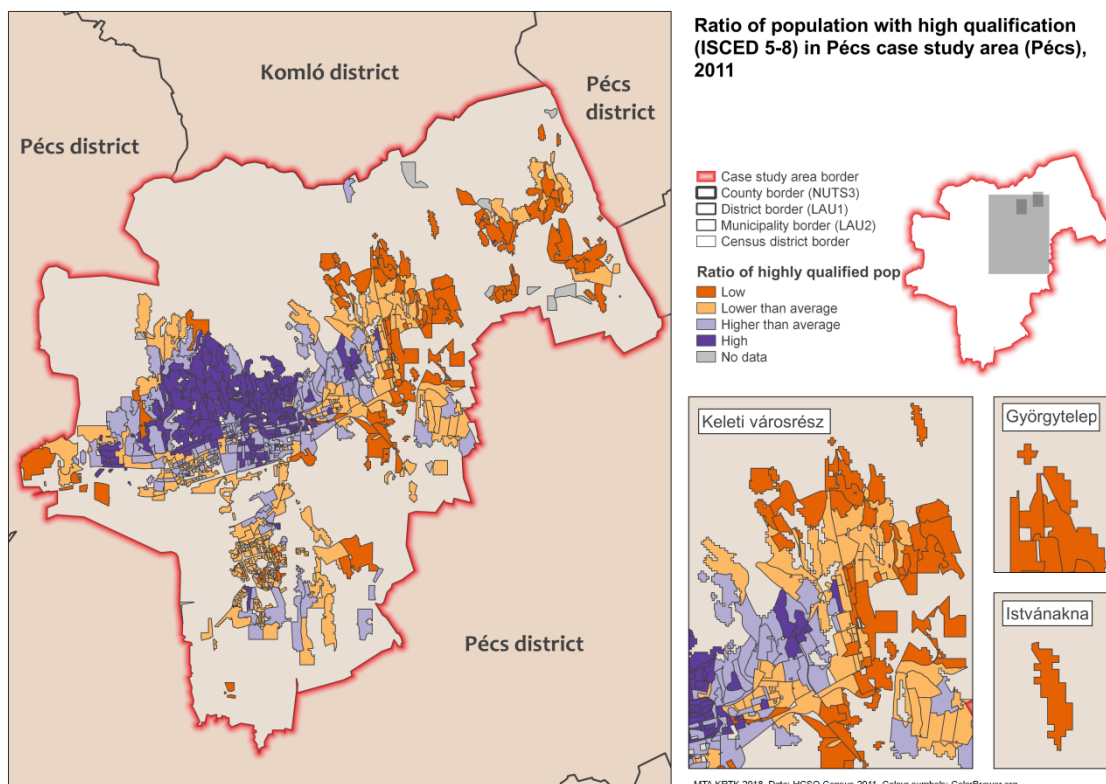
Map 1 Ratio of Roma people in Pécs 2011



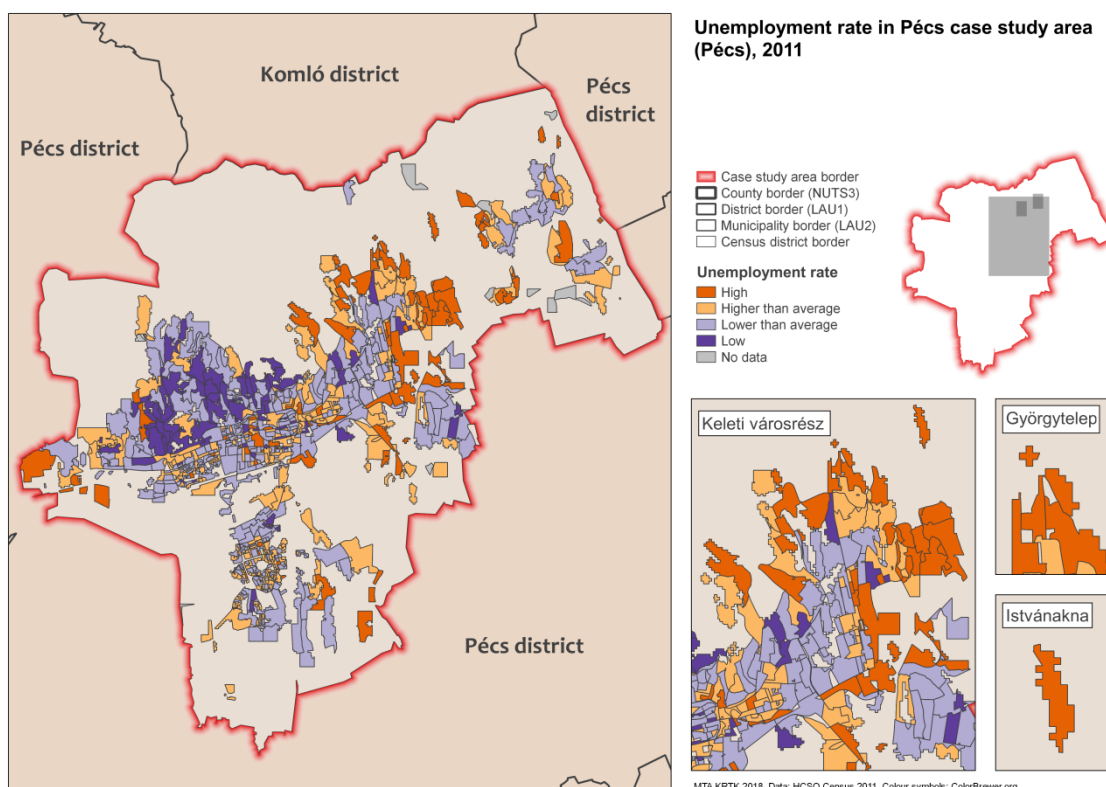
Map 2 Ratio of jobless households in Pécs 2011



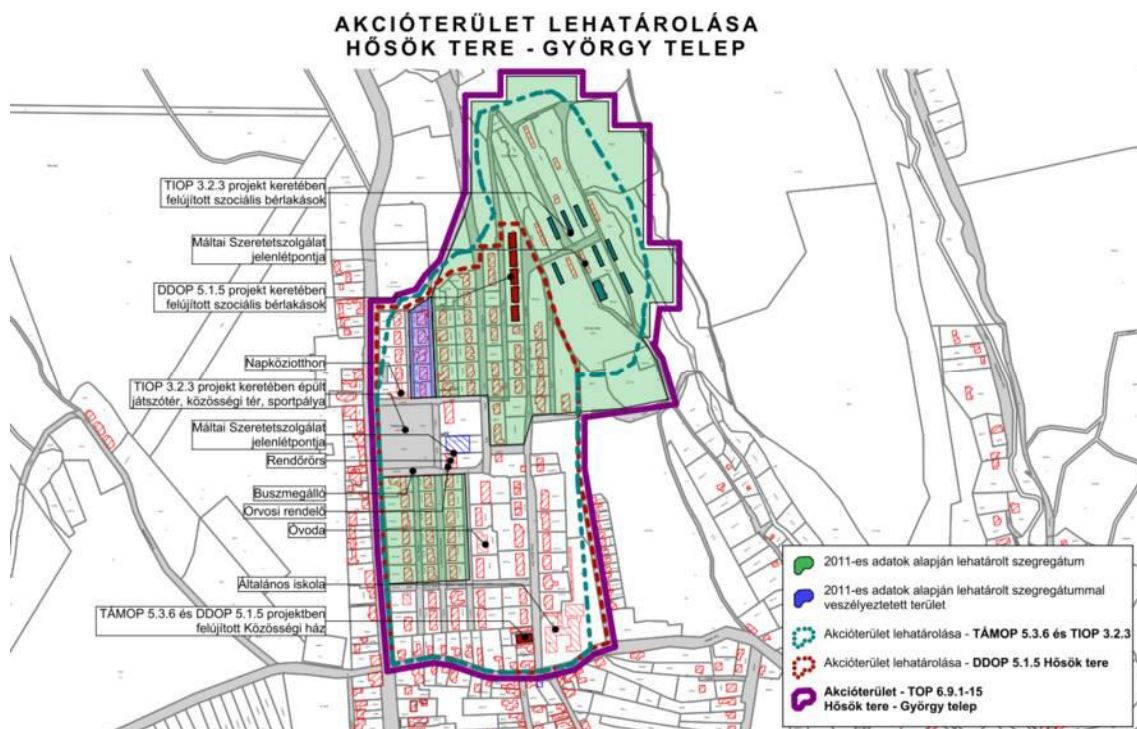
Map 3 Ratio of dwellings without comfort in Pécs 2011



Map 4 Ratio of population with high qualification in Pécs 2011



Map 5 Unemployment rate in Pécs 2011



Map 6 Target areas for social rehabilitation György-telep, Hősök tere between 2014-2017

Green line – Target area of TÁMOP and TIOP project

Red line – Target area of DDOP project

Purple line – Target area of TOP project

Source: Antisegregation Plan Municipality of Pécs 2014 p. 20

Pictures from the György telep

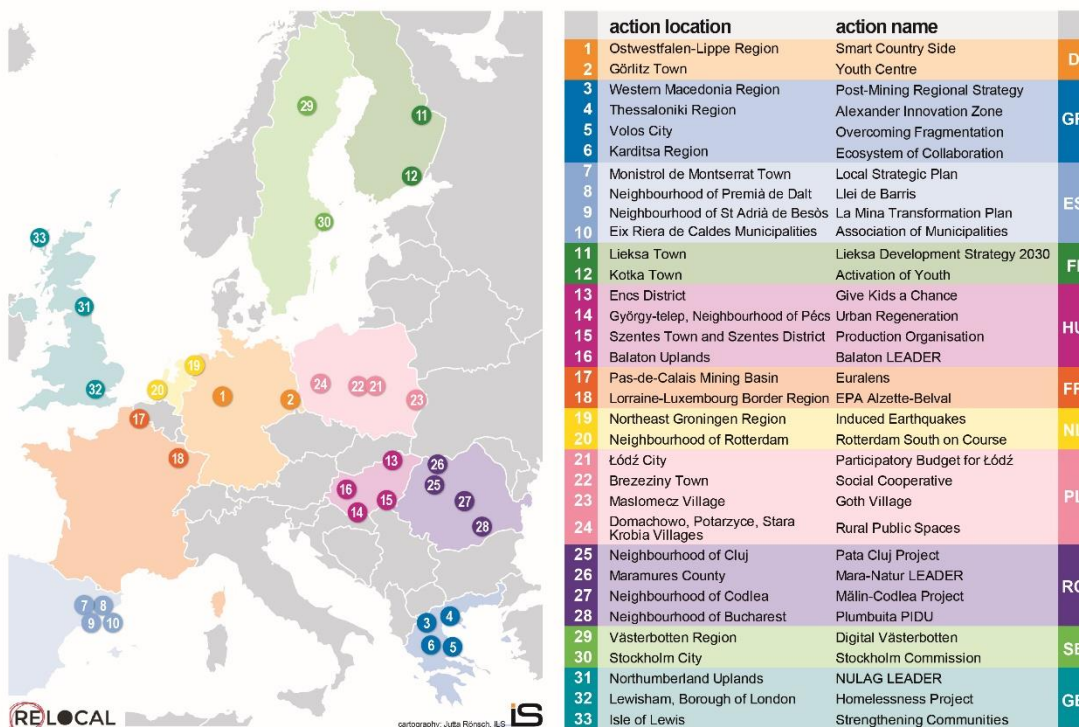


The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project '**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**' –RELOCAL aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at <https://relocal.eu>

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