



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Foto: Adrian Nemeti

Photo made with the occasion of the activist action

'Take us out from Pata Rât,' 17 December 2013, Cluj-Napoca

Case Study Report
The Pata Cluj Project
Residential Desegregation of the Landfill Area of Cluj-Napoca,
Romania

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Report Information

Title:	Case Study Report: The Pata Cluj Project. Residential Desegregation of the Landfill Area of Cluj-Napoca, Romania (RELOCAL Deliverable 6.2)
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Version:	Final
Date of Publication:	29.03.2019
Dissemination level:	Public

Project Information

Project Acronym	RELOCAL
Project Full title:	Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development
Grant Agreement:	727097
Project Duration:	48 months
Project coordinator:	UEF

Bibliographic Information

Bădiță C and Vincze E (2019) *The Pata Cluj Project. Residential Desegregation of the Landfill Area of Cluj-Napoca, Romania*. RELOCAL Case Study N° 25/33. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland.

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¹ Calculations of E. Vincze on the base of the Census 2011 data, provided in the *List of Marginalized Urban Areas* (ZUM 20000+) used by the World Bank in the Atlas mentioned above.

Abbreviations

CLLD	Community Led Local Development
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
FRA	Fundamental Rights Agency
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDA-CMA	Inter-community Development Association Cluj Metropolitan Area (Asociația de Dezvoltare Intercomunitară – Zona Metropolitană Cluj)
LAC	Local Action Group (Grup de Acțiune Locală)
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
MRDPAEF	Ministry of Regional Development, Public Administration and European Funds (Ministerul Dezvoltării Regionale, Administrației Publice și Fondurilor Europene)
R&D	Research and Development
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Executive Summary

Background.

'Pata-Cluj' was an action (from here the Action) implemented at the local level in the form of a project supported between October 2014 and April 2017 by Norway Grants Romania, a poverty alleviation program. It targeted a disadvantaged area from a relatively well-developed locality of Romania (the city of Cluj-Napoca, Cluj county, Northwest Development Region) with the aim *'to prepare the social inclusion of the communities located in Pata Rât and Cantonului area, the most vulnerable group of Cluj Municipality and partly of the Cluj Metropolitan Area.'* One of the most astonishing manifestation of spatial injustice in Cluj-Napoca is the ghettoization of Pata Rât near the city's landfill, an area which displays the cumulative effects of a polluted environment, geographical isolation, socio-territorial segregation, housing deprivation, cultural stigmatization, and racialization of both the space and the people inhabiting it. The case under our scrutiny was a hybrid type of action created at the crossroads of local and transnational stakeholders, and using bottom-up and top-down perspectives. Its objectives were identified within a former project (run 2012–2013) under the auspices of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). *Pata-Cluj* was developed by the UNDP project team, and at the time of its inception was sustained by both UNDP and Cluj Napoca City Hall (from here City Hall). Eventually it got financial support via a so-called *predefined Norwegian financial scheme*, and *Pata-Cluj* was then implemented by the Inter-Community Development Agency - Cluj Metropolitan Area (ICD-CMA), under the management of the former UNDP project team, and trained in the spirit of this institution's practice around community development, participation, and delivering integrated projects.

Findings.

The full title of the project refers to Cluj Metropolitan Area, and specifically to its vulnerable groups, including the disadvantaged Roma. Nevertheless, its beneficiaries were only the inhabitants of the Pata Rât neighbourhood of Cluj-Napoca. Two thirds of the 35 families who had been relocated from Pata Rât (cc 10% of the inhabitants) were given apartments bought or constructed by project money outside of the city of Cluj-Napoca, in three of the villages of the Cluj Metropolitan Area (Apahida, Florești, Baciú). Moreover, 15 school-aged children who benefitted from the project's educational services eventually were enrolled in schools outside of the city of Cluj-Napoca (located in Cojocna and Cara villages). The *Pata-Cluj* project started without a housing component, requiring funds for the latter at a later time. It used a lot of resources on behalf of improving procedural justice: on fuelling 'community empowerment' via the work of several facilitators, case managers, and experts on restorative practices; on creating 'the participative community', via consultations run in Pata Rât and via a careful discursive construction of the project; on cultural events aiming to raise awareness among the majority population about the area and about the need to be actively involved as volunteers; and on extending the circle of stakeholders involved in the project beyond its managerial and implementation team. The latter not only had the role of providing expertise on different matters, but also served the aim of creating a general positive consensus around the project, including the cause of desegregation as well as the way the project was generally conceived and implemented as 'good practice.'

Outlook.

The Action not only aimed to improve people's lives, but also to prepare mainstream public services *'to reach out for the most vulnerable groups in the society...'* One may note that it might have had an impact on the social workers hired at the specialized department of

the City Hall, but it did not generate change in city policies regarding Pata Rât, evictions, social housing or urban development, and its team was not sustained by the municipality for very long after the project budget was consumed. The full scope of socio-territorial justice to the inhabitants of Pata Rât is still waiting to be delivered by further externally funded projects. No political accountability, no institutional change, and no financial or other types of contributions have been enacted by the decision-making bodies of the local public administration towards improving living conditions in Pata Rât or relocating the inhabitants into adequate homes in other parts of the city.

1. Introduction

The studied case ('Pata-Cluj project' - hereinafter: *Pata-Cluj*)² was an action (from here the Action) implemented at the local level in the form of a project funded by Norway Grants Romania, a poverty alleviation program.³ It targeted a disadvantaged area from a relatively developed locality of Romania (the city of Cluj-Napoca) with the aim 'to prepare the social inclusion of the communities located in Pata Rât and Cantonului area, the most vulnerable group of Cluj Municipality and partly of the Cluj Metropolitan Area.'⁴

The project is partially institutionalized and is presented by the management team as a model of intervention for the spatial desegregation of the Pata Rât area. This desegregation plan was defined as an objective of the *Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy 2014–2020* (chapter: 'Cluj 2020 – inclusive city,' Strategic direction nr. 4: Integrated plan for the socio-territorial inclusion of the marginalized communities of Pata Rât). Thus, the project theoretically could be part of a long-term vision of a development plan undertaken by Cluj-Napoca Local Council in 2014. Due to its embeddedness into the latter, our case might be considered a *place-based policy-driven action*. However, the project was not implemented by Cluj Napoca City Hall (from here City Hall) but through an organizational structure serving the Cluj Metropolitan Area, i.e., the Intercommunity Development Association⁵ – Cluj Metropolitan Area (hereinafter: IDA-CMA). Though, there were employees of City Hall who suspended their contracts at the municipality and were hired by the project. An additional aim of the project was to increase the capacity of the local Department of Social and Medical Assistance to handle such cases of social exclusion.

The long title of the project refers to *Cluj Metropolitan Area*, and specifically to its vulnerable groups, including the disadvantaged Roma. Nevertheless, its beneficiaries were only the inhabitants of Pata Rât of Cluj-Napoca. The project originally aimed to create a social inclusion unit within IDA-CMA that could cover all the localities across the metropolitan area. What actually occurred was that two-thirds of the 35 families who were relocated from Pata Rât were given apartments by the project outside of the city of Cluj-Napoca, in three of the villages of Cluj Metropolitan Area (Apahida, Florești, Baciú). Moreover, 15 school-aged children who benefitted from the project's educational services were eventually enrolled in schools outside of the city of Cluj-Napoca (located in the village of Cojocna and the village of Cara).

The case under our scrutiny is a hybrid type of action: its objectives were identified within a previous project (run between 2012 and 2013) in which the team, coordinated by a UNDP expert, elaborated ideas for further interventions in cooperation with the 'Pata Rât communities'. The project proposal of *Pata-Cluj* was elaborated by the UNDP management

² The full title of the Pata-Cluj project is '*Social interventions for the de-segregation and social inclusion of vulnerable groups in Cluj Metropolitan Area, including the disadvantaged Roma*'. It was financed through the '*Poverty Alleviation Program*' by the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2009–2014, with the total amount of 4.095.864 EUR (source: <http://patacluj.ro/what-is-pata-cluj/?lang=en>, accessed 15 January, 2018).

³ See <https://eeagrants.org/programme/view/RO25/PA40> (accessed 10 December 2018).

⁴ See <http://patacluj.ro/what-is-pata-cluj/?lang=en> (accessed 10 December 2018).

⁵ See information about these organizations in our RELOCAL document 'Administrative organization and territorial development in Romania,' by Enikő Vincze, 28 January 2018, and in the Romanian RELOCAL national report (February 2019).

team, and at the time of its inception was sustained by both UNDP and City Hall. Eventually it got financial support via a so-called predefined Norwegian financial scheme.

2. Methodological Reflection

During locality mapping, for conducting interviews, focus groups and/or informal discussions, it was necessary to define as researchers what we were looking to report. The terms used in our opening question were not always the terms by which the interviewee talked about the issue later, often using his/her own key terms to describe the related phenomenon.

While formulating the question ‘please mark on this map of the locality places that...’, we made references to places where poor, marginalized, and disadvantaged persons were living, and/or we stressed other aspects of the area (pollution, deprived housing conditions, informal housing, risk of eviction, segregation, underdevelopment etc). In addition, in the introductory interview questions, we made an explicit reference to the term ‘spatial justice’, asking the interviewees to express their opinion about this concept in parallel with letting them use their own terms. Our aim with this was to enable ourselves to construct conceptual links between spatial (in)justice as proposed by RELOCAL as a central category along with other categories used by the interviewees so that together this might form the analytical frame of the investigation.

Some of the interviewees expressed doubts about how to find balance between their personal convictions and the official standpoint of the institutions they worked for. We asked them to highlight when they were talking from a more personal perspective, and when they were talking from a more institutional one. Moreover, some of them considered that persons who have decision-making positions should assume nominally their responsibility on the statements made, which would in these cases likely be official standpoints. Others expressed their fear that even if they opted for anonymity, they might be recognized, and their position in the community or in the organization might be identified from what they said.

The *Pata-Cluj* project was chosen for the RELOCAL research because it met the following criteria: it addresses a spatial manifestation of injustice (i.e., residential segregation), it is a policy driven intervention, and it is a ‘mature project’ that allows the investigator to address its impact both in regards to the project beneficiaries’ life conditions and the institutional administrative structures. Though very much adequate for the criteria, this endeavour presented the risk that after the project ended (a) there would be a little interest or even a fear from the part of the project management team to talk about its achievements in a different context that they were used to during the project (in forms of reports for the funder, public documents, press releases, public conferences, films, interviews given to the press, etc); (b) formally there would be no project team at all, since its existence was linked to the project itself and to its budget, which ended in Summer 2017. Eventually, in this case we encountered both of these problems. Nevertheless, by discussing with a few members of the larger project team, with experts involved in administering the project at higher institutional levels, with staff of local public administration from different departments, with experts from other public and private organizational bodies from different levels, and also with some community members and project beneficiaries, as well as by analysing its publicly presented documents and statement, we were able to learn about all the dimensions of the project that are interesting from the perspective of the RELOCAL research.

3. The Locality

3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Cluj-Napoca is the fourth most populated city of Romania, being among the very few localities whose population increased since the 2002 census. According to a source from City Hall, in addition to the population with a stable domicile, the city attracts another almost 100,000 persons who temporarily settle in the locality to study or work. In 2016, the number of tourists visiting the city (370,000) was higher than the number of inhabitants with a stable domicile. In 2011, out of the city's 324,576 inhabitants only 1 % (3273 persons) declared themselves ethnic Roma. However, as *Figure 2* in Annex 7.5 shows, the percentage of Roma who lived in marginalized areas⁶ was much higher as compared to the total population.

The city is situated in the Northwest Development Region,⁷ as reflected on *Map 3* in Annex 7.3. It is the administrative centre of Cluj County and hosts the Prefecture and County Council. Cluj County has the second-lowest poverty rate in Romania (after Bucharest/Ilfov), but its neighbouring counties in the Northwest Region (Bistrița-Năsăud, Maramureș, Sălaj and Satu-Mare) have higher poverty rates than the Romanian average.⁸ Cluj-Napoca is the economically strongest and most competitive area of this region, considered to act as a 'magnet city' (WB, 2017) with a high percentage of professionals among the employees working in the city (see *Table 2* in Annex 7.6). Cluj Metropolitan Area (CMA) encloses Cluj-Napoca municipality and 17 rural administrative-territorial units/communes (LAUs), as shown on *Map 4* in Annex 7.3, the population of which has had varied trajectories since 1992 (see *Table 5* in Annex 7.6). The IDA-CMA⁹ was created in 2008 through Law 286 from 6 July 2006 (a law regarding the modification and completion of the local public administration, Law 215/2001).

The 'Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy 2014–2020' affirms that the city has the highest level of development relative to the five localities to which this document it compares (Timișoara, Brașov, Iași, Constanța and Sibiu) as well as among all the 'growth poles' in Romania. The analysis behind the development strategy considered indicators of development such as human capital, health, demographics, and material assets (including housing). It was designated as one of Romania's 'growth poles' by Government Decision

⁶ The term 'marginalized area' here is understood in the sense defined by the World Bank in its Report (WB, 2014).

⁷ Development regions in Romania were created in 1998 as a result of the association of county councils, in preparation for Romania's access to the European Union. Development regions are not administrative, but statistical units responsible for gathering specific statistical data according to EUROSTAT rules for NUTS 2. Nevertheless, according to the law regarding the regional development in Romania (Law 315/2004), they also act as a framework for the elaboration, implementation, and evaluation of regional development policies. Read more about this in our RELOCAL document 'Administrative organization and territorial development in Romania', by E.Vincze, 28 January, 2018, and in the Romanian RELOCAL national study (February 2019).

⁸ More about inter-regional and intra-regional disparities in our RELOCAL document 'Administrative organization and territorial development in Romania', by E.Vincze, 28 January, 2018, and in the Romanian RELOCAL national study.

⁹ Website of IDA-CMA, <http://www.adizmc.ro/>

998/2008. *Table 1* in Annex 7.6 offers information regarding the basic socio-economic characteristics of Cluj-Napoca.

The neighbourhood targeted by the *Pata-Cluj* project (**Pata Rât**), the Action under our scrutiny here, is part of a zone that became a district of the city in the 1960s, belonging before to the neighbouring village Someșeni. Pata Rât is located in the vicinity of the municipality's landfill, and it is inhabited by approximately 1500 persons, the vast majority being those of Roma ethnicity. As a whole, the Someșeni district kept its rural character even after it was annexed by the city. Today it hosts approximately 10,000 inhabitants, and as *Map 1* in Annex 7.3 shows, it is the neighbourhood in the city with the lowest cost of housing. It includes the Cluj-Napoca airport and East Railway Station, but also the municipality's landfill.

The Pata Rât area is inhabited predominantly by persons who self-describe as of Roma ethnicity, as *Figure 1* shows (see Annex 8.5). Pata Rât's four 'communities', marked on *Map 2* in Annex 7.3 with red bullets, have diverse histories and, besides housing deprivation and insecurity, are all faced with very reduced access to quality (non-segregated) education, decent jobs, adequate healthcare, and public participation.¹⁰ Those informally inhabiting the sub-zones called '*Dallas*' and '*Rampa de gunoi*' are the oldest inhabitants of Pata Rât. Their ancestors established these sub-zones at the end of the 1960s as waste collectors. As part of the city's post-socialist development, Cantonului colony was formed starting with the end of the 1990s, when people evicted from several other neighbourhoods (Avram Iancu Street, Calea Turzii, Albac Street, Kővári Street, Byron Street, temporary shelters for civic protection, etc.) were directed towards '*strada Cantonului*', through the assistance of City Hall. Those evicted were allowed to settle in the area via several administrative initiatives, but they were never acknowledged as legal settlers. The last date of significant population growth in Pata Rât was 2010, when the local public administration transformed one of its areas formerly acknowledged as an industrial zone into a housing area, and started the construction of 10 modular houses in that location. Those buildings proved to be the so-called 'social houses' provided for the 76 families evicted by City Hall from Coastei Street in December 2010 (marked as '*Noul Pata Rât*' on *Map 2* / Annex 7.3).

As shown from the above history, the local public administration played a role in the formation of this semi-informal residential area both by explicitly and tacitly redirecting persons and families evicted from other parts of the city to it. Ever since, the administration has refused to publicly acknowledge the existence of Pata Rât, did not provide resources for its infrastructural development, and failed to implement actions towards the displaced peoples' reconnection to the city via assuring their access to municipal social housing.

3.2 The Locality with regards to Dimensions 1 & 2¹¹

The most astonishing manifestation of spatial injustice in Cluj-Napoca is the ghettoization of the Pata Rât area near the city's landfill (see *Map 2* in Annex 7.3), which displays the cumulative effects of a polluted environment, geographical isolation, socio-territorial segregation, housing deprivation, cultural stigmatization, and racialization of both the space

¹⁰ More about these histories and current realities, see in E. Vincze 2013a; 2013b; 2016; 2018.

¹¹ In this section of our report, we make reference to the interviews conducted through the end of December 2018. Fragments of interviews relevant for identifying different perceptions of social justice can be read in Annex 7.4.1.

and the people inhabiting it. All of this is happening in a city where the average income is the second highest after the capital city, and which, from the point of view of GDP, produces the fourth highest value in Romania, while it also is the most expensive locality of the country in terms of apartment prices.

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

The **perceptions of disadvantaged or underdeveloped spaces/neighbourhoods in the city** are very much shaped by the position and perspective of the person who talks about them. One's position includes both the role that he/she has in the administrative-political structures involved in urban governance, and the very personal embeddedness into the geography of the city, most importantly whether one lives within or outside such areas. As a first general observation we may say that the term 'spatial justice' was not in the vocabulary of any of the interviewed stakeholders, and it is not present in the policy documents related to regional and territorial development in Romania. Moreover, the non-awareness of the relevance of spatial justice was clearly highlighted during the interview with a staff member of International Division of the City Hall, who said 'in Cluj we cannot say that there are disadvantaged areas or spatial injustice, because there are not, but we can speak about families with disadvantaged situations. In no way we can speak about areas...' (Interview 2.0).

The official position of *Pata-Cluj* on the problem addressed by this project is based on a knowledge and interpretation cumulated locally by local academics, activists, and social workers:

'Pata Rât area is a spatially segregated informal urban settlement, in a condition of deprivation near the city landfill, where currently approximately 300 families are living. The four settlements in the area formed mostly after repeated evictions of poor, mostly Roma, families from central areas to the city outskirts. This combined with the immigration of poor people from the nearby villages coming to find means of survival in the landfill.'¹²

One of the experts whom we interviewed and who was working on the *Pata-Cluj* project team, placed the Pata Rât case into the larger picture of marginalized urban and rural areas in Romania, in order to raise the interest of the funders to address this issue in different concrete local contexts. Another expert had more direct contact with people living in Pata Rât, and therefore she could offer a more personalized insight into the situation. Experts outside of the *Pata-Cluj* local project team, but related to it, were placed in the larger hierarchy of the EEA funded projects in Romania, and so mostly interiorized the project's definition of the problem; however, they also had a few occasions when they could witness what meant to live in such an area.

When it comes to the **explanations given to the existence of disadvantaged, marginalized, underdeveloped areas in the localities**, differences continue to be even more divergent. The mayor of one of the localities that is part of the CMA, and where some of the project beneficiaries were relocated through the *Pata-Cluj* project, emphasized on several occasions that the problem with the poor Roma is a problem regarding their education, therefore he was quite far from addressing the issue in terms of housing or spatial justice: 'Integration might be also done through these housing measures assuring decent conditions of living, but these are only a bandage on the wound and do not result in healing.'

¹² See Pata-Cluj project website: <http://patacluj.ro/about-pata-rat/?lang=en>

Even contrary to the notion of spatial injustice, he stated that his commune (from a territorial/spatial point of view, we may add) is well-placed in the very vicinity of the economically developed Cluj-Napoca that attracts investors and developers, and all the people who would like to work could find a job on the local market.

A staff member of City Hall's Department for Local Development asserted that there is nothing unjust about living in a more disadvantaged area; he considers this being a 'natural' result of urban development. Plus, he stated that underdeveloped areas attract poor people, therefore it might be the space itself that creates poverty. In addition, he considered that the value of the district lies in its exchange value, and indirectly thinks that the value of people is given by the market value of the house/area where they live. The interviewee recognized that there are not only the developers/investors who analyse the market and then define their priorities, but the municipality might influence their decisions, therefore it is also an actor in the real estate market. A development expert at the regional level acknowledged that if there would be no such areas as Pata Rât, i.e., if impoverished people were not allowed to live even there, they would be homeless, or they would be forced to take shelter in the forest, or anywhere else outside of the city.

The Social Work Directorate's staff members considered that there are more so-called poverty pockets in Cluj-Napoca. They explained that this phenomenon is linked to how the city developed, how the Pata Rât community is perceived as something negative, and how the local public administration at most handles this problem as individual or family matters and not as a whole. They also pointed to administrative measures of evictions taken by the municipality starting with the end of 1990s and to the fact that the city not only attracts professionals but also poor people, while City Hall makes more investments into infrastructural development than into consumption.

One project beneficiary assumed that some of the inhabitants of places like Pata Rât live there because life is cheaper there, people do not pay for rents and utilities, or in some cases because they are closer to their workplace (which is the garbage dump). The same project beneficiary made a distinction between those who deserve and those who do not deserve to make a living under such bad conditions.

Another project beneficiary observed that the territory of Pata Rât is inhabited predominantly by persons of Roma ethnicity, therefore if there is a case of injustice here, that works against the Roma as a manifestation of racism, and it reflects how the public administration made a ghetto for poor Roma near the landfill and now expects money to come from external funders to find a solution to this situation. Yet another project beneficiary explained that in practice there was no participatory consultation of the potential effects, so the houses where people were relocated and the type of emergency support given to the Pata Rât dwellers were chosen by the project managers even if people were consulted and would have opted for something else.

A local expert on Roma inclusion observes that in the Pata Rât area we have a case of the formation of an impoverished neighbourhood and not of a 'Roma community.' Referring to evictions, he observes that the public functionary takes decisions that satisfy the wishes of those or those businessmen who perceive the Roma as unwanted persons in the city, which should be dislocated at least from visible areas of the city. In the face of such men, City Hall does not have any real measures, but it is quite ready and open to proudly accept external funding for the eradication of poverty or for the desegregation of Pata Rât.

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

According to a national expert on EU funds, **the tool** by which the Pata-Cluj project was realized was an unusual one:

'it was selected directly from Brussels. The Ministry of European Funds or the National Contact Point for Roma were not consulted at all Therefore, I consider that nobody in this network, from bottom to up, including the European Commission of the EEA will be interested to hear any critical voices or to acknowledge that something potentially could have going wrong with this project. This is not even monitored like all the other types of projects are. Everybody is interested in treating these projects as model interventions from the very beginning.'

In more general terms, he, too, considered that it is not right that the poor communities from Romania get access to project resources only if the mayor of the localities where they are located wants to write project proposals and is competitive enough in doing this. He concluded: 'we should make a change in how project-based interventions are founded.'

According to the official position of the *Pata-Cluj* project, this is 'a social intervention, which uses an integrated approach to social inclusion'¹³. Nevertheless, as it will be mentioned in the next chapters of the report, the *Pata-Cluj* project started without a housing component, requiring funds for the latter in a subsequent moment of its lifetime. If one talks about this project as **a tool using integrated measures** for promoting spatially just development, it is exactly the housing component and the related residential relocation from Pata Rât to other territories which needs to be addressed from the perspective of several actors.

In the Romanian public administration system, it is City Hall and the local council that are the administrative structures responsible by law to take decisions regarding the localities' problems, including **social inclusion and housing policies**. The localities and the counties are the recognized territorial administrative units of Romania. IDA-CMA is not an administrative structure or an elected body, but a private organization of public utility. In addition, it is not accountable to the citizens, as it was created in conjunction with Law 286//2006 for the sake of accessing the environmental funds of the European Union and/or to fulfil some development projects of area or regional interest and to jointly provide some public services in the Metropolitan Area. Parallel to this, the *Metropolitan Area* is not a recognized territorial-administrative unit, but a territory created as a result of a voluntary association of nearby city halls with the aim to jointly solve some common problems. Under these organizational conditions, institutionally and administratively it could seem at least unusual to relocate a group of people from one locality to another as instructed by a project, and under the coordination of a private body ruled by a committee of directors, including the mayors of the component localities, out of whom the mayor of the city has more votes than the mayors of the rural areas belonging to the greater metropolitan area.

Related to the problem signalled above, the mayor of one the villages that are part of CMA expressed his surprise and dissatisfaction regarding the decision of the Cluj-Napoca City

¹³ See project website: <http://patacluj.ro/what-is-pata-cluj/?lang=en>

Hall to solve ‘the Pata Rât problem’ by moving its inhabitants outside the city. According to him, each municipality should solve similar problems within its administrative boundaries, and it should definitely not be the IDA-CMA that has to implement measures of relocation. This concern raised important dilemmas about the powers of different institutions to tackle territorial matters, such as the existence of underdeveloped areas or segregated zones within one locality or another.

According to the interviewed staff from the Social Work Department of the Cluj-Napoca City Hall, the municipality should be in charge of **the system of social housing**¹⁴ if it wants to solve the housing problems for people with low income. The staff member did not stress this, but one may observe that the Cluj-Napoca City Hall does not provide real access to social housing for people living in Pata Rât; instead it **prefers to externalise this problem towards projects** such as *Pata-Cluj*, which brought four million Euros in the city without any obligation on the part of the municipality to contribute to the desegregation of Pata Rât.

A staff member of the Local Development Projects Department of City Hall acknowledged that the cultural activities, which presumably improved the communication between the inhabitants of Pata Rât and the rest of the city, was a good **policy choice**. He mentioned in this sense the ‘Jazz in the Park’ event, which started to hold concerts in Pata Rât. Likewise, he considered that the way the project was enacted should be followed as a model for the order of how policies that want to deal with such situations should be: ‘first investments, creation of jobs, access to education, and only afterwards housing policies.’ Regarding housing measures, he thought that the solution to buy homes from the market instead of constructing new blocks of flats should be continued, parallel with the practice to move some families outside of the city in the nearby villages.

The local Roma inclusion expert expressed his doubts about **how far the Pata-Cluj project brought justice to people from Pata Rât**. The project spent 4 million euros, it moved 35 families out of 400 outside of this area, it made a Youth Centre, which due to geographical distances could hardly be visited by people who remained in Pata Rât or by people who were moved into villages, all while the cultural events it organized could not be enough for the desegregation of Pata Rât. The project left unclear why City Hall was not more involved and why it was IDA-CMA that took over the implementation, since it was not in the picture when the project was conceived with the support of UNDP and the vice mayor. The inclusion expert stated: ‘therefore, I am afraid that this project was for many people a means to get salaries, and it was a good marketing image for the municipality, but it was altogether a big farce. [...] Nothing changed in how City Hall distributes the local budget among the local priorities, among which Pata Rât was and is never considered, so nothing much happened in practical terms that could have really induced a change in people’s life, and nothing much changed in terms of the negative stereotypes of the majority population who do not really want to see Roma in their proximity.’

¹⁴ Likewise in the whole country, in the city of Cluj, too the state owned housing stock was privatized after 1990 via the legislation of the right to buy and of restitutions, and ever since there was an insignificant investment into the production of new public housing (Vincze 2017). As a result, nowadays the percentage of private housing fund increased above 98%. Besides this, the problem with the local social housing system includes the use of some locally defined criteria that are discriminatory against people with low income or no formal income, with low level of school education, and it does not support the families living under deprived and insecure housing conditions.

4. The Action

4.1 Basic Characteristics of the Action

The addressed action (*Pata-Cluj* project) targets a specific neighbourhood of the city of Cluj-Napoca (*Pata Rât*). According to its official statement:

'Its aim is to prepare the social inclusion of the communities located in Pata Rât and the Cantonului area, the most vulnerable group of Cluj Municipality and partly of the Cluj Metropolitan Area. The intervention is done through a multidimensional approach, using interlaced project threads to: increase the community's participation in the mainstream society; prepare desegregation and improvement of the housing situation; enhance access to education, creative development and vocational qualification; improve access to health care services; improve employment situation; increase access to social services and improve community security. Our vision is, on the one hand, to assist the communities in Pata Rât in getting a better quality of life and having an overall better control of their own lives, starting from their living conditions, their education and employability, to their interactions and collaborations with the local authorities. On the other hand, mainstream public services (education, social assistance, employment, health care) will be better prepared to reach out for the most vulnerable groups in the society and to deliver culturally sensitive services.'¹⁵.

Our case study addresses this project as part of bigger policy frameworks and development strategies, following the logic of the administrative-territorial organization of Romania. Therefore, the case study sees this local case as being at the crossroads of local, metropolitan, county, regional, and national levels, making use of interviews made with stakeholders at these different levels, as well of policy and planning documents such as: 'Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy',¹⁶ the 'Cluj Metropolitan Area Development Strategy',¹⁷ the 'Cluj County Development Strategy',¹⁸ the 'North-West Development Region's Strategy',¹⁹ the 'Strategy for the Territorial Development of Romania'.²⁰

Besides the multiplicity of the territorial levels at the crossroads of which one should analyse the *Pata-Cluj* project, it is important to address it as a result of institutional interactions. On the one hand, the Action under our scrutiny can be observed as overlapping with

¹⁵ Pata-Cluj project website, <http://patacluj.ro/what-is-pata-cluj/?lang=en>

¹⁶ Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy 2014-2020, <http://cmpg.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/strategie-cluj-napoca-2014-2020.pdf>

¹⁷ Cluj Metropolitan Area Strategy, See [http://www.primariaclujnapoca.ro/userfiles/files/SIDU%20CLUJ%20FINAL\(1\).pdf](http://www.primariaclujnapoca.ro/userfiles/files/SIDU%20CLUJ%20FINAL(1).pdf)

¹⁸ Cluj County Development Strategy, <https://www.cjcluj.ro/UserUploadedFiles/File/01.%20Informatie%20site%20inainte%20de%203%20nov%202014/05.Programele%20Consiliului/02.Strategia%20de%20dezvoltare%20a%20judetului/Strategia%20de%20dezvoltare%20a%20judetului%20Cluj%202014-2020%20part%201.pdf>

¹⁹ North-West Development Region Strategy, http://www.nord-vest.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/7r238_PDR_2014_2020.pdf

²⁰ Strategy for the Territorial Development of Romania, http://www.fonduri-structurale.ro/Document_Files/Stiri/00017493/7htm_Anexe.pdf

rationales and practices of community development constituted in a variegated network of transnational actors: the UNDP, some community developers in Central and Eastern Europe, the Norway Anti-Poverty Program administered in Romania by the private company *Deloitte*, and some international experts of 'restorative practices'.²¹ On the other hand, one should see the project as a process unfolded through a myriad of local public and private institutions, through which its management aimed to achieve its objectives alongside the interventions implemented by the whole project consortium (formed by IDA-CMA, *AltArt Foundation*, *Habitat for Humanity Romania* - Cluj Office, and the *Community Association of Roma from Coastei*).²²

Our aim is to understand *Pata-Cluj* through multiple discourses and practices in terms of the phenomenon of spatial injustice, which is named and approached in several ways. What makes the *Pata-Cluj* project very challenging for the RELOCAL research is that it reflects several dimensions of the changing welfare regimes in post-socialist Romania and the particular framework of (under)serving the most impoverished social categories who are enforced by different constraints to make a living in underdeveloped urban areas. These dimensions are: the outsourcing of welfare services from governmental bodies to project-based organizations and from public budgets to external funding; the rescaling of governmental responsibilities from the level of municipalities to the level of larger metropolitan areas; the use of several mechanisms to push the pauperized labour force to the peripheries of the gentrifying cities and even beyond their administrative borders, as their lands gain more and more value on the market.

4.2 The Action with regards to Dimensions 3-5

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

Since it started (but not during the process of its development), the Action was implemented and strictly coordinated by IDA-CMA, as the timeline of the project reflects (see Annex 8.4.2). Within IDA-CMA there is an uneven **distribution of power**. Cluj-Napoca City Hall has a dominant role as the main urban local administrative unit (LAU) of CMA. This fact is due to Cluj-Napoca's population, which is bigger than the other LAU populations surrounding it, and implies a bigger share of power in the decision-making inside IDA-CMA itself, beginning with the vote for the directorship of the IDA-CMA and further regarding decision-making on other issues. This was stated by a regional expert in interview 7.1: 'In the directors' committee, composed by the mayors of the CMA, the mayors' votes count with a different share, Cluj-Napoca's mayor has the biggest share, so he has the greatest influence. [...] And the IDA's resources are granted by the composing city halls.'

The main steps that IDA-CMA made to **start implementing the action** and the very beginnings of the project still remain quite unclear, but at least two statements found in two separate interviews might offer some clues about these aspects. During the interview with the officer of Norway's embassy in Bucharest the motivation for why this project was fi-

²¹ The participation of these experts on the project is explained by its definition as 'an integrated social intervention based on the principles of restorative practice,' see http://patacluj.ro/intrebari_frecvente/ (Accessed: 15 December 2018).

²² Pata-Cluj project website, <http://patacluj.ro/2017/05/19/comunicat/> - partners and collaborators (Accessed: 15 November 2018).

nanced without a public call is given. The Financial Mechanism Office (FMO) of the EEA Grants had already decided on the project's promoters when *Deloitte* (the operator of the so-called predefined Norwegian projects) began its activity, a fact that is clearly stated by *Deloitte*'s contributor: 'Deloitte actually made this part of contracting, monitoring, implementation; we were not part of those who made the selection and evaluation of the promoters. At the moment when we got in touch, the promoters were already chosen and informed that they would be financed' (interview 4.7).

In an interview with a local expert of social inclusion, when asked about what might be the reason why the City Hall did not formally assume the project's implementation or its coordination, he gave the following answer: 'Because it was a cash cow for a group of people... including for people who moved from City Hall's structure to the implementation team. The fact that they left afterwards—what does that say about what those people were doing? Detaching from City Hall to work on the project and stuff like that. So, the project was a cash cow, a source of income, but also of intense activity...' (interview 4.1).

During its entire implementation, the project was allowed to adapt its measures to the changing circumstances and to the knowledge the project team acquired in the process. Two interviewees, one with *Deloitte*'s programme operator (interview 4.7) and one with a staff member of the *Pata-Cluj* project (interview 1.9), state this fact.

'Yes, it was a project on the move... they all were; there wasn't any project that I had to take its application and follow line after line... No, they always moved, they changed; this was the good part of these projects. They were some projects that built themselves continuously... What will happen in the future is that the projects will become more rigid. At the beginning they will have to know very clearly what they want to do.'

'The project started this way, or at least when I came into it, from the idea that for this inclusion to happen, then the people to be included should be involved. More than they were initially or more than was done by the institutions or by the public authorities. This is the reason why through this component of community and cultural facilitation these meetings existed—group discussions at the beginning, then increasingly larger and larger, and afterwards smaller groups, when the themes changed for those concerned/interested, or when they were even more focused on something specific. Somehow, they wanted to get information about what people needed directly from them. It is true that there were many individual discussions and many individual requests from the people, in the sense that they were asked or informed about some of their specific needs by going door to door.'

This does not imply that people from Pata Rât could take part in the **decision-making process** from the beginning of the project in any considerable manner. They were regarded more like purchasers, because the decision-making structure was actually already settled when the project began. This is why the Community Association of Roma from Coastei was involved as a partner, to have the certainty there would be a permanent contact at least with a part of the population living in Pata Rât and to gain more credibility with the people living there. 'IDA was the promoter and they had three partners: *Altart*, *Habitat* and the Roma Association from Coastei. There was a partnership agreement between them. In the partnership agreement they were obliged to write down clearly what their functions were, their responsibilities in each activity in which they were involved and what the budget that pertained to each of them was.' (Interview 4.7).

The project had already started when people from Pata Rât were contacted directly by the *Pata-Cluj* staff to make sure that they could actually have their most urgent needs solved, as a first step. Then the cultural and educational activities started, and only afterwards,

after another lapse of time, did people begin to get information about the housing component. The services for healthcare and ID cards and the cultural activities and educational support were the goals that figured in the project since the beginning, while the housing component was added in later.

A project beneficiary talked in detail about the **changes generated** by the *soft measures* implemented by the project: about how families were taken care of by the case managers, who assisted them in each and every problem that they had to solve from healthcare access to identity documents, about how community facilitators spent time in the community and consulted the people. Nevertheless, this particular beneficiary was most pleased that the project came to have a housing component, which the community wanted from the very beginning: 'I would like for only the good things to be seen from the *Pata-Cluj* project. Because what was done, was done well. Most importantly the apartments where we could move.' The project beneficiary expected that the next project would provide more new homes for people outside of Pata Rât. Other beneficiaries highlighted the fact that the implementation of the soft measures was not clear and in the end they 'were those things that NGOs do to show that they do something (...) They promised to help people to start a business, to have documents (...) Do you know how many they were? Who is an entrepreneur?... Nobody' (interview 3.3). An expert on entrepreneurship training for the community said: 'it was really sad that those who were motivated and willing to put their entrepreneurship projects into practice could not (...) They were not helped to have documents and without those you cannot do anything, so in the end it was just frustration and empty dreams' (interview 5.5).

A member of *Pata-Cluj* project team affirmed the following about the **activities**:

'We began with the education component, with IDs, healthcare services, cultural events, and later continued with the housing component. But these were more or less the types of services, and somehow they were connected to one another. In fact, social inclusion could make sense through the community facilitation part. Two or three people made this facilitation at the same time in Pata Rât, through the relationship with the town hall and other institutions [...]. I mean, the same facilitators went to talk both to City Hall and to other local institutions. They negotiated with the people and went and discussed with the people about the problems that they had in Pata Rât, and at the same time they also tried to solve all sorts of bureaucratic paperwork issues, stuff like that.'

Another important activity of *Pata-Cluj* was the creation of the Youth Cultural Centre, whose establishment was part of the project from the beginning. This activity was very important for two reasons: first, because the stakeholders had to have positive reactions from people (children and parents) living in Pata Rât in order to make them participate on the project's cultural activities. And secondly, because the promoters were in contact and, ultimately, in conflict with City Hall when they did not manage to find a more proper place to set the Cultural Centre.

'According to the project they had to build a youth centre. This was the most delayed activity during the project: buying a property for it. Once those who had a property for sale found out what is the intended purpose for it was and what they were going to build on it, instantly the price increased. In addition, the IDA-CMA wanted the youth centre to be right there, as near as possible to the community. [...] And after a year and a half of struggling, and a lapse of time when they could not find a property and the activity was continuously delayed, plenty of cultural activities happened elsewhere even though they should have happened in the centre. All the cultural, educational activities carried out by Altart happened at Reactor and in other spaces. So, the fact that this centre did not exist, did not stop them

from carrying out the soft interventions in the community. After a lot of floundering, City Hall offered a space, a building, which looked awful, near the train station. [...] The City Hall transferred its ownership for, like, 50 or 99 years? I really cannot remember right now... Anyhow, IDA had to renovate it, to adjust it, to transform it into a proper space for a youth centre, where activities could be held. So they used the money they had for the property to renovate and restore this building, which happened, somehow.' (Interview 4.7).

'[Y]oungsters and children from Pata Rât opened up to get to know the town in a different way than they used to do before then. [...] In the moment when they discovered these cultural activities, which also could be a benefit for the parents, sometimes this showed them other sorts of things, another kind of life... Some parents saw other types of education. But for most of them the fact was that they got to know the town, showed them something else [...].' (Interview 1.9).

The interviewees often said that they did not know or did not have any news about the activities of the Youth Cultural Centre located on Locomotivei Street.

The whole **project coordination** had a clearly *top-down structure*, first of all because this is how the project was first built and how its coordination was conceived before starting the activities. Secondly, the time constraint imposed an even stronger vertical framework in the decision-making process. The influence from the higher levels was constant and well-structured, even though not always unidirectional. The fact that a part of the population from Pata Rât was organised in the Community Association of Roma from Coastei, which was an organizational member of the project, gave an opportunity for the locals to express their needs. However, the project only gave the Association the possibility to participate in few contexts, and without representing the voice and the needs of the other communities from Pata Rât.

It is important to note that the area is inhabited by a plurality of people gathered together in different stages and for different reasons. They do not necessarily form self-organized communities. Even more, they are marked by several tensions and even competitions among each other in regard to proving who is suffering the most and/or who is the most entitled to be given priority in different interventions. This fact required a great amount of work on the part of project management to make sure that people were informed about what actually they could obtain from the project in progress.

Even though from the informal discussions with the project beneficiaries, one may get the sense that in the communities there was more **dissatisfaction** with the *Pata-Cluj* project, the only organized action about which people from Pata Rât expressed some complaints and demands, is found in a letter that the Community Association of Roma from Coastei sent to the FMA.²³ In this, they asked for more information about the funding of the project, about its budget, and for a larger meeting with the national program operator in order to be treated in a fairer way. The housing component of the project was initiated after this moment.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation, and engagement

²³ People talk about this in the documentary film made by the project about the project (*Pata-Cluj Documentary*, 2017), accessible here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzQe8l2CmAY> (accessed in 12 November 2018).

As described above, the groups of stakeholders in charge with the various aspects of the project tried **to engage marginalised people from Pata Rât**. But this did not mean that people living there could have the time and resources to get further and go beyond their initial state of emergency to a greater awareness of how to try and develop a strategy that might eliminate the ongoing process of their segregation. This gives space for the hypothesis that, actually, the stakeholders did not want to exclude the people from Pata Rât from the development of the actions, but they did not manage to include them in the effective decision-making process either. With their presence in the area, they **facilitated people's understanding** of the main guidelines of how the project would develop its activity and, thus, how the locals could try to receive a certain amount of benefits from it. This is reflected in interview 1.9:

'They announced that a new activity was about to happen. <<Let's sit down and talk and see how to structure it in a manner that can be as okay as possible for you people...>> At the very beginning of the project there were a lot of this kind of meeting, about the cultural activities and the community's needs... Therefore, many meetings were held at the mobile unit. And there, the general ideas for the planned activities were sketched, and afterwards other meetings happened whenever a decision was taken or whenever the activity had to be directed in one direction or another. This is how it was with people from Pata Rât, but also with the team when decisions had to be taken, arguments were brought, points of view. I mean, weekly, there were meetings once a week, while the whole management team had monthly meetings.'

Participation processes (as a mean of procedural justice, we may say) were also encouraged, because this was one of the steps that the project team identified as necessary in an attempt towards desegregation. For instance, the criteria of disseminating the social houses from the project used a **consultative method**. A member of the project team states: 'They were built through this participative thing; so, people reached an agreement about the criteria of access: some points were settled... it was local and the people gathered and discussed, and, until the end, there was no pressure from them (the people from Pata Rât) wanting to take the houses. In fact, they had to be convinced to get the houses.' (Interview 1.8)

During a focus group (3.3.1) held with some of the project beneficiaries, *the participatory dimension* was critically presented:

'The fact that people were called to take part at meetings organised by the project managers or case managers does not mean you are involved in the project (...) They ask you things, they speak about your needs and ask about your proposal, but they do not respect those needs. Your opinion is just a curiosity for them. You say a thing and after that they come with other things (...) You say you need electricity, and they come with firewood. That was their participatory vision.'

Through the participatory processes, the project staff had to first **overcome the locals' lack of trust**, a fact that inevitably needed a great amount of time and energy from the stakeholders coming from outside Pata Rât. This aspect was emphasised also by the staff member of the International Division of City Hall, who said that the participatory process was the first step for the community from Pata Rât to stand for their needs, and also that this process was enlightening for the project team to emotionally understand people from Pata Rât.

From the interviews with members of the project team and beneficiaries, and from the presentation materials of the *Pata-Cluj* project, one learns that *the participatory processes* were framed and coordinated by a Swedish senior psychotherapist and psychodrama spe-

cialist using **restorative practices**.²⁴ Some interviews with the project team members and beneficiaries also mentioned ‘restorative circles,’ but from different points of views. For the team members, the restorative practices were the way to ‘participate at group meetings, where there was a therapist who told us: if you do something in somebody else’s place, you will further victimize him. If you can help him to do what he is able to do, or if you help him to change his way of thinking, that is better.’ (Interview 2.0). For the beneficiaries these ‘were moments of losing time; when others speak for you, but using your words (...) I do not know how to explain (...), they seem very nice and ask you a lot of questions and seem interested in what you say, but in the end they do not agree with you and they try all the time to convince you they are right and they know better’. (Focus group 3.3.1).

Meanwhile, people from Pata Rât continued to **lack autonomous forms of organisation**. In fact, they were not supported by the project to found either formal associations or informal types of self-organization.

The project **engaged other expert groups** during its active period, especially when it needed expertise or a greater power for intervention. This is what emerges from the interviews regarding the collaboration with the Babeş-Bolyai University on housing issues and on how to decide the criteria of access to housing provided by the project. Another important public institution that collaborated in response to peoples’ healthcare needs, was the *Social Work Department of Cluj-Napoca City Hall*. While working on the Roma minority issues, the project management found the opinion of the *Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities from Cluj-Napoca* to be relevant.

The project tried **to integrate the locals’ viewpoint regarding their housing needs**. Because resources were not enough to cover everybody’s needs, they were also asked to express their opinions regarding the access criteria. This was possible thanks to the collaboration with the above-mentioned institutions. The staff of the Social Work Department of City Hall who were interviewed appreciated how the housing component of the project considered parental support as a core criterion in the allocation of the project’s homes to people. Other similar criteria used in this process (besides those regarding income, condition of family status, housing conditions, health matters) were people’s resilience and their facilitation of children’s school attendance. Altogether, at the time of our discussion, the social work department staff was hopeful that IDA-CMA would bring a *Pata-Cluj 2* into the city soon, that their CLLD project will be financed, and that City Hall will implement its plans regarding the construction of a major number of social homes in a new district in Cluj, which waits for real estate development. However, they observed: ‘... meanwhile, until everybody moves out of Pata Rât, a process that might take many, many years, there is a need to make some improvements to their current conditions where they have to continue living’. In this narrative, the interventions in Pata Rât, the activist actions, the measures of the social work department, and the development projects form a coherent whole. In addition, even if the social workers have stated that they cannot say a lot on the project because their involvement was not that strong, they consider that *Pata-Cluj* had considerable positive impacts, for example, by using the participatory approach and by distributing emergency aid to people. But also in how it created a network of institutions

²⁴ ‘Drawing from both liberal and conservative values, restorative practices cultivate a society based on participation and mutual self-reliance, where, as citizens, we take greater responsibility for our own lives (...), people are happier, more cooperative and productive, and more likely to make positive changes when those in positions of authority do things *with* them, rather than *to* them or *for* them.’ (Wachtel, 2013).

and experts, which might be activated whenever needed, and a knowhow with the potential to make a change.

Access to information was guaranteed through public meetings and the project's website. Criticism emerged mostly in the public communication with persons from outside of the project, or, we might say, especially with them. This might have happened because of an anticipated fear of receiving critics as member of the staff project outlined: 'The lack of information on the website is a decision assumed by the management team, as for example, the fact that a lot of stuff should not be written (on the website).'

These facts reflect the **power imbalances** between the project's strong central unit, which was composed by four people (but also included the persons who implemented the restorative meetings), and on the other side the smaller teams that had to organize the various project activities: 'Externally, the project pretended to be decentralized. But in reality, a narrow group held tight all the resources. [...] Whenever one wanted to give a strong opinion, one was told that she/he was being subversive. Therefore, anything one said had to be in their (project's staff) language. If you said anything different, you were told that you were aggressive and you got set aside.'

The project based its actions on a top-down mobilization, trying at the same time to involve the locals and gain **accountability** mainly through a series of recurring consultative meetings and by installing an information office in Pata Rât. To produce a major accountability effect and to establish a permanent contact with people, the Community Association of Roma from Coastei was designated as a permanent promoter of the project. Even so, the association remained a representative organization only for a part of the local population, because its members came from one neighbourhood in Cluj-Napoca and shared a common story: the eviction of December 2010 and relocation nearby the landfill. The Community Association of Roma from Coastei role in the project is still to be elucidated.

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

Pata-Cluj was elaborated by the team of a UNDP project previously implemented in Pata Rât, in cooperation with City Hall. As such, it relied on the **knowledge** gathered during this previous program, and most importantly on a household survey conducted in the area in 2012. Acknowledged or not, the project learned a lot from local activism mobilized against ghettoization and racism since 2010 in Cluj-Napoca, and from its ongoing actions on the behalf of increasing the access to public social housing for people from Pata Rât (as part of a larger political activism for housing justice).²⁵

²⁵ These were and are run by local civic, formal, and informal groups who are not related to IDA-CMA, and groups that were not connected to the Pata Cluj project. Among these actions we mention: the petitions of Association Amare Phrala in collaboration with Desire Foundation from 2010 against evictions and the enlargement of Pata Rât with new residential buildings; the street actions, petitions, and policy recommendation made by the Working Group of Civil Society Organizations, all addressing the need to put Pata Rât on the local public and political agenda and to elaborate and implement local policies, including multiple measures with a housing component at their core (GLOC was initiated in 2011 as an informal platform by the organizations mentioned before, involving many other partners and acted as such until 2014); the street actions, public forums, petitions, militant research, policy recommendations, legal actions, newspapers, videos made by a campaign encouraging the emergence of a local movement *Căși sociale ACUM! / Social housing NOW!*

A certain **organizational learning** occurred within the IDA-CMA, first of all because its activity on the domain of social inclusion was irrelevant before the *Pata-Cluj* project. As a type of mixed organization and a link between state and non-state actions of governance, IDA-CMA achieved experience in trying to access and manage some important grants. The IDA-CMA's lack of a clear self-critical evaluation remains worrisome among the general attitude of the local organizations, which has an impact on IDA-CMA's future problem-solving actions. One can make the same observation concerning the involved NGOs: a greater transparency in their attempt to flank the local institutions could have increased their reliability as social actors.

At this point of the research, it seems that **the spatial scope of intervention** was decided by IDA-CMA with the support of the two main partners of the project, the NGOs *Altart* and *Habitat for Humanity*. Decisions were made on the grounds of both the recent history of the place and of a new analysis made by researchers from Babeş-Bolyai University. As already stated, even though Pata Rât is a territory that pertains to the municipality of Cluj-Napoca, relocation from Pata Rât was conceived and implemented in the whole Metropolitan Area. One relevant conflicting episode involved the rural commune of Apahida. The mayor of Apahida stated that he had to face some complaints from the people from the neighbourhood where the two apartment blocks were to be built, because of the fact that people from Pata Rât were about to move to those flats. In interview 2.1, he also states that when IDA-CMA voted regarding the *Pata-Cluj* project, the main information he had about it was the fact that the project was a 'grant program. [...] And I appreciated the program, but it was only generally treated [...]'. As a form of mediation, for the future, he proposes a broader region for intervention that should also include the territories of the other LAUs from CMA with similar housing and economic problems, not only Pata Rât.

During the project's implementation, two main actions had to **adapt to new circumstances**: the building of the Youth Cultural Centre and the housing component. Some budget-related issues linked them, as interview 1.9 reflects:

'Initially, Habitat only had to help building the Youth Centre, and in the moment when the housing part showed up, it was supposed to also build the social apartments... this part came a little afterwards, because (in the beginning) there was no complete inclusion plan... no housing. [...] Habitat had to build all the houses, but due to problems with approval and official papers and budget, they got to build only some of them in Apahida. The rest of the apartments were bought from the market in Cluj-Napoca, Baciú and Floreşti.'

The **flexibility** enjoyed in the process of implementation was due to how this type of pre-defined Norwegian Grant allowed for changes according to the realities that the project had to adapt to.

The community from Pata Rât had mainly a beneficiary's role: even though they were consulted regarding the criteria for distribution of homes, they remained collateral stakeholders. They had a very limited space for criticising and controlling the action. The **control** remained stable in the hands of the main management team, so the stakeholders at the lowest levels were considered more like employees that had to accomplish a task, rather than collaborators who were active contributors to the project. As a member of the former project team expressed: 'I did not always agree with everything or I did not agree like everybody else did in the project. I did not want to be blamed without having the right to

(<http://casisocialeacum.ro/>), and a national informal platform for housing justice, *Blocul pentru Locuire/ Block for Housing* (<https://bloculpentrulocuire.ro/>).

stand up for myself: I was not allowed to do it publicly. On the other hand, I was told that what I had to do was to defend the project and that was it.'

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

The project's major achievement in terms of **distributive justice** is the allocation of apartments outside Pata Rât to 35 families – **the biggest promoter of this result was the general consensus around the need to have a housing component** in a project that defined itself as integrated and as dedicated to desegregation. The **limitations** of this consist both in the fact that this component came later in the project, and that its beneficiaries formed only 10% of the inhabitants who should have benefited from a project that promised residential desegregation. And, also in the fact that only one third of the relocated families received apartments in Cluj-Napoca, the majority were moved outside the city, in three surrounding villages.

The integrated nature of the project also had the potential to be an **important promoter of fairly distributing the project's resources**. The limited impact of this potential was due to the fact that the housing component came too late, when the project budget on other services was at its end, and this led to a situation in which its beneficiaries could not be properly supported by complementary services from the project after their relocation. The integrated nature of services functioned better during the project's implementation period, having **the case management practice as its promoter** assured that services to all family members were received according to their needs during the lifetime of the project.

The ambivalence of the interaction between the management team of the project and the local authorities, i.e., the municipality of Cluj-Napoca, had a consequence regarding the policy of externalization of social housing measures and social inclusion actions towards private stakeholders or public-private partnerships. This manifested in the overlapping roles that people involved had in the project (former City Hall employees and project team members), and in the way they embodied this ambivalence. This was an **inhibiting factor of building trust** between the project team and the beneficiaries from Pata Rât.

The **inhibited sustainability of the project** is due to the fact that the municipality still did not make any steps towards assuring access to public social housing to people with the lowest incomes or living in the worst conditions, not to mention the lack of investments in the creation of new public housing units. Furthermore, evictions, homelessness, and residential segregation continue to exist in Cluj-Napoca.

A short time after the finalization of the project, the project team was dismissed, and monitoring the social inclusion effects of relocation from Pata Rât and the IDA-CMA interactions with the beneficiaries is now limited. This is another factor that **limits the effects of spatial and social justice, keeping unclear the institutional accountabilities regarding the project's (good or bad) outcomes**.

Altogether, the fact that the project had no identifiable liaison at City Hall, creates **confusion among the relocated beneficiaries** and among all others who remained in Pata Rât. The new problems of the former, and of the old issues of those who did not move out of Pata Rât, seem to be left to be dealt with in potential new projects that have to be won in the future. This means that the way the local public administration was and still is involved in the creation and perpetuation of the segregated residential area of Pata Rât was not actively and directly problematized during the *Pata-Cluj* project. The temporary solutions and the public acceptance speech did not change the institutional attitudes found in City Hall, even though it helped include this issue on the public agenda.

City Hall did not have any contribution to the project (for example, did not provide lands or empty buildings that could have been used for the relocation process), and it did not change anything in its social housing policy that could have contributed to the major aim of the *Pata-Cluj* project, that is, to desegregation of Pata Rât through the relocation of people into other parts of the city. The area of Pata Rât is still acknowledged as an unordinary place, as a separated living area presumably suitable for Roma people, which has been promised to be tackled via projects that bring funds into the city and notoriety to the mayor in the eyes of foreigners and donors promoting 'Roma social inclusion' and 'poverty alleviation.'

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

Each and every interviewee observed the existence of some differences, inequalities, and asymmetries between localities of CMA and within Cluj-Napoca itself, and as well as their **limited administrative capacities** to tackle them. Some of them considered that this phenomenon is a taken-for-granted result of development; others recognized the responsibility of the local public administration regarding the formation or the effect of a sort of universal economic development regarding the impoverishment of particular demographics. Nobody went beyond this diagnosis to look for more structural explanations for the problem. Some returned to the otherwise predominant explanation of poverty, i.e., the lack of school education and the central role of education in combating poverty via employment. Nearly everybody interviewed recognized that social services and social policies generally are considered as a burden by the system of public administration, and there is a tendency to cut its costs. Staff from City Hall and the commune of Apahida acknowledged that they were in better financial conditions, because there were localities that during the past two decades had seen economic development via the investors that were welcomed by their localities. There was not so much emphasis put on these explanations in terms of the 'competitive advantages' of these localities, i.e., the existence of skilled and cheap labour force that attracted the investors; however, this fact was recognized as such, for example, in the 'Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy 2014–2020.' Nevertheless, some of the interviewees observed that, parallel with the economic development of these localities, poverty was widespread, and not only in the particularly disadvantaged urban areas, but also among retired people with low pensions and among labourers who only earned the minimum income and who must make a living in an expensive city. The municipality of Cluj-Napoca especially, proud of being very well rated in terms of development and quality of life, **continues to be very weak regarding its public housing and social inclusion policies.**

It is still too early and there is too little evidence to pronounce opinions about the improvement of the local capacity to handle issues like residential (de)segregation as a result of the *Pata-Cluj* project. The outcomes are still heavily shaped by the **non-collaboration or disinterest of the local government**, who continue to be very much interested in the local real estate market, and not in providing adequate home for low income people.

The **capacities of the project** were increased by the fact that its team made important connections to other local institutions, such as the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work at Babes-Bolyai University, the Social Work Department of Cluj-Napoca, and the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities. These collaborations aimed to implement some aspects of the project during its action period, however the Social Work Department continued its involvement further. Once the project's grant funds stopped, more precisely since the project team was dismissed by IDA-CMA, the focus of the latter has been on gain-

ing a second round of support from the Norwegian Funds. Seemingly, *Pata Cluj 2* will not be allocated to the same project team in the same manner, and there are some new procedures imposed by the whole funding scheme, which is at this time administered by the Romanian Social Development Fund.²⁶

From the analysis of policy documents, news media, and materials available on the involved institutions' websites, and especially from the interviews and the resulting mental maps, one may conclude that **there are some structural factors that limit the locality or the local community in reducing spatial injustice that people living in Pata Rât are faced with**. Among these factors are: the public housing shortage that characterizes the whole country as a result of the dominant trend in housing politics (i.e., privatization and marketization); the social housing allocation criteria that might be defined in a discriminatory way towards those most deprived at local level; no strict monitoring of this process; the high prices of homes available on the market; the low salaries that are paid for the jobs available for people living in neighbourhoods such as Pata Rât; and, last but not least, their stigmatization and racialization by the majority population as 'unwanted' elements in the city or as people who assumedly 'naturally belong' to the landfill.

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

The *housing component* of Pata-Cluj was, at most, appreciated by its beneficiaries, i.e., it was **the measure that improved distributive justice on the behalf of (some) people from Pata Rât**. Many of the latter affirmed that they were actually not concerned with how other project components worked out and how much impact they had, since their dream of moving out from Pata Rât came true. But on the beneficiary side there were other, more cautious opinions as well, for example, of those who did not feel comfortable with moving out from the city to the neighbouring villages, or of those who realized that they missed the community/ extended family support and cohesion that they enjoyed in their former home even if that home was characterized by bad conditions. These voices might signal that the endeavour of 'desegregation' in itself and at any price would not necessarily mean the improvement of people's lives in all matters. The practice of separating all the individual families into block apartments scattered across the city and outside the city could even mean breaking up community relations and the potential of collective activism. In addition, there were voices from the side of project beneficiaries who have wanted to question why the IDA-CMA became the owner of these homes, and why not the people themselves who suffered from the housing segregation and deprivations, in the name of whom the project was written from in the first place. The future of the Youth Centre in Locomotivei Street looks to be uncertain, alongside with the question of who will benefit from its existence being placed quite far away from Pata Rât or from the majority of the locations where the first families were relocated.

Considering the impact on creating justice for disadvantaged people, other important goals achieved by the *Pata-Cluj* project should be also mentioned. The locals had a better

²⁶ In December 2018, the new program operator of the Norwegian Funds launched the next round of financing in Romania. IDA-CMA was nominated among the seven projects who are supposed to enjoy further support for continuing their projects, within a restrictive call on poverty alleviation (<http://www.frd.ro/index.php?id=137>). As far as now (middle of February 2019), IDA-CMA did not make any public calls or initiatives of consulting the interested parties or the potential beneficiaries of the project.

access to the local *healthcare* system, but only during the project. The staff of IDA-CMA affirms that the few children who were enrolled into *schools* are supported longer in their effort to continue schooling. The *social economy component* of the project was not fulfilled; however, some people were employed during the project, but one cannot know about the long-term impact of this fact. In the interview with a staff member of the International Division of the City Hall, who was also part of the project team responsible for the employment component, it was admitted that there are no data regarding people who were hired, including who continues to be employed, who was dismissed, or if the employers she contacted at the time are still hiring people from Pata Rât. Furthermore, the *temporary identity documents* that were issued during the project must be issued again and again, and this should be continued endlessly if somebody does not find a way to issue regular identity cards that recognize these people's existence and their domicile in this area.

The stakeholders directly involved in the *Pata-Cluj* project **did not manage to empower the locals by encouraging the creation of new associations or organizations that might have tried to give voice to their needs**. In this sense, it did not enhance community's capacity for self-representation or for taking part in local decision-making processes. Treating the people of Pata Rât as beneficiaries who can achieve some goals by collaborating with a group of people, who were not elected by them to represent them, nor they were charged by the municipality to act on its behalf, went against the capacity of the project team to generate sustainable changes in the communities or in the institutions.

On the other side, the authorities continued to be, primarily, part of the problem: the locals perceived them as being the entity that contributed to the creation and perpetuation of their situation in Pata Rât. The main institutional cause of the reproduction of spatial and social injustice that these people were and still are faced with is the **lack of inclusive public policies for housing, and of concrete short-, medium-, and long-term plans for the desegregation of the area, to be assumed and sustained by the local public administration**.

Because such commitments are lacking, **the project-based short-term initiatives cannot generate sustainable change nor changes toward consistent distributive or procedural justice**. For all these reasons and for their lack of resources, the Pata Rât inhabitants still ask for a greater intervention by the authorities: they find it hard to believe that change is still possible since no reparatory action took place from the part of public administration, or justice was made only in a very insignificant degree, and no real commitment might be observed towards them from the ones that put them aside, even though they were and are part of the citizens that the authorities should represent.

6. Conclusions

What is being achieved in terms of delivering greater spatial justice?

The project's major achievement in terms of distributive justice is the allocation of apartments outside Pata Rât to 35 families, which, unfortunately could benefit only around 10% of the population living near the landfill area.

Regarding procedural justice, during the whole implementation period and even afterwards the main achievements were: how the project promised to involve the Pata Rât community members into decision-making, and how it managed to involve several stakeholders beyond the project team in the process of defining the criteria of allocation of the 35 homes created by the project. **Participation, empowerment, horizontalism, and even restorative practices were the keywords, which suggest that this project is positively different than other types of interventions.**

Nevertheless, there were still individuals and families from Pata Rât who claimed that they did not know about all the aspects and resources of this project, and some who complained about how the latter were distributed across the four different communities or between the members of one community vs. another. In addition, representatives of the public administrations of CMA and of the particular villages where families from Pata Rât were moved objected that they were not properly consulted or were not consulted at all in the different stages of the project, even though the main project promoter and the owner of the goods provided by the project was the IDA-CMA on whose board they also serve.

What are the policy changes ahead for bigger impact?

At this point in the research, we may say that *Pata-Cluj* was an intervention conceived under the policy framework that follows the general objective of the social inclusion of the Roma, including territorial desegregation, but its results hardly strengthened social and economic cohesion at the level of Cluj-Napoca or of the Cluj Metropolitan Area.

The former partners in *Pata-Cluj*, together with the Directorate of Social Work, after the end of the project formed a *Local Action Group* (LAG) together with other like-minded stakeholders, which eventually submitted a Local Development Strategy to the Ministry of Regional Development, Public Administration and European Funds (MRDAPAEF). This was submitted to MRDAPAEF under a community-led local development program, which is an instrument of territorial development that has been used in Romania during the timeframe of the second round of European Funds (2014–2020) in order to combat poverty and social exclusion in urban areas.²⁷ This project proposal was not selected to be financed. As we are writing this report, hope is invested now in the so-called *Pata Cluj 2* project, but this is dependent on the second round of the Norway Grants to be implemented in Romania. This was confirmed during the interview with the Head of International Division of the Cluj-Napoca City Hall and by the general manager of IDA-CMA at the stakeholder workshop organized by our research team at the end of January 2019.

If one looks ahead at the policy changes that would be necessary to make a bigger impact, one must stress that there would be a strong need from the side of the municipality (City Hall and the Local Council) to assume responsibility politically, institutionally, and financially for the desegregation of Pata Rât. A clear short-, middle- and long-term plan should be elaborated and start to be implemented, with proper instrumental measures over which the municipality has control: for example, the creation of a social inclusion unit at

²⁷ <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/images/files/programe/CU/POCU-2014/30.10/clld.5.1.pdf>

City Hall, which would be enabled to coordinate all the social, territorial, and housing components of inclusion; a yearly allocation of financial contributions to this process from the local budget and a multiannual budgeted program; and the allocation of public lands and buildings to contribute to the creation of the infrastructural conditions to relocate from Pata Rât to the city of Cluj-Napoca.

Moreover, it would be important to correlate the specific measures focused on the situation of people from Pata Rât with larger changes in **the municipality's social/public housing policy**.

In addition, changes in **national housing-related legislation** would also need to be enforced in a direction that would commit itself towards the assurance of housing rights to all, and in particular of social housing from the public stock for people with low income, who are affected by different or several forms of social injustice, among them deprived housing conditions, informal and unsecure housing, and evictions that leave them homeless.

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8. Annexes

8.1 List of Interviewed Stakeholders/Experts (also including project beneficiaries)

Interviews List and Focus Groups: Categorisation of stakeholders according to role and level (eg. local civil actor) to avoid ethical issues	Type of stakeholder and list of interviews/ focus groups	
	Project team and partners of the <i>Pata-Cluj</i> project: local, national and international level	patacluj_1.1.1 (focus group)
		patacluj_1.8
		patacluj_1.9
		patacluj_2.0
		patacluj_2.5
		patacluj_4.6
		patacluj_5.3
		patacluj_5.5
		patacluj_6.1
		patacluj_5.1.1(focus group)
	Governmental representatives (local, metropolitan, county, regional)	patacluj_2.0
		patacluj_2.1
		patacluj_2.2
		patacluj_2.3
		patacluj_2.4
		patacluj_2.5.1(focus group)
		patacluj_2.8
		patacluj_4.2
	Local non-profit/civil society organisations and experts	patacluj_4.1
		patacluj_4.3
		patacluj_5.1.1(focus group)
		patacluj_5.3
		patacluj_5.5
		patacluj_6.0
		patacluj_6.2

	Local community 'stakeholders' and beneficiaries	patacluj_3.2	
		patacluj_3.3.1(focus group)	
		patacluj_3.4	
		patacluj_5.1.1 (focus group)	
	National government	national-R0_1	
		national-R0_2	
		national-R0_3	

The table refers to the interviews and focus groups conducted till the end of December 2018.

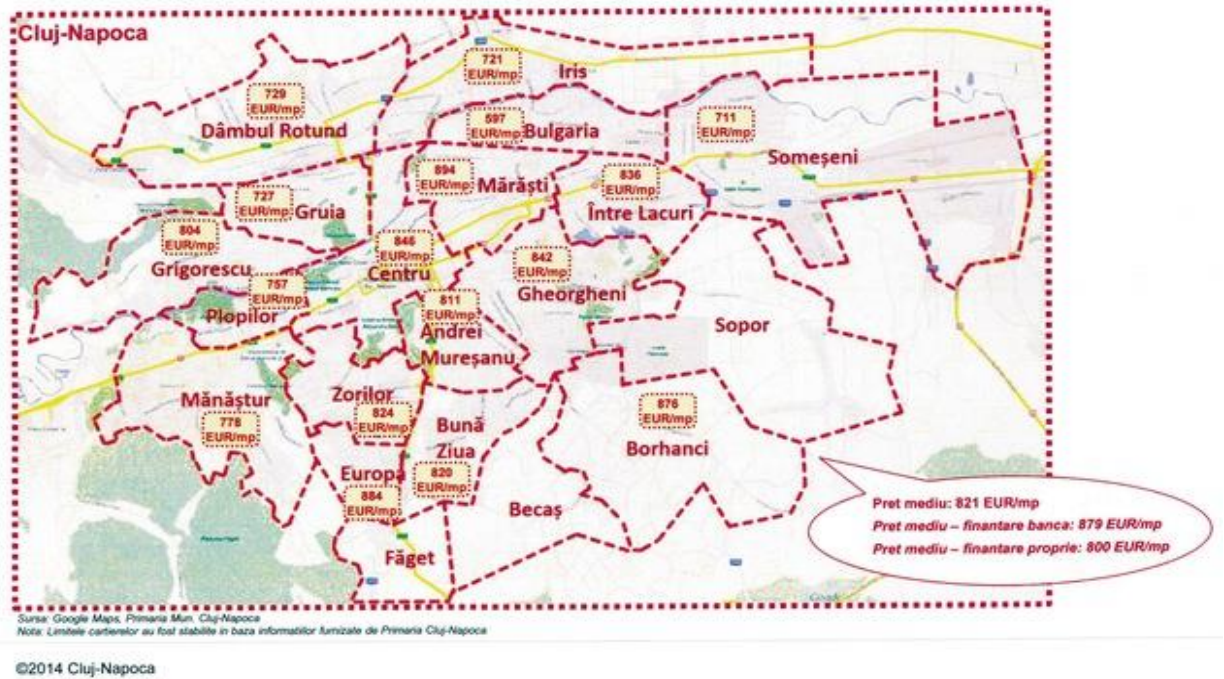
8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Local politicians		
Local administration	X - local	Interviews
Associations representing private businesses		
Local development companies/agencies		
Municipal associations		
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	X - local and regional	Interviews
Other local community stakeholders	X - local	Interviews, informal discussions
Local state offices/ representations		

Regional state offices/ representations	X - regional	Interviews, informal discussions
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment	X - national	Interviews
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)		
Primary and secondary educational institutions	X - local	Interviews
Colleges and universities		
Social and health care institutions		
Cultural institutions and associations		
Media	X - local	Interviews

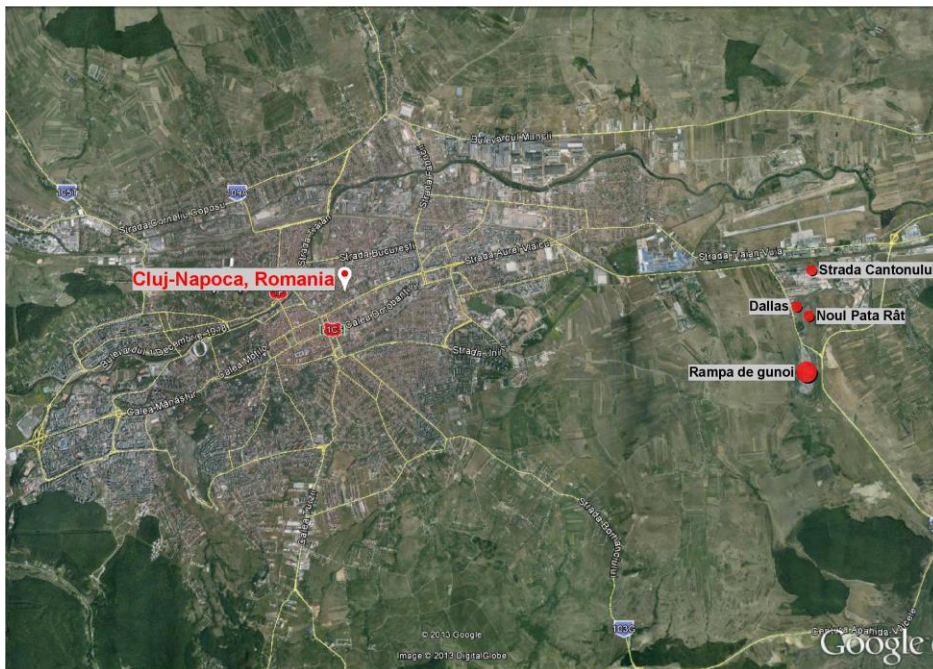
8.3 Map(s)

Sinteza tranzactiilor cu apartamente in functie de cartier

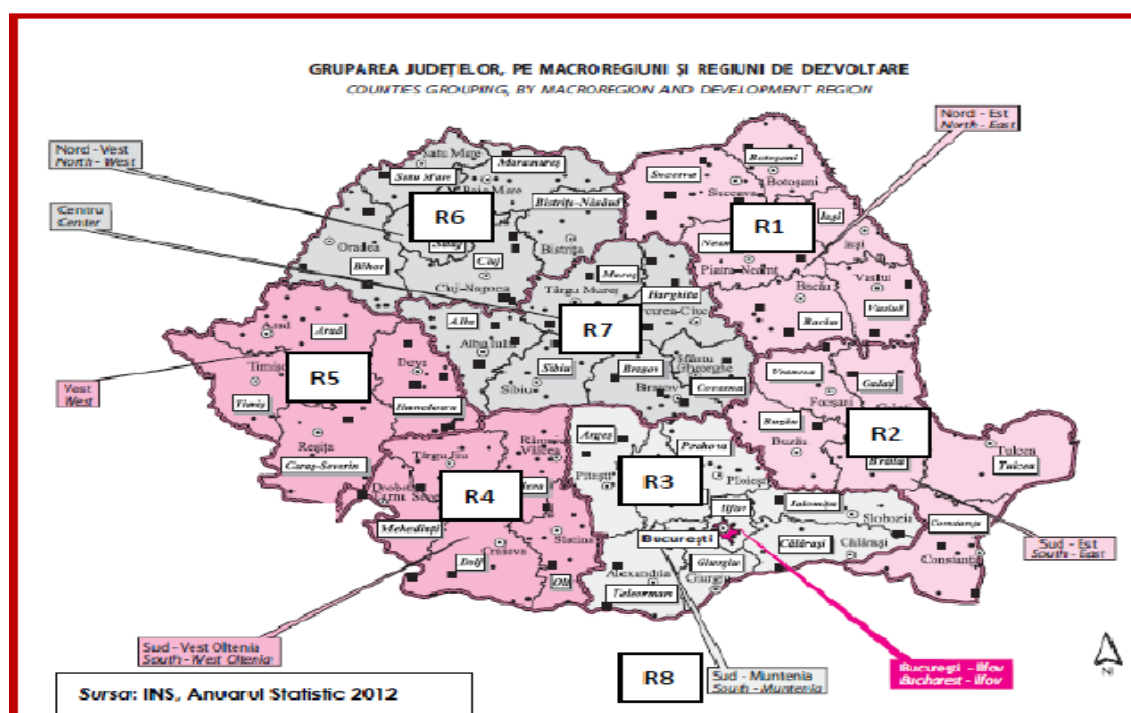


Map 1. The districts of Cluj-Napoca, with apartment prices, 2014

Source. Real estate transactions, City Hall of Cluj-Napoca



Map 2. Marginalized settlement in Cluj-Napoca: the Pata Rât area, including Cantonului street, Dallas, The landfill (Rampa de gunoi), New Pata Rât (Noul Pata Rât)



Map 3. The city of Cluj-Napoca on the development regions' map of Romania²⁸

²⁸ The NUTS2 or the development regions of Romania are marked in this map in the following order: (R1) North-East (RO2.1); (R2) South-Est (RO2.2); (R3) South-Muntenia (RO3.1); (R4) South-West Oltenia (RO4.1); (R5) West (RO4.2); (R6) North-West (RO1.1); (R7) Center (RO1.2); (8) București-Ilfov (RO3.2).



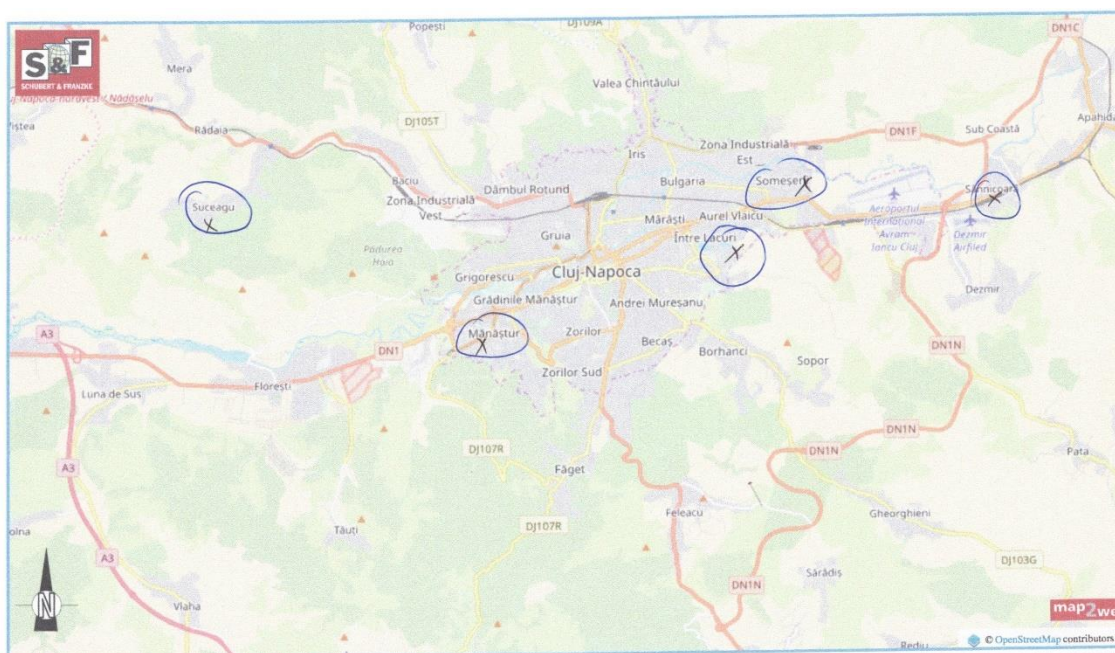
Map 4. Cluj Metropolitan Area (marked by green) on the map of Cluj county

Source: Edited by Simona Ciotlăuș from a map available here <http://www.cjcluj.ro/harta4.html>

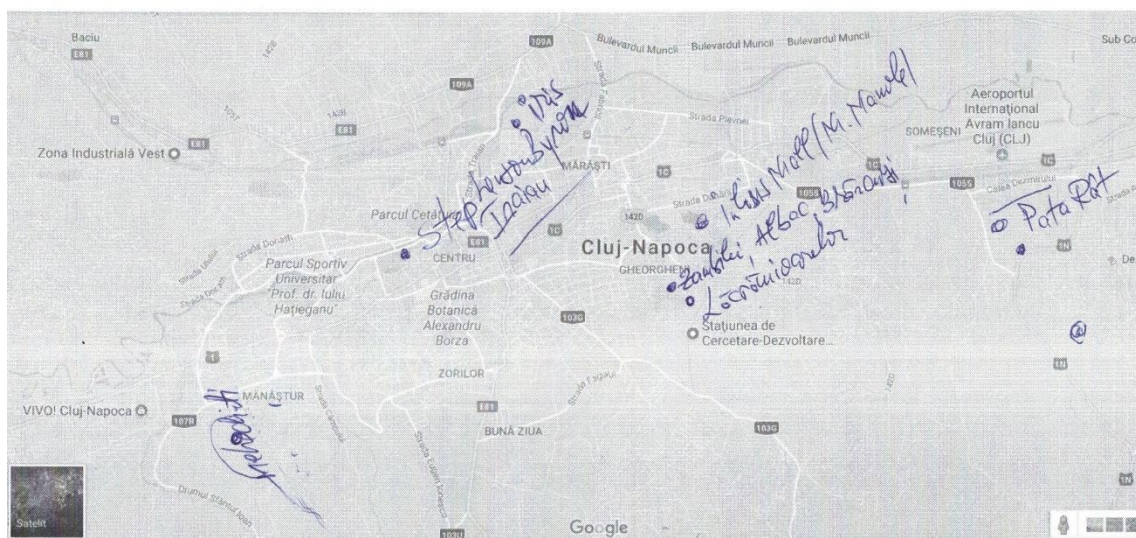
Map 5. Stakeholder maps on disadvantaged areas in the city and its surroundings



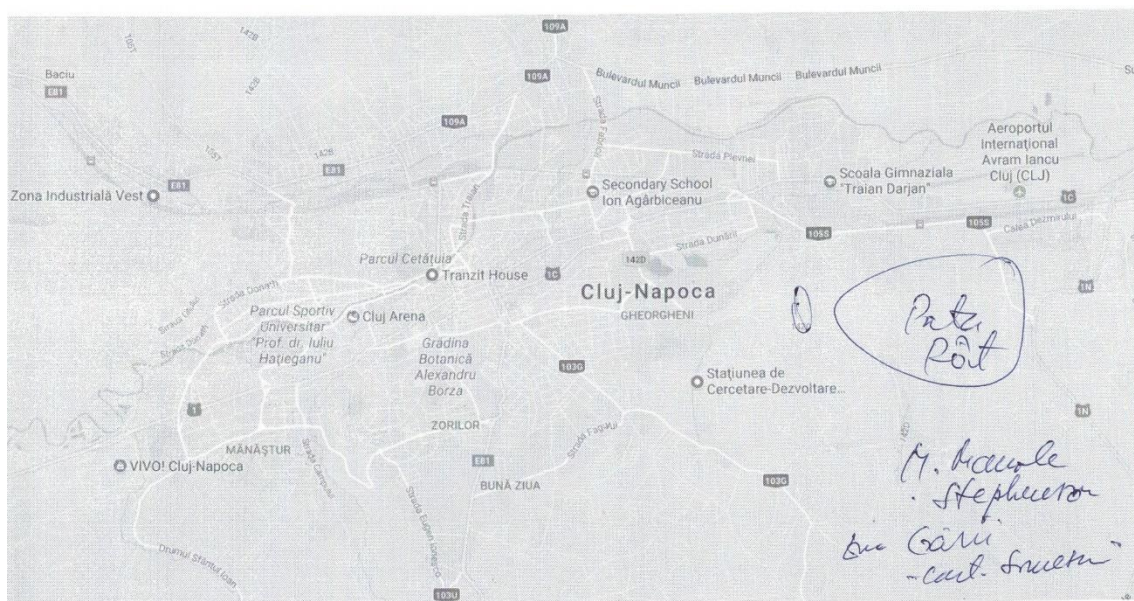
Map 5.1



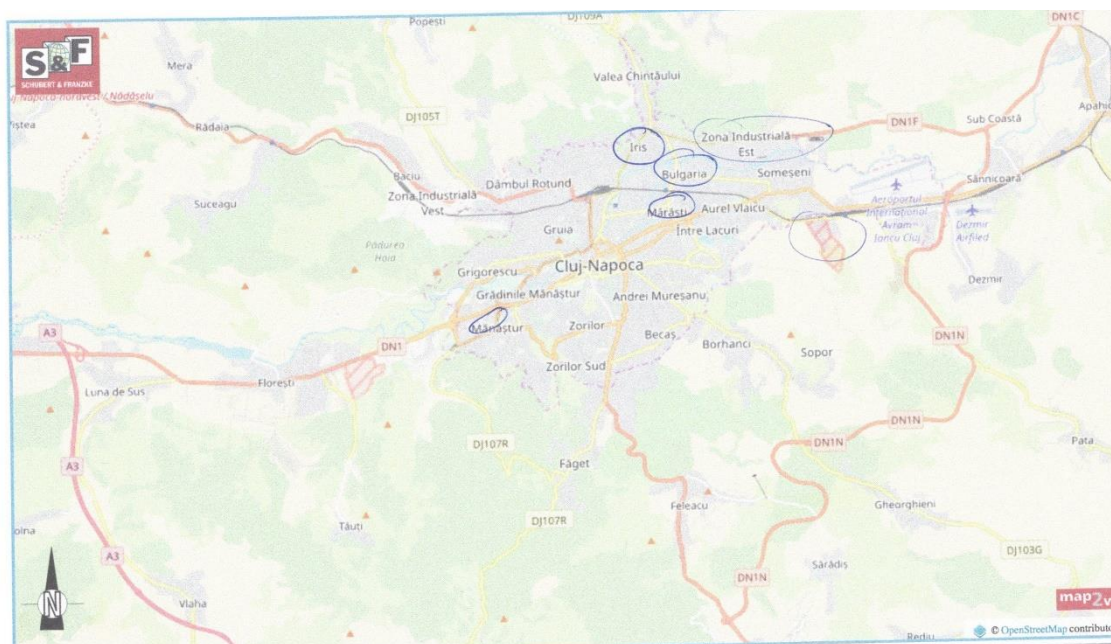
Map 5.2.



Map 5.3.



Map 5.4



Map 5.5.

8.4 Additional information needed to understand the main text

8.4.1 PROJECT CALENDAR

Phases	Date	Sources
Prehistory (1) Anti-ghettoization activism and policy recommendations regarding inclusive socio-territorial development	2010-2014	<p>Information and documents available at - http://www.desire-ro.eu/?page_id=1179</p> <p>Including:</p> <p>Suggestions regarding the housing component of the integrated housing pilot project for disadvantaged Roma from Pata Rat (04.10.2012)</p> <p>Mission and objectives of the integrated housing pilot project for marginalized people from Pata Rât, including ethnic Roma (28.07.2012)</p> <p>Suggestions for the integrated housing pilot project for marginalized Roma communities from Pata Rât, Cluj-Napoca (07.07.2012)</p> <p>Synthesis on the proposals regarding the pilot integrated housing project (29.10.2012)</p> <p>Integrated housing program for marginalized communities, including Roma. The case of Pata Rat, Cluj-Napoca. Recommendations to Romanian public authorities, January 2013</p> <p>Participatory budgeting and social inclusion, February 2013</p> <p>Propuneri privind bugetarea politicilor locale de incluziune și coeziune socială și teritorială. Cazul zonei de locuire defavorizată Pata Rât, Către primăria Cluj-Napoca, martie 2013</p> <p>Comunități marginalizate de romi și abordarea integrată a dezvoltării socio-teritoriale. Propuneri privind corelarea politicilor dedicate incluziunii sociale a romilor cu politicile mainstream de incluziune socială și cu planul de utilizare a fondurilor europene în perioada 2014-2020. Către Guvernul României, iunie 2013</p> <p>Observații și propuneri de modificări în Planul de dezvoltare al regiunii Nord-Vest 2014-20, cu precădere în relație cu problematica incluziunii sociale, septembrie 2013</p> <p>Prevenirea și combaterea evacuărilor forțate - instrument al eliminării marginalizării sociale. Document elaborat în contextul campaniei Amnesty International pentru oprirea evacuărilor forțate în România, octombrie 2013</p>
Prehistory (2): the UNDP project(s)	2012-2013, area-based extension in 2014	<p><i>The Cluj Initiative and what is behind</i>, BBL, BRC, 28th November, 2012, by Adrian Raulea, Head of Department for Development, Municipality of Cluj; Cristina Rat, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj; Gabriella Tonk, Local Project Coordinator, UNDP Romania; Marta Marcisz, CTA, UNDP -</p> <p>https://www.slideshare.net/undpeuropeandcis/the-cluj-initiative-and-what-is-behind-it, accessed 15 January 2018.</p> <p><i>Area-Based Interventions for making the most of EU Fund for Sustainable Housing and Inclusion of disadvantaged Roma in pilot areas in Romania & across the border to Serbia, Macedonia and Turkey</i>, 2014 - http://www.patacluj.ro/wp-</p>

		<p>content/uploads/2015/08/UNDP-Area-based-interventions-in-pilot-area-in-Ro.-Brief-project-results-2014.pdf, accessed 15 January 2018.</p> <p><i>Coordinated interventions for combating marginalization and for inclusive development targeting inclusively but not exclusively the vulnerable Roma through de-segregation and resettlement of the Pata Rat Area using the leverage of EStF. Draft Outline to the De-segregation/Resettlement Action Plan for Pata Rat 2014-2023</i>, by G. Tonk, J. Adorjani, O. Lăcătuș, 2014 - http://www.patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/UNDP-Coordinated-interventions-in-Pata-Rat.-Draft-action-plan-22-April-2014.pdf, accessed 15 January, 2018.</p> <p><i>Community coaching in Pata Rât</i>, by J. Adorjani, O. Lăcătuș, G. Tonk, 2014 - http://www.patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Adorjani-Lacatus-Tonk-Community-coaching-in-Pata-Rat-UNDP-2014.pdf, accessed 15 January 2018</p> <p><i>Projects in Pata Rât, 2012-2014</i> - http://www.patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Projects-in-Pata-Rat-2012-2014.pdf, accessed 15 January 2018.</p>
Project proposal submitted to the Financial Mechanism Office (administering Norway Grants)	August 2013	Not published
Local policy context: <i>Cluj 2020 - inclusive city</i> , chapter of the <i>Cluj-Napoca Development Strategy 2014-2020</i> (members of the UNDP team participated on the working group elaborating this chapter)	<p>Elaborated in 2014</p> <p>Voted by the Local Council in September 2015</p>	<p>http://cmpg.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Clujul_incluziv_13_febr2014_FINAL.pdf</p> <p>The whole Strategy: http://cmpg.ro/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/strategie-cluj-napoca-2014-2020.pdf</p>
Informal launch of the project, to the commu-	December 2014	http://patacluj.ro/video-prezentare-proiect/

nity of Pata Rât		
Official launch of the project	February 2015	http://patacluj.ro/2015/02/05/the-launch-of-pata-cluj-an-integrated-project-of-roma-inclusion-for-pata-rat-communities-how-will-the-marginal-communitys-life-change-in-two-years/?lang=en http://patacluj.ro/2015/02/05/press-release-1/
Interim report on project implementation, closing the first project phase and announcing the new housing component and the supplementary fund received from the Norway Grants Report on the impact of the project on the communities of Pata Rât	October 2014 - June 2015 September 2015	http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Pata-Cluj-stadiul-implementarii-proiectului-oct2014-iunie2015.pdf http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Pata-Cluj-raport-impact-sept-2015-RO.pdf
Restaurative practices and community facilitation	2015, 2016, 2017	On restaurative practices as instrument used by the project in the process of community facilitation, http://patacluj.ro/?s=practici+restaurative , http://patacluj.ro/2015/05/15/facilitare_comunitara/ , http://patacluj.ro/2015/05/15/practici-restaurative/ Etc
Education and youth Security Documents and social protection	2015, 2016	http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/educatie-si-tineret/ http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Pata-Cluj.-Raport-tematic-educatie-mar-2015.pdf http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/siguranta/ http://patacluj.ro/2016/11/25/comunicat-campanie-activism-educatia-da-voce-fetelor/ http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/acte-si-protectie-sociala/
Culture and arts	2015, 2016, 2017	http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/cultura-si-arta/ http://patacluj.ro/2015/06/18/sesiune-de-creatie-mobilier-urban-la-pata-rat/

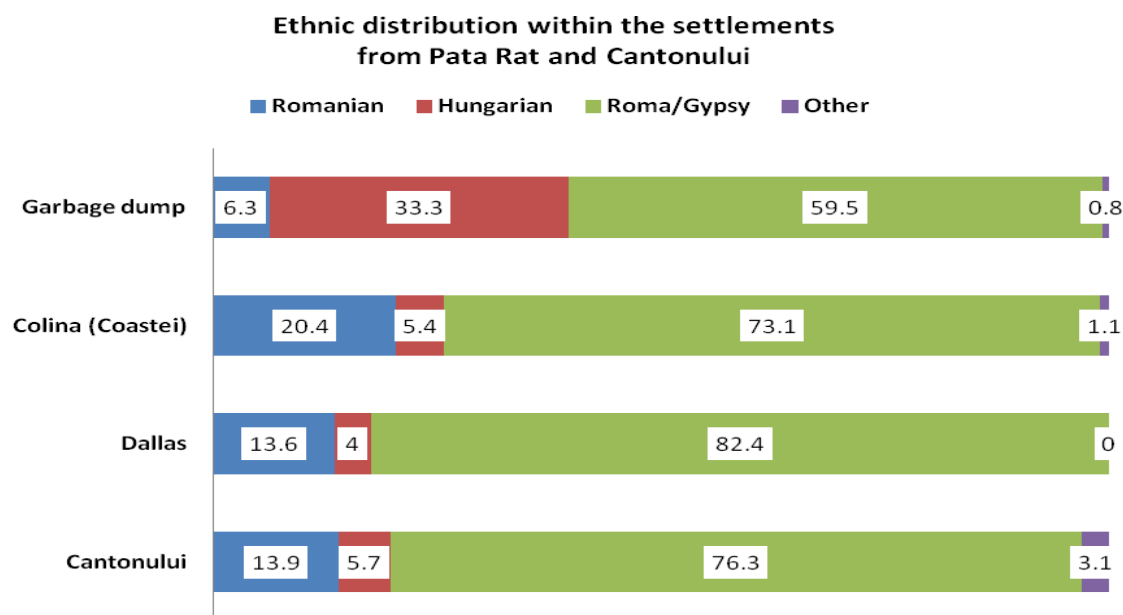
		http://patacluj.ro/pentru-comunitatea-clujeana/apel-cultura-si-arta/ http://patacluj.ro/2016/03/21/comunicat-lansare-evenimentului-concurs-pata-cluj-avem-talent/ http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Pata-Cluj.-Raport-tematic-cultura-august-2015.pdf http://patacluj.ro/2016/09/12/toamna-sesiune-de-design-si-constructie-de-mobilier-urban-la-pata-rat/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/04/25/premiera-documentarului-pata-cluj/
Awareness raising	2015, 2016, 2017	http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/constientizare/
Case management	2015, 2016	http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/management-de-caz/
Employment	2015, 2016	http://patacluj.ro/componentele-proiectului/ocupare/ http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Pata-Cluj.-Raport-tematic-ocupare-oct-2015.pdf http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Pata-Cluj-design-brosura-ocupare-sept-2015.pdf
Closing of the non-ecological landfill and return of several families living on the wage dump to their home localities	June 2015	http://patacluj.ro/2015/07/02/informare-pata-cluj-cu-privire-la-situatia-inchiderii-rampei/ http://patacluj.ro/2015/07/18/info-pata-cluj-cu-privire-la-situatia-inchiderii-rampei-de-gunoi-08-07-2015/
Approval of supplementary budget for the housing component and planned calendar of the housing component	September 2015 October 2015	http://patacluj.ro/2015/10/05/buletin-informativ-nr-8/ Housing component plan - http://patacluj.ro/2015/10/10/aspectele-practice-legate-de-componenta-de-locuire-a-proiectului-pata-cluj/ Project components, including housing, presented here http://patacluj.ro/project-components/?lang=en
Opening of two new, so-called temporary waste deposits in Pata Rât	Autumn 2015	

Community consultations over the use of the urgent needs fund (20000 euro/community x 4 communities)	Autumn-Winter 2015-2016	
Community and expert consultation over the project's social housing program and on the criteria to attribute housing in the project	March 2016 June 2016 September 2016 October 2016 September 2016	http://patacluj.ro/2016/03/23/a-doua-intalnire-pe-tema-locuirii-a-adunat-actorii-sociali-interesati-de-procesul-participativ-de-acordare-a-locuintelor-sociale-din-proiect/ http://patacluj.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/PataCluj-news-17-iunie2016_RO_f-1.pdf http://patacluj.ro/2016/09/28/lansare-locuire-patacluj/ http://patacluj.ro/2016/09/15/au-inceput-informarile-in-comunitate-cu-privire-la-locuintele-sociale-din-cadrul-proiectului-pata-cluj/ http://patacluj.ro/2016/10/19/experti-in-asistenta-psiho-sociala-pr-locuire/ http://patacluj.ro/2016/10/31/prelungire-termen-evaluatori-locuire/ https://issuu.com/pata-cluj2/docs/pata-cluj_proiect_pilot_locuire_se https://issuu.com/pata-cluj2/docs/flyer_housing_a4_ro_sept2016_f5
Launching the system of accessing the social housing realized by the project		
Submissions of housing applications	October-December 2016	http://patacluj.ro/pentru-comunitatea-din-pata-rat/program-lunar-unitatea-mobila/ New announcement about the possibility for application (16 apartments in Cluj-Napoca, and 16 apartments in Apahida are announced) - http://patacluj.ro/2016/10/31/termen-dosare-pentru-locuintele-sociale-pata-cluj/ http://patacluj.ro/2016/11/29/se-prelungeste-inca-o-saptamana-programul-biroului-de-inregistrare-pentru-locuintele-sociale-pata-cluj/
Annual report for 2016	2016	http://patacluj.ro/2017/02/24/raportul-anual-pata-cluj-2016/ https://issuu.com/pata-cluj2/docs/raport_anual_pata-cluj_2016_bilingv
Acquisition	December	Apartment acquisition in Cluj-Napoca, Baci, Florești:

from the market of apartments in Florești (7)	2016-April 2017	http://patacluj.ro/2016/12/13/anunt-de-achizitie-apartamente/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/01/17/anunt-de-participare-la-achizitie-de-apartamente/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/02/08/anunt-de-achizitie-apartamente-3/
Acquisition from the market of apartments in Baciú (3)	September 2016	http://patacluj.ro/2017/03/08/anunt-de-participare-la-achizitie-de-apartamente-martie/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/03/30/anunt-de-participare-la-achizitie-de-apartamente-aprilie/
Acquisition from the market of apartments in Cluj-Napoca (12)		http://patacluj.ro/2017/04/15/anunt-de-participare-la-achizitie-de-apartamente-3/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/04/14/anunt-de-participare-la-achizitie-de-apartamente-2/ https://issuu.com/pata-cluj2/docs/pata-cluj_infografic_rezultate_proi_0f7e76ba105201 Land acquisition in Apahida - http://patacluj.ro/2016/09/28/achizitii-publice-pata-cluj/
Closing project conference	March 2017	http://patacluj.ro/2017/03/02/press-release-the-pata-cluj-social-inclusion-debate/?lang=en
Results of housing allocation announced	March 2017 April 2017	http://patacluj.ro/2017/03/23/s-au-anuntat-rezultatele-privind-aplicatiile-pentru-locuintele-sociale-pata-cluj/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/04/07/rezultate-locuire-definitive/
Project closing	April 2017	http://patacluj.ro/acoperire-media/ http://eclujeanul.ro/apartamente-pentru-familiiile-din-pata-rat-la-finalul-proiectului-de-interventie-sociala-pata-cluj/
Conflicts with the residents and local administration of Apahida	Autumn 2017	
Relocation of families from Pata Rât to the housing units provided by the project	Summer and Autumn 2017	

Publishing the overall project results	April 2017 May 2017	https://issuu.com/pata-cluj2/docs/pata-cluj_infografic_rezultate_proi_0f7e76ba105201 http://patacluj.ro/2017/04/29/comunicat-de-presa-final-proiect-apartamente/ http://patacluj.ro/2017/05/24/informare-publica/
Participation of the IDA-CMA in the newly formed LAG, called <i>Inclusive Cluj</i>	Autumn 2017	Meeting of IDA-CMA from 04.10.2017, to approve the participation of IDA on the Local Action Group Inclusive Cluj, http://www.adizmc.ro/ Local Council decision on the participation of the Municipality and of the Social and Medical Assistance Directorate on the Association Inclusive Cluj - 32/17.10.2017, http://www.primariaclujnapoca.ro/userfiles/files/32(30).pdf
Submission of LAG strategy to MRD-PAEF and announcement of preliminary result in which the Inclusive Cluj strategy was refused from financial support. Eventually the project proposal was not selected for financial supported.	November-December 2017	http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/presa/noutati-am-oi/details/6/369/rezultatul-procesului-de-evaluare-%C8%99i-selec%C8%9Bie-a-strategiilor-de-dezvoltare-local%C4%83-destinate-comunit%C4%83%C8%9Bilor-marginalizate-urbane http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/images/files/programe/CU/POCU-2014/2018/16.02/Rezultatele_finale_ale_procesului_de_selec%C8%9Bie_SDL_febbruarie2018.pdf
The project team that continued to be hired at IDA-CMA after the end of the <i>Pata-Cluj</i> project, was dismissed.	July 2018	

8.5 Figures



Note: Ethnic belonging was self-reported.

Figure 1. Ethnic distribution of the population from Pata Rât

Source: Research Report. Participatory needs assessment of the social situation of the Pata Rat and Cantonului Area, Cluj-Napoca, December 2012

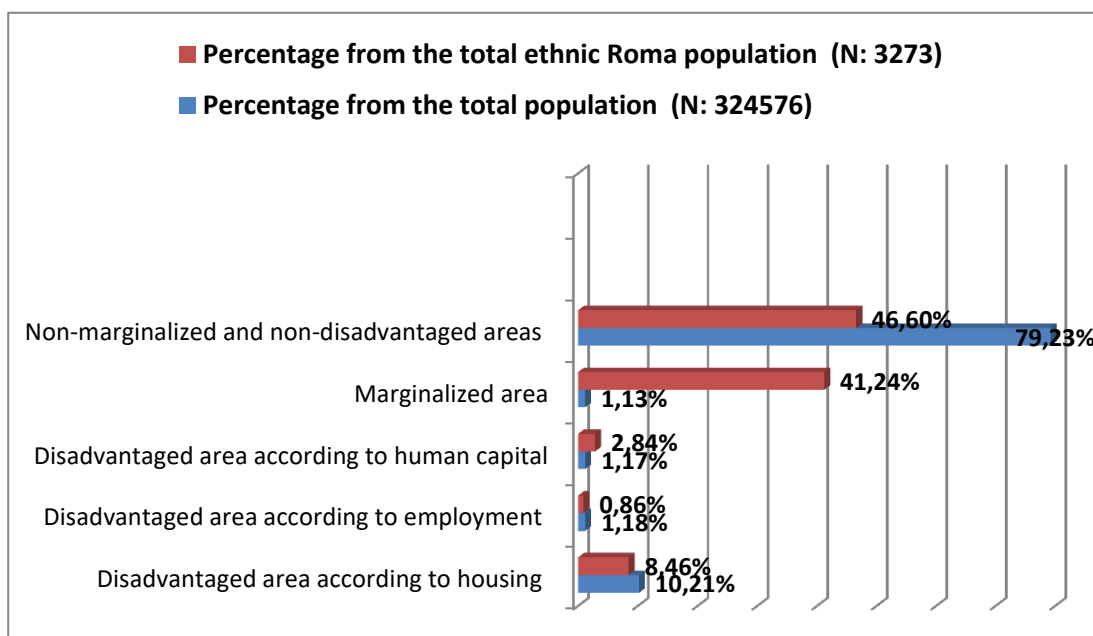


Figure 2. The percentage of persons living in marginalized areas in Cluj-Napoca, based on the population data of the 2011 Census²⁹

²⁹ Calculations made by E. Vincze on the base of the Census 2011 data, provided in the *List of Marginalized Urban Areas* (ZUM 20000+) used by the World Bank in the Atlas of marginalized urban areas in Romania (2014).

8.6 Tables

Name of Case Study Area	Pata Rât area, Someșeni district, Cluj Napoca Municipality
Size	Cluj-Napoca: 179,52 km ²
Total population ³⁰	Cluj-Napoca: 321687 in 2016, whilst the 2011 Census recorded a population of 324576 inhabitants Estimates regarding inhabitants of the 4 sub-zones in Pata Rât: 1500
Population density	Cluj-Napoca: 1808 inhabitants/km ² (in 2011)
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context Disadvantaged within a developed region/ city? Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region?	Pata Rât is a disadvantaged area within a developed city
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	RO113 Cluj County/ Județul Cluj Metro Region Code RO002M - Cluj-Napoca
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	NUTS2: RO1.1 North-West Region (Regiunea Nord-vest) within NUTS1: RO01 Macroregion one (including also the Centre Development Region)
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat) • Predominantly urban? • Intermediate? • Predominantly rural?	Intermediate

Table 1: Basic socio-economic characteristics of Cluj-Napoca, locality hosting Pata Rât, the target area of the Pata-Cluj project

Source: National Institute for Statistics - County Office

³⁰

http://www.insse.ro/cms/sites/default/files/field/publicatii/populatia_romaniei_pe_localitati_la_1ianuarie2016_0.pdf

Occupational position	Cluj-Napoca
Owners and management positions	4.9%
Professionals	32.4%
Technicians	12.4%
Administrative functionaries	6.6%
Service workers	16.9%
Farm workers	0.7%
Skilled workers	13.5%
Semi-skilled workers	7.7%
Unskilled workers	5.0%
Employees	100% = 150.119
Active population (occupied, unemployed, and homemakers)	163.445
Active age population (18-65 years)	243.279
Total population of the city	324.576

Table 2. Occupational structure of the city of Cluj-Napoca, 2011 Census

Source: National Institute of Statistics, Census 2011. Calculations of Norbert Petrovici,³¹ based on data at the level of census tracks

Total Dwellers	Of which Roma	The occupational status of the Roma population*					
		Pre-School & Pupils	Home-Makers	Employees	Un-employed**	Self-employed	Retired persons
2184	1249	45%	7%	17%	8%	0%	2%

Table 3. The occupational status of the Roma population in the Pata Rât area, Cluj-Napoca, 2011

Source: National Institute of Statistics, Census 2011. Calculations of Norbert Petrovici,³² based on data at the level of census tracks

**Percentages on the distribution by occupational status do not add up at 100%, given that some dwellers had another status than those listed in the table, for example elderly persons no longer working but without being entitled to pensions, young people who abandoned school before reaching the legal age for employment, etc.*

³¹ N. Petrovici: *Working status in deprived urban areas and their greater economic role*, In *Racialized labour in Romania. Spaces of marginality at the periphery of global capitalism*, edited by E. Vincze, A. Simionca, N. Petrovici, C. Raț and G. Picker, Palgrave, forthcoming, 2018.

³² Ibidem.

***The category of 'unemployed' includes all those who considered themselves as such, i.e. the registered unemployed but also those not registered at the labour force offices.*

Name	Population (1992)	Population (2002)	Population (2011)
Cluj-Napoca	328.602	317.953	324.576
Aiton	1.626	1.338	1.085
Apahida	7.640	8.785	10.072
Baciu	7.770	8.162	10.317
Bonțida	4.447	4.722	4.856
Borșa	2.119	1.868	1.600
Căianu	2.700	2.587	2.355
Chinteni	3.067	2.786	3.065
Ciurila	1.725	1.509	1.594
Cojocna	4.563	4.376	4.194
Feleacu	4.116	3.830	3.923
Florești	6.088	7.504	22.813
Gârbău	2.782	2.648	2.440
Gilău	7.966	7.861	8.300
Jucu	4.025	4.086	4.270
Petreștii de Jos	2.166	1.891	1.512
Tureni	2.735	2.585	2.278
Vultureni	1.858	1.568	1.516
Total	395.995	386.059	410.766

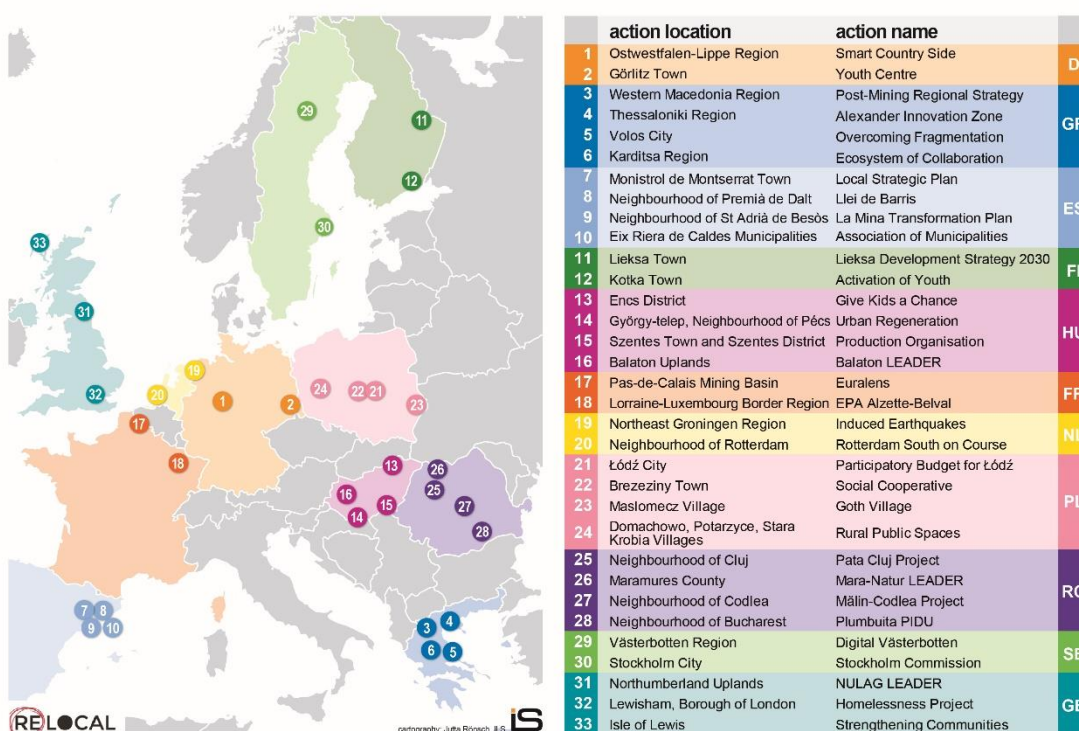
Table 5. Demographic data on the member localities of Cluj Metropolitan Area - census data

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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