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**SHELTER AND LIMITATION – AN ANALYSIS OF AN URBAN
DESEGREGATION PROCESS THROUGH THE ROLE OF SOCIAL
CAPITAL**

Theses of doctoral dissertation

Szeged, 2021

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Faculty of Economics and Business Administration
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1. Introduction

According to the most recent and comprehensive studies in Hungary we can find at least 1633 segregates, where approximately 300 000 people live (3% of the Hungarian population). These segregates are mainly organised on an ethnical basis (Domokos – Herczeg 2010).

The related Hungarian and international literature contains several investigations which prove that living in segregated circumstances can lead to numerous disadvantages and limitations for the affected residents. This can be manifested in the following factors: worse chances in the labour market (Kemény et al. 2004), territorial stigmatization (Wacquant 2007), limited access to high quality services as well as healthcare institutions, the spread of concentrated crime (Silverman et al. 2006) and maintenance and inheritance of negative social patterns (Bolt et al. 2010; Tunstall et al. 2010; Osterling 2007). In addition, authorities tend to treat these areas as “beyond-the-pale” zones (Harper et al. 2009; Málovics et al. 2018).

Other studies, in contrast, have highlighted that segregation not only results in limitations, but in parallel it can also provide significant resources for the residents (Farkas 2012; Wacquant 2001) which is noticeable in Hungarian segregates as well (Tóth et al. 2017). These resources have an extremely important role in self-esteem, in everyday problem-solving and in the well-being of the affected families (Méreiné et al. 2017b). Therefore segregation simultaneously means resources, safety and severely limited opportunities to break out of the poverty trap.

On the other hand, the standpoint of Hungarian policy-makers is quite clear. In 2013 and 2014 all cities with county rights in Hungary had to revise their local development strategic documents. One of these is the Integrated Urban Development Strategy which has an obligatory part, the Anti-segregation Plan. Guidelines for the preparation of these documents are provided in the Urban Development Handbook, which clearly treats segregation as an undesirable phenomenon (Hungarian Urban Development Handbook, 2nd edition, Méreiné et. al. 2017a).

We have seen that segregation can cause a number of undesirable effects, but in parallel it cannot be clearly stated that segregation can be associated exclusively with such effects. Therefore it is hardly possible to reflect on the complex, sometimes hidden and contradictory mechanisms of segregation if we follow the standpoint of Hungarian policies. In addition, studies investigating the effects of desegregation interventions are hardly found in the Hungarian related literature, although these could provide a good basis for the reconsideration of Hungarian policy-making.

In my research I focus on examining a single urban desegregation process, which started in the spring of 2017, thus my dissertation is essentially a case study. I decided for this approach, because I aimed to reveal an extremely complex process in as much detail as possible, especially with regard to the underlying hidden mechanisms.

The examined desegregation process fits well in the position of Hungarian policies, because it is clearly committed to the desirability of eliminating spatial segregation. The Anti-segregation Plan of the city states that the elimination of the segregate must be completed by 2029 at the latest, and also states that the relocation of the affected families can only take place in an “integrated neighbourhood”.

Although we can hardly find Hungarian investigations in this topic, there are several relevant studies in the international related literature that examine interventions where the goal was to create socially heterogeneous housing communities (Solon et al. 2000; Ludwig et al. 2001; Katz et al. 2001; Lupton et al. 2009; Kearns – Mason 2007; Oreopoulos 2003; Silver et al. 2013; Cheshire 2009; Mugnano – Palvarini 2013). Behind such interventions there is usually an expectation that after the intervention people of different statuses form relationships (social capital) with each other, which act as a resource both on individual (e.g. sharing of material and non-material resources, social mobility) and on social level (e.g. solidarity, social cohesion, social integration). In addition, social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) can play an important role in the dual nature of segregation according to the related research (Méreiné et al. 2017b; Messing 2006; Messing - Molnár 2011a; Messing – Molnár 2011b).

Therefore, in my research I interpret the effects and aspects of segregation and anti-segregation by examining the mechanisms related to social capital. Based on these considerations my research questions are as follows:

- (1) What mechanisms can be linked to social capital for segregated communities?**
- (2) What are the impacts and mechanisms related to social capital in anti-segregation efforts aimed at creating heterogeneous housing communities?**

While economic or other material factors are relatively easy to measure, social capital is associated with characteristics and mechanisms that often remain hidden and therefore it is mostly impossible to grab them by snapshot-methods or to interpret them without their context. The difficulties in connection with measurement and analysis are even more pronounced in the case of vulnerable and closed communities, such as communities of ethnically-based segregates. For this reason I use qualitative methods in my research, which are embedded in a

participation action research (PAR) process that started five years ago. This process provided me an opportunity to reveal the context, to build relationships based on trust, to break taboos in communication, to learn together and finally to organise common actions with the affected residents.

In my view the added value of my dissertation could lie in the following:

- The dissertation highlights the possible consequences of anti-segregation interventions in a novel way, through the analysis of personal relationships and their changes, which has been lacking in the Hungarian literature and has only limitedly been addressed in the international literature.
- In the theoretical part of my dissertation, I present and reconcile in a structured way the theories that deal with contrasting relationships within and across groups, but often use different terminology (social capital, ties, solidarity, integration).
- In the theoretical part of my dissertation, I systematically analyse and compare international sources that deal with (mostly in the form of case studies) interventions aimed at creating socially heterogeneous housing communities.
- Thanks to participatory action research, I have been following events and their effects since the beginning of the anti-segregation process, so in addition to the analysis of data from a disciplinary viewpoint, I lay considerable emphasis on transdisciplinary approach with a thorough understanding of the process and context.
- During the years-long PAR process, a relationship of trust (sometimes friendly) developed with the affected families, which allowed me to get to know the perspective of the affected people thoroughly, without any taboos, to continuously monitor the lives of the moving families and to show the interpretations of the affected people. This is presented in the dissertation, together with a continuous self-reflection on my role because of my personal involvement.

2. Structure of the dissertation

The theoretical part of my dissertation contains two main chapters. Firstly, I introduce the aspects of segregation and anti-segregation, then I discuss the theoretical concerns of social capital. This is followed by the description of the methodology and finally my results are presented.

2.1 Segregation and anti-segregation

In the **first** part of the chapter I interpret the literature of segregation, and I clarify what I mean by segregation in my dissertation. According to the definition of spatial segregation, social distance is represented by spatial distance (Ladányi 2007). This is not necessarily connected to the concentration of poverty (segregation can also mean the concentration of wealthier population), but Hungarian policies mainly apply the term of segregation for this and tend to associate ethnic concerns with it. The segregation index of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) is based on educational and labour market data as well as subsidy rates¹.

In the international literature the terms of “ghetto” or “slum” are more frequently used. Wacquant (2004, 2012) applies a more sophisticated and accurate definition for the phenomenon of concentrated poverty than the Hungarian indicator of segregation which is based on exclusively quantitative data. Although ethnical concentration and concentrated poverty are characteristic features of the ghettos, according to the definition of Wacquant they have numerous other important features. Ghettos are sharply separated from the other parts of the settlement; residents of the ghetto are stigmatized by the majority society; families moved there because of some pressure; and a parallel institutional system with special norms and laws is used besides the major institutional system of the majority society. Although in my dissertation I apply the term of “segregation”, I use Wacquant’s ghetto definition as a base every time.

In the **second** part of the chapter I introduce different interpretations of the underclass discourse (Myrdal 1963; Wilson 1978, 1987; Ladányi – Szelényi 2001, Massey – Denton 1993, 1998, Ladányi – Szelényi 2004). In accordance with the third wave of the discourse I consider that position acceptable which argues that the existence of underclass is mostly due to structural reasons. Stakeholders only adapt to these structural reasons, which later obviously have an effect on the structure and thereby limiting their possibilities to break out of their situation².

¹ According to the segregation index, which is based on 2001 census data, a segregate is defined as an urban area in which 50% of the working age population (15-59 years) do not have a regular income and the highest level of the education does not exceed 8 grades. Areas at risk of segregation are those urban areas where the above indicator is between 40-50%. In the case of the capital city, Budapest, a segregated area is where the value of the indicator reaches at least 35% of the above-mentioned indicator (the area is at risk of segregation if the value is between 25-35%). Furthermore, those areas are defined as segregates where the ratio of regular social benefits to the population / number of dwellings reaches the double of the urban (district) average (in case of an area at risk of segregation this value is more than 1.7) (KSH).

² There are serious debates about the application of the term “underclass” (Stewart – Ladányi; Szelényi), because this term can easily lead to prejudices and stigmatization. Furthermore, it could be problematic to apply this term in the Eastern-European context, because it originates from the United States and there are numerous differences between the two contexts according to critics (Stewart 2001).

After the introduction of the underclass discourse, in the **third** part of the chapter I introduce theories dealing with the effects of living in segregated circumstances. Factors such as deepening social distance between the segregated families and the majority society (Massey – Denton 1993; 1998), territorial stigmatization (Wacquant 2011, 2008), worse chances in the labour market (Kemény et al. 2004; Bereményi – Carrasco 2015; O’Nions 2010; Van Baar 2012; Messing – Bereményi 2017), limited access to good quality services, concentrated crime and maintenance of negative social patterns (Silverman et al. 2006; Bolt et al. 2010, Tunstall - Lupton 2010, Osterling 2007) can be mentioned.

Numerous studies highlighted that a stigmatized place of living symbolically degrades the residents who live there which also results in a sense of guilt, feeling shame, and low levels of self-esteem, therefore segregation itself can result in an acute feeling of inferiority (Pétonnet 1982; Wacquant 2007; Bourdieu [1993] (1999). These factors reinforce each other thereby increasing the exclusion of segregated stakeholders (Johnston et al. 2002; Sommerville – Steele 2002; Wacquant 2001; Wacquant 2008; Powell 2010).

On the other hand spatial segregation (and concentrated poverty) can also provide several resources for the residents (Farkas 2012; Wacquant 2001, Tóth et al. 2017; Méreiné et al. 2017b). Therefore, as we already know, segregation can simultaneously mean resources, safety and severely limited opportunities to break out of the poverty trap. In the fourth part of the chapter I introduce the theoretical background of informality.

In Hungary the ethnical concerns of segregation are inevitable, thus in the **fifth** part of the chapter I introduce these factors. In the **sixth** part of the chapter I describe the Hungarian policies in connection with segregation and anti-segregation. Within these it can be observed, that several Hungarian and international programs are aimed at eliminating segregation with relocating the affected residents to an integrated environment. Despite these efforts segregation is not decreasing significantly in Hungary (Domokos – Herczeg 2010; Kozákné 2001).

Finally, in the **seventh** part of the chapter I analyse international studies, which are connected to anti-segregation interventions which are aimed at establishing heterogeneous housing communities (mixing policy). In contrast to Hungarian policy discourse according to the international studies there is no common position in connection with mixing policy. Some investigations consider it an effective local development strategy (Solon et al. 2000; Ludwig et al. 2001; Katz et al. 2001; Lupton et al. 2009; Kearns – Mason 2007), other studies found that the application of mixing policy is not enough in itself and supporting actions have an essential role (Oreopoulos 2003; Silver et al. 2013; Cheshire 2009), according to others, in certain circumstances mixing policy could even be a harmful strategy (Mugnano – Palvarini 2013).

Although the examined cases were realized in different contexts, these could provide some remarkable patterns, which are as follows:

1. According to the experiences **mixing-policy in itself is not enough to generate the required positive effects**. In several cases it can lead to conflicts, stigmatization, resegregation which can negatively influence the well-being of the affected families. Therefore **supporting and facilitation** have extremely important roles.
2. The **method used for separating the different groups** is of crucial importance. Mixing policy can occur in several dimensions. For instance in the international practice groups are often distinguished by ownership (tenure mix), which does not always reflect the financial status of the residents, furthermore, financial distance does not always represent social distance. The method used for differentiation can have an essential effect on the outcomes of these interventions.
3. Related to the previous findings, according to the third conclusion interventions which aim to organise **ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhoods** have to **face more barriers** than the interventions which are based on tenure and financial considerations. According to the experiences the application of mixing-policy can be **successful** in communities **where there are no sharp ethnic and cultural dividing lines**.
4. Finally, it is important to pay attention to the method of monitoring. We can get different results, for example, if only financial considerations are taken into account or if we attach importance to other non-material elements (which are otherwise difficult to measure).

2.2 Social capital

In the **first** part of the chapter I conceptualise the main focus of my dissertation. Social capital is primarily dealt with within the discipline of sociology, therefore I mainly applied the arguments of economic sociology theories (as well as those which are discussed in this framework): Classical theories which make a contrast with neoclassical economics and argue that the economic processes take place embedded in society, and these elements interact with each other (e.g. Weber 1967; Durkheim (2001 [1893])); Granovetter 1973, 1985, 1992; Polányi 1976), and those theories which attempt to prove this through mechanisms which are connected to the social capital (e. g. Coleman 1998; Granovetter 1973).

In the second half of the explanatory part I attempt to highlight that social capital is becoming an increasingly important component of international development strategies (e.g. OECD, Worldbank, Saguaro Seminarium) (Füzér et al. 2005). In Hungary less emphasis has been placed on social capital (Méreiné et al. 2015). In the light of the above-mentioned I argue that it could be important to take social capital into account in local economic interventions as well.

In the **second** part of the chapter I introduce the main theories related to social capital. Social capital has been addressed in the scientific literature for long (Hanifan 1916; Ben-Porath 1980; Putnam 1993, 1995; Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1998; Fukuyama 2001; Woolcock–Narayan 2000; Burt 2000; Granovetter 2006). However a unified and comparable framework and terminology have not been linked to social capital. Even the designation of social capital is not unified. The terms of relational capital (Sík 2012), social resources (Lin 1999), strong and weak ties (Granovetter 1973) and social network (Burt 2000) are frequently used in the related literature. However, the theories use the term “capital” for these relations, there are some that also address the negative effects (e.g. cults, corruption or the closed communities of segregated areas) (Fukuyama 2001; Woolcock – Narayan 2000).

In the **third** part of the chapter I attempt to structure, and critically reflect on the difficulties of defining social capital. Several studies have already attempted to systematize theories related to this concept (Esser 2008; Fulkerson – Thompson 2008; Csizmadia 2015; Sík 2012). The categorisation of these studies is mainly based on the function of social capital i.e. public or private good functions. Based on these it can be seen that the literature of social capital is especially extensive and confused therefore one of the aims of my dissertation is to explain what exactly I mean by social capital.

In the **fourth** part of the chapter I dispose the theoretical and conceptual framework which I apply in my dissertation. In my research it is important that the theoretical framework must be properly applied for the analysis of segregated communities and the consequences of anti-segregation interventions. Thus I consider those theories relevant which simultaneously deal with the typology of social capital, the connected mechanisms as well as its positive and negative effects (Woolcock – Narayan 2000; Putnam 1995; Gilchrist 2009; Burt 2000).

In international and Hungarian studies which deal specifically with the social networks of people in a segregated environment (or studies referring to Roma communities), social capital plays a role both as an individual and as a community resource (Albert – Dávid 2006; Messing 2006; Messing – Molnár 2011a, 2011b; Cartwright et al. 2007). However, in my research the dividing line did not emerge along the public and private goods separation, but

rather in connection with the relationships within and between groups, thus in my dissertation I also consider this as a basis.

In this chapter I structure and draw a parallel with those theories which deal with internal and external social ties but generally they apply different terminologies for this (social capital, social ties, solidarity, integration) (table 1.). It is eye-catching that the logic of the theories is very similar and there are important consonances also referring to the connecting activities.

1. table Systematization of internal and external connections

Theorist(s)	Internal connections, occlusion	External connections, chance of upward mobility
Castel (2000)	family, friends	division of labour
Lockwood (1964), Habermas (1987)	social integration	system integration
Lin (1982, 1990)	microintegration	macrointegration
Granovetter (1973, 2000)	strong ties	weak ties
Putnam (1993, 1995), Gittel – Vidal (1998), Woolcock – Narayan (2000), Gilchrist (2009)	bonding social capital	bridging (linking) social capital

Source: *Own editing*

At the end of the chapter I present the conceptual framework which I apply in my dissertation (figure 1.):

1. figure The applied theoretical framework in the dissertation

Bonding social capital	Bridging social capital	Linking social capital
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal, homophile connections with friends, relatives, neighbours • Horizontal relations • Acces to inner resources that can be important in everyday survival <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expressive actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heterophile relationships across social classes with friends, acquaintances, relatives • Horizontal (and vertical) relations • Acces to external resources that can be important in upward mobility • Instrumental actions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heterophile relationships across social classes with representatives of institutes • Vertical relations • Acces to external resources that can be important in upward mobility • Instrumental actions

Source: *Own editing*

2.3 Case and method

In the **first** part of the chapter I introduce the case (context, connected vents, actions). In my dissertation I investigate a specific case, which affects the largest segregate of a city with county right. The process started in the spring of 2017, and at the time of the interview half of the houses were being demolished. All the flats in the same building are evacuated simultaneously (1 house contains 3 or 4 flats) and as soon as that has happened the demolition starts immediately. By the time of the submission of my thesis nine buildings have been demolished (6 buildings with 4 flats and 3 buildings with 3 flats). Until the spring of 2017 there were 16 houses in the segregate (12 buildings with 4 flats and 4 buildings with 3 flats).

Many of the flats are without comfort. In 35-40 square meter flats often 7 or 8 people live (lived). The status of the residents are different: owner, renter, illegal squatter, residents without legal housing status. According to the 2010 census data 217 people lived there. It is not easy to determine the exact number of residents, because many of them are illegal squatters or temporarily moving in and several residents live there with their relatives although they are officially registered elsewhere as residents. The average educational level is low and three-quarters of the residents do not have a regular income from legal work.

The segregate also functions as a refuge: the number of the settling squatters increased as a consequence of former anti-segregation intervention of the city (Málovics et al. 2019b). Most of the families settled back into the segregate primarily for subsistence reasons. Based on different housing status, residents can expect different compensation for leaving their homes. Renters were able to move to a rental property with higher comfort in the city for a higher rental fee than before. The local government compensated the owners with cash (typically above market price) or by buying a new flat for them with a higher comfort level. At the beginning of the process, squatters and other residents without legal housing status could not expect any compensation from the local government, in fact, in their case the process was a simple displacement. As the process progressed the local government (as a result of the intervention of Roma self-government) began to offer crisis flats for those families who were able to integrate into the majority society according to the policy makers of the process (tidy flats and yard, children go to school regularly, regular income).

Owners and renters are definitely interested in the anti-segregation process, for them it can be a chance of a better life. By contrast, for the squatters the process brings fundamental existential inability, which can create serious conflicts in the community of the segregate.

There is no integration program, or any form of facilitation during the process, although in the case of owners, renters, and “appropriate” squatters the policy-makers seek (in partnership with the local Roma municipality) common and customized solutions. They negotiate separately with the families, taking their possibilities and needs into account. The segregation was affected by a participatory action research process based on civil-academic cooperation which provided the basis for numerous common actions. I have been an active participant in the process since 2015.

In the **second** part of the chapter I introduce the applied methodology. I used qualitative methods in my research, although, it was integrated in the framework of a broader participatory action research (PAR) process. Since 2015 I have been in regular contact with several families in the segregate, and with those who have already moved from there. PAR is a transparently value-driven approach that aims not only to create knowledge but also to initiate social change (Coghlan – Bryon-Miller 2015). In such a process, the researcher-researched relationship can develop into a partnership and the emerging trust can create an opportunity for honesty and discussion of taboo topics (Bradbury – Reason 2003). In the case of closed communities in segregates this trustful relationship is essential if we want to create a good quality knowledge. Referring to the desegregation process, it is aggravated by the fact that the existential situation of families is strongly dependent on the intervention and several residents have conflicting interests in the desegregation. Therefore the intervention is a significant source of different conflicts, which further increases the importance of trust. The related literature also reflects that it is very complicated to measure anti-segregation interventions aimed at establishing socially heterogeneous neighbourhoods with conventional social research tools (Gordon et al. 2017), because the people involved usually disappear from the perspective of researchers. After the move I maintained regular contact with those families with whom I had been in close connection, even after they moved to another location. Therefore I had the opportunity to monitor these families during the whole process.

In the **third** part of the chapter I introduce the process of data collection that progressed on a number of strands. Firstly I implemented two-round semi-structured interviews. Before the desegregation started, in 2016, I had conducted 15 interviews. I carried out 14 further interviews when the process already started and when half of the houses had already been demolished in the segregate. I had the assistance of my research partner in forming the second interview line. She had lived in the segregate with her family earlier, therefore she was even more familiar with the context than me. We developed the interview-line together, taking cultural and linguistic specificities into account.

(...)The majority of these were group interviews³, so a total of 24 interviewees gave their views on the topic (12 moved, 12 stayed). The two rounds overlapped in roughly half of the interviewees. I recorded the interviews on dictaphone, then typed them verbatim, and made notes on the context (the situation of the interviewees, their relationships, the circumstances of the interview, etc.), which I attached to the typed interviews. The typed interviews were analysed using N-Vivo qualitative content analysis software. In spring 2020, I conducted further interviews, not with the families concerned, but with representatives of the institutions that had been personally mentioned in the previous rounds of interviews. Among them there were 3 school staff members (teacher, youth worker, child protection worker), 2 social workers, 1 nurse. In my dissertation, my aim was not to explore the whole institutional structure (such a small number of interviews, which are not diverse enough, would not be appropriate for this), but only to examine the relations established with the representatives of the institutions from several sides.

In addition to conducting interviews, I have also kept a research diary since the beginning of the process, which includes an intensive 2-week period when I "moved in"⁴ the aegregate. That means roughly 480 pages of handwritten text. I also incorporated the information contained therein into the analysis.

Finally, in the **fourth** part of the chapter, I present the logic of data analysis. The analysis of the interviews and my research diary followed a loose theoretical framework that considered all factors related to the research question relevant: *(1) What mechanisms can be linked to social capital in segregated communities? (2) What effects and mechanisms are associated with social capital in anti-segregation efforts aimed at creating heterogeneous housing communities?*

Based on these, I mainly examined the effects of the relocation and the changes and the basic state of social capital. Before starting the analysis, I developed the main categories myself ("bonding social capital", "bridging social capital", "linking social capital", "got better after the demolition", "got worse after the demolition"). In the course of the analysis, I placed the texts in these categories, but I also remained open to other distinctive codes that appeared, and, if necessary, I broke down the preliminary categories into further subcategories based on the information in the interviews. This shows that both deductive and inductive logic were used in the analysis.

³ Finding a relaxed interview environment was a serious methodological challenge. During the interviews, relatives and guests usually came and went. Anyone who had comments related to my research topic was taken as an interviewee.

⁴ I spent the whole day there, except for the night, with different families.

For the final categories, I based my analysis on the three types of social capital, their presence/absence, positive and negative effects. However, my analysis also revealed a striking erosion of the bonding social capital. I arranged these passages under the categories of internal fragmentation, detachment, and relationship vacuum, and then combined them at the end of my analysis for easier logical interpretation and due to large-scale overlaps. I interpreted the categories separately in terms of pre-demolition (these were usually “stock” information) and of the consequences of demolition (“flow” information). After organising the texts according to their main logic, I first analysed them separately and then tried to find explanations for their interrelations.

The presentation of the results of the analysis also follows this logic. First, I discuss the functioning of social capital (including bonding, bridging, and linking social capital) in the pre-demolition period, then I compare it with the effects of the demolition, and finally I draw my conclusions based on these.

3. The main results and theses of the dissertation

- 1. thesis: There are many difficulties in analysing the impact of a process, of desegregation and it is therefore essential to use transdisciplinary methods and approaches of scientific knowledge to analyse such a process, which allow for a deep understanding, longer-term monitoring of the process and the perspectives of the people involved. Participatory action research is a suitable approach for investigating such a complex and sensitive research area, as it makes all these possible through long-term collaborative relationships based on trust.*

I used qualitative methods in my research, but this was done within the framework of a participatory action research process. In such a closed community, a relationship of trust is almost essential if we want to create high-quality knowledge. If we focus on the desegregation, the situation is further complicated by the fact that the existential situation of families is strongly dependent on this intervention, many of them have conflicting interests in the desegregation, and therefore the intervention is a significant source of conflict, so this relationship of trust must be even more pronounced. The related literature also reflects the fact that anti-segregation interventions that aim to create socially heterogeneous residential housing communities are

almost impossible to measure using traditional social research tools (Gordon et al. 2017), as the people involved often disappear from the researchers' view.

In my dissertation, I examined a single case, but I followed it through a participatory action research process lasting more than 5 years. During such a process, the researcher-researched relationship can develop into a partnership and the resulting trust can provide an opportunity for honesty and discussion of taboo topics. In addition, I had the opportunity to gain a thorough understanding of the context and to analyse and interpret the related phenomena through the perspectives and interpretations of the people involved, to the extent that after a while the people affected became involved in the research process itself (for example, in the design of the interview thread). By the end of my research, it became clear to me that much of the (very relevant) information I had uncovered would never have come to my attention, if my research had not been conducted within the framework of participatory action research. This is because I would not have had the opportunity to understand the exact context, the hidden underlying mechanisms, or to follow the life and survival of the people involved. Thus, while the generalisability of my research is rather analytical, it has allowed me to gain a very great depth of understanding, which is of paramount importance for anti-segregation interventions from a scientific, practical and moral point of view.

2. *thesis: Social capital can fundamentally influence anti-segregation processes and their effects on the lives of those affected, but this is accompanied by other structural effects.*

Social capital fundamentally influences whether heterogeneous/integrated housing communities are created as a result of anti-segregation processes. In this case, many of those who had a choice were already looking for a new living environment where Roma already lived - notwithstanding the material and non-material welfare benefits of bonding social capital, which triggered a process of resegregation.

The process of resegregation is also triggered by the fact that many people concerned, in our case unregistered home users and squatters, do not have the choice to move to an integrated / heterogeneous environment due to the lack of compensation and the low level of social and other forms of capital.

While the former stems from the relationships of the people concerned and the functioning of the segregated community, the latter is clearly the result of an anti-segregation strategy pursued by policy makers, i.e. eviction without compensation and without placement. A programme that truly seeks to create socially heterogeneous residential communities

necessarily faces serious challenges due to the social capital mechanisms of the segregated community (communities) (as the people concerned may not want to move into very heterogeneous housing environments at once) and cannot practically afford to neglect residents who are invisible to the law, as this in itself leads to resegregation.

3. *thesis: Bonding social capital is still a very important factor for segregated communities, acting both as an important condition for their daily survival and as a barrier to system integration, and it has a role in widening the gap between segregated families and members of the majority society.*

In my dissertation, I show that segregation, just as social capital, is a two-faceted factor that profoundly influences the lives and decisions of families living in segregation. Bonding social capital is associated with very important material resources, as the families involved share their daily necessities (e.g. food, electricity, medicines) with each other when needed, and the community also acts as a kind of “beyond the market” resource. Examples include lending to families that seem creditworthy to financial institutions, sharing utility services with a debt-accumulating neighbour, recommending each other to (typically undeclared) jobs, or helping with childcare. Of the shared resources, housing assistance is of paramount importance. The people concerned agree that Roma typically embrace each other and stick together in the event of a problem.

Bonding social capital is also linked to very important non-material resources, which contribute greatly to the subjective well-being of families living in the segregate, including their sense of security and self-esteem. They experience its presence as a kind of community of destiny, which is closely related to common celebrations, to the fact that they regularly go to each other without knocking, but also to the fact that they do not leave each other alone in conflicts.

In addition to all this, my research also showed that the mechanisms related to bonding social capital also act as a strong barrier to social mobility and system integration. The sharing of goods, for example, is organized along reciprocity, which is indirectly based on the compulsion to share. There is community pressure on those (e.g. through rumors, theft, or excommunication) who are unwilling to share their resources. The community thus clearly penalizes excessive growth and upward movement.

It is true that the community provides resources beyond the system to help those who have been excluded from the opportunities offered by the institutional system of the majority society,

but this can mean usury, undeclared work, prostitution, selling drugs, i.e. activities that are illegal and sometimes even criminal in the eyes of the majority society. This of course widens the gap between the community and the majority society. While it is true that community members protect each other in case of conflict and thus the community can be a source of security, the above-mentioned gap is also widened by the fact that there is also a tendency for conflicts to be "settled" outside the institutional framework with frequent vigilante behaviour and in such cases the community expects its members to show solidarity with each other, as opposed to the majority society, even at the expense of their own advancement.

4. thesis: Anti-segregation processes can further weaken the already eroding bonding ties within a segregated community.

Even before the anti-segregation process began, certain fault lines had appeared within the community. This fragmentation began as early as 2005, when, as a result of a previous anti-segregation decision, families began to settle in the Cs. sor from another, demolished segregate. The first fault line within the community was between the families living there for longer and the newly settled families.

The spread of designer drugs further fragmented the community. Almost everyone involved had someone in their circle of friends, family (or themselves) who was struggling with addiction. This drug causes physical and mental deterioration in users and is often associated with other crimes (prostitution, theft, burglary, aggressive acts). Together, they all contributed to a certain degree of weakening of the bonding social capital, even before the start of the demolition.

In many cases, however, the desegregation process has also clearly weakened bonding ties. It was moving to a particularly heterogeneous environment that weakened bonding social capital the most - families moving to such a place invariably reported a strong weakening of bonding ties. In comparison, those who moved to a block of flats where they already had Roma neighbours living there did not report a weakening of their bonding relations and those who moved to a new place of residence formed new bonding relationships with the Roma families already living there.

Those who moved further away from the segregate reported a weakening of their bonding relationships without exception and they were able to build new bonding relationships only in very small proportions. The above is confirmed by the fact that almost half of the interviewees who had not moved mentioned that they would not want to move far away from the community.

In addition to the majority of those who moved, those who stayed also reported a weakening of bonding social capital. The demolition further increased conflict, leaving the community even more fragmented. In addition, families with better chances of social mobility were the first to move out of the segregate, thanks to their settled residential status, stable jobs, and more extensive bridging and linking social capital. Thus, among those who stayed, there was a predominance of residents with some kind of problem (unresolved housing, extreme poverty, mental illness, addiction).

5. *thesis: The families living in segregates have little bridging social capital, but where this is present, there is an opportunity for system integration and access to external resources, but at the same time the weakening of the bonding social capital also appears.*

The present research also confirms that families living in segregated conditions have very little bridging social capital (typical of only 3-4 families), mainly due to the distance along the ethnic fault line. Ethnic stigmatization extends to the world of work, but also to housing. “...Roma are not welcome to rent out flats. Even if you have money, they look at you and say it's full.” (ÚM3) A further consequence of stigmatisation is a loss of self-esteem and a sense of shame among the Roma population, which can lead to isolation and resistance to the majority society. A clear statement by those concerned is that the majority society “lumps Gypsies together”. At the same time, they also note that Roma are indeed characterized by different behaviour resulting from different culture, which also makes it difficult to build bridging relationships.

In addition, it can be said that bridging social capital can play a very important role in social mobility and system integration of families living in segregated conditions. This type of capital was present in only a few families (although it was noted that this cannot be clearly interpreted as bridging social capital), also in the case of the Patron Network, the lives of the families concerned were affected by these bridging relationships between social classes.

Bridging social capital is created primarily in socially integrated spaces. In addition to access to “more tangible” help and external resources (financial assistance, information transfer, filling in different forms, assistance in official matters, referral to a legal workplace), the people affected also attached great importance to help with mental well-being. The most important of these was an increase in self-esteem. It can also be said that with the growth of bridging social capital, a feeling of discrimination and separation from others also appears (with the exception of patron relations). The way they speak, behave and even dress changes

(approaching middle-class norms) as a result of these relationships, according to the people concerned. The question arises as to whether we can talk about social integration (i.e., the juxtaposition of system integration and social integration) or just assimilation.

There is also a change in behaviour with respect to the time horizon of planning, which is gradually shifting from the present orientation toward longer-term planning for those whose bridging social capital began to thrive. The important role of relationships across social classes is that they mediate and enable mutual understanding between representatives of different social classes. It is worth noting that all these positive effects were also associated with the Patron Network, however, my results suggest that the operation of the network did not result in a weakening of bonding social capital.

6. *thesis: Moving into integrated residential environments is likely to lead to an increase in bridging social capital only for families who have already had such ties. Almost only in their case do all the benefits that decision-makers expect in connection with mixing-policy appear.*

After the move, two families gained significant bridging social capital. Both families moved into socially heterogeneous living environments which, in part, contributed to the increase in their bridging social capital. These relationships acted as a real resource. These were important material resources, in terms of job opportunities, school camps, social assistance, educational programmes and courses. Relationships were established in integrated spaces or with their middle-class neighbours. The other part of the resources was non-material - their self-esteem increased, their communication skills improved, and they became more confident in navigating formal institutions.

The desegregation process thus provided them with a real opportunity for system integration, increased social cohesion, social mobility and access to external resources, i.e. the benefits that are often argued for in mixing policy by policy-makers and those who see it as an effective strategy.

However, it is important to note that, on the one hand, very few families were affected, and on the other hand, these families already had bridging relationships, most of which were interrupted when they moved, but they did not have difficulty to building new ones in their new, socially heterogeneous residential environment. At the same time, of course, it gave them the opportunity to live in better housing conditions and to move away from the problems and negative patterns that characterised the segregate. In connection with this, it can be said that

although the move helped to some extent to establish these relationships and to generate positive results, it was more due to their personal competences (good communication skills, lifestyle more adapted to the majority society), which they already had before the desegregation process started.

7. *thesis: The typically structural inadequacies of the functioning of the institutional system play a role in the distrust of formal institutions and in the establishment of an alternative institutional system – sometimes different from the majority social norms – in the life of the segregated community.*

There is a fundamental mistrust associated with institutions, which, based on my research, is primarily a structural problem. This can originate from the treatment of the segregate (and the families living there) as a frontier, such as the patronising style of officials, police excesses, irrationally high fines or the deliberate disregard of certain conflicts and problems.

This also includes the characteristics of the institutional structure and rules that fundamentally hinder the formation of relationships of trust and through this the development of linking social capital (for example: frequent personnel exchanges in the family support service, fear that the social worker may initiate the removal of the child from the family).

In response, the community set up alternative institutions (organising childcare, usury, vigilantism, illegal work, housing agency network, etc.). These are often accompanied by illegal activities that further widen the gap between the community and the institutions.

8. *thesis: The development of linking social capital in the present situation, i.e. with the structural inadequacy of the institutional system, is much more due to the personal competences of the institutional representatives than to the institutional conditions. Where linking social capital emerges, the institutional side is often forced to practically step outside the boundaries of institutional protocol.*

In terms of linking social capital, affected people associated real help primarily with the person (gateway to available resources) rather than with institutions. Beyond individuals, the institution either did not appear, or if so, usually in a negative context, as a hindrance. It is also striking that the first factor mentioned by the families concerned was not closely related to the job, nor was it access to material resources, but the importance of the "human word" was the most frequently mentioned in all these contexts. This is a very important resource, especially

for the self-esteem of the people involved and for the trust that develops between the different social classes.

Both the anomalies of the institutional system and the personal boundaries were struggled with by those institutional representatives who managed to build up an effective linking social capital (which in this case meant that they were mentioned by name, as positive examples) with the families in Cs. sor with whom they had come into contact. These good relationships require going beyond the institutional framework, deviating from the institutional protocol (e.g. involving own resources, loose management of administration), showing commitment, intuition and emotion and managing them well (closely linked to the personnel as well as the workplace culture, which is also a consequence of personal competences). Other important factors include an open mindset, acceptance of difference, and respect for gentle, incremental achievements and a mission to mediate between different social classes.

9. thesis: Decision-makers do not consciously build on the potential of linking social capital in an organised way in the context of the anti-segregation process.

The people affected considered the institutional assistance necessary, however, they felt that they did not receive it. There was a great lack of information, the framework conditions of the process were not clear to them (for example, the level of compensation, legal conditions and options, often the exact date of the demolition was not known) which made them feel vulnerable and they experienced that they were just drifting with the tide during the process. This exacerbated the lack of trust in institutions related to demolition in any form. The people working for different institutions who provided some kind of assistance to families (legal advice, relocation) did so outside their job, on a voluntary basis, but this was not considered sufficient by the people concerned. Overall, it can be said that the anti-segregation process is not supported by any kind of assistance or accompanying intervention, conscious facilitation, although the families concerned say that these would be much needed.

My observations on this type of capital suggest that institutional staff in contact with those involved in the desegregation process – 'street level bureaucrats' (May, Winter 2009) – may also play a key role in the quality of the facilitation (if any) of the anti-segregation process. Where these people have greater "room for manoeuvre", they can develop a stronger sense of trust, show the "human face" of institutions and policies (Lipsky 1969), and, where appropriate, have the opportunity to alleviate structural anomalies. However, where the presence and room for manoeuvre of institutional representatives is more limited and/or strongly regulated (for

example in the case of the police), this trust is less likely to develop, and resistance becomes more dominant.

Thus, it can be seen that appropriate facilitation, supportive and accompanying interventions can play an extremely important role in an anti-segregation process. A very important part of this is the linking social capital and the mutual understanding, acceptance and trust associated with it.

10. thesis: The strengths of bridging and bonding social capital influence each other, while the same cannot be said for linking social capital.

My results have shown that the stronger the bonding social capital, the less likely it is that the people affected will be able to form linking social capital, as its restrictive effects act as distancing mechanisms from the majority society. Where bridging social capital strengthened, there was a weakening of bonding social capital. However, this reverse effect is not true for linking social capital. This reverse effect is not true, however, in the case of linking social capital. Although its existence can make a major contribution to both the mobility opportunities and subjective well-being of those concerned, it is not associated with a weakening of bonding social capital. This is probably due to the fact that these contacts are seen as a temporary resource by those involved.

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