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Cultural and Regional Characteristics of Poverty Segregations

(Based on the Examples of Hungarian Peripheral Regions)

Abstract

The process of segregation is a complex problem affecting both developed and developing states; it is influenced by territorial, historical, demographic and economic impacts. To solve this growing problem, we must know how it is influenced by different factors. In this case, we are able to describe the appropriate strategy. This study examines the characteristics of poverty's regional segregation in Baranya county, Hungary. It describes and analyses the regularities and correlations at NUTS 3 level and compares four segregated living spaces in different areas of the county. Our theory postulates that segregation has different bases and different attributions according to geographical localisation. Due to the different and well-chosen research areas, this study is able to highlight these aforementioned regional differences and characteristics. According to the results, we create a standardisation system to form the basis for future studies and strategies. After all of the study analyses, the local conditions are categorised based on the previously established standardisation system. The results of this study can help manage the problems of marginalised social groups and territorial segregation and also create a strategy to handle them.

Keywords: segregation, marginalisation, poverty, employment, Roma population

Introduction

One of the biggest challenges facing modern-day Hungary is to stop the increase in poverty and the marginalisation of those already living in poverty. The increase in the territorial density of those coping with low living standards leads to the segregation of certain areas, which in turn causes a higher rate of depression for more territories. In Hungary, the population's segregation is highly connected to the level of education of people living in these areas, although ethnicity is also an important factor (Szoboszlai 2004). In present-day Hungary, there are 3 million people living in poverty, 1.2 million of whom are facing extreme poverty (Balogh 2012). Several factors are present in South Transdanubia and Baranya, and these contribute to the consolidation of the situation of those living in poverty. In many cases, the disadvantages have been present for generations, as have the unsuccessful interventions; indeed, we have seen this many times, and since regime change is not enough to manage these issues, there is the need for a more complex intervention, aimed at preventing integration.

Baranya county is full of small villages, while the large-scale ethnic and economic social indicators show that the county is one of the worst at a national level. As such, Baranya county is the perfect example of the segregation process. The county revolves around Pécs, which is best described by using Faluvégi's (2004) analysis. Indeed, this analysis shows that only the areas around Pécs and Pécsvárad can be categorised as in development, while the rest of the areas in the county are stagnant, trying to catch up, or falling behind; this results in strong peripheral effects. Due to the county's position in the country, there are both interior and exterior peripheries. Pécs' economy has a great impact on the lives of those living on the periphery. Therefore, redundancies and closures of companies caused by the recent economic crisis have increased the rates of unemployment in the smaller areas near Pécs; indeed, those who once commuted to their workplace are now stuck with the hopelessness of village unemployment. It is also defining to look at the negative migration balance in the county's depressed areas and the natural reproductive balance, which shows the ethnical-territorial differences. Moreover, in the eyes of potential investors these disadvantaged areas are not interesting at all. The infrastructural elements designed to help social integration are, in many cases – especially in the peripheries – underdeveloped.

The industrial structure in the examined county was not able to renew after the mining industry breakdown (which meant that nearly 27,000 people lost their jobs), and per capita industrial production and exports are now the lowest among the Hungarian counties. In parallel with the marginalisation of the industry, the performance of the service sector has simultaneously strengthened and agriculture has decreased. The agriculture-related manufacturing is weaker than the national average, despite the good yields, and only the prominent wine regions may give impetus. As such, the fall back of heavy industry could not be compensated by the appearance of industrial sectors with high added value.

The economic potential of the region is therefore concentrated in Pécs. The region's industrial structure could be characterised by the increase in its share of the mechanical engineering and energy industries, while the light and food industry is relatively stable. These four sectors are not suitable for reinvigorating the region's economy. Small and medium enterprises with weak market abilities represent the organisational system, while the large companies are missing. Traditional economic development techniques have offered no break opportunity.

Pécs is a regional university centre. Its innovation potential, however, is not sufficiently linked to the economy. The active cultural life induces demand in the cultural industry businesses, although this is not enough to revive the economy and to achieve a sustained growth path. The only development chance for the lagging, peripheral regions, is in the form of the regionally integrated, complex programmes.

The goal of this study is to assess the processes that are present in these central and peripheral territories, based on the examples seen in Baranya. According to previous studies, the territorial segregation of those living in poverty is much more visible in certain ethnicities. As such, when choosing the areas for this study, we had to take into consideration the importance of the presence of the Roma community (the biggest ethnicity in the country) in the small villages. Therefore, we designated three study areas, which are divided into four parts: from the central area, Pécs and Komló; from the interior periphery Alsómocsolád, and from the external periphery Siklónagyfalu – their socio-economic and their coherent segregation processes will be our examples.

After reviewing the relevant literature (Anderson 2008; Pacione 1999; Provenzano 2014; Torres, Marques, Ferreira and Bitar 2002; Vincze and

Rat 2013), we can see how much the area and its social structure define the employment rates. Low employment and the factors leading to it are the main indicators of territorial segregation and marginalisation, although they cannot be defined by themselves, as they are the result of the complex system created by socio-economic and sometimes even natural factors. We believe that it is important to analyse these systems and to show how important each of these factors is in this interactive system and the processes can be turned in a positive direction, thus helping the development of the area.

When defining the segregated residential areas, the officially accepted definition is relevant even when it comes to the complex social intervention plans. According to this, a segregated area is a territorially delimited spatial unit within which a minimum of 50% of the economically active resident population have only a primary education. According to the regulations, the whole settlement should be considered segregated if the population does not exceed 2,000 people. However, beyond the official standpoint, it is important to define segregation based on our research. Stating that complex socio-economic processes and the drawbacks coming from their negative effects lead to segregation is somewhat of a basic declaration. Thus, the residence of marginalised (typically, but in our opinion not necessarily low-skilled) groups can be determined as the spatial densification of socio-economic disadvantages. The area's position in the settlement's texture, its infrastructural provision and the negative processes of the social groups living there, cannot be separated from the economic space in which the segregated area has evolved and exists.

Based on the evaluation of social and economic indicators of towns in Baranya, this study will define said areas and the factors that are most influential when it comes to segregation. During this study, we will show the similarities between the different indicators with the help of the county's assessment. We would also like to create a system that enables the standardisation of segregated areas, as this will also help understand the processes of the segregated areas which belong to different standards. During this study we will analyse three different areas, comparing a segregated area from each with the socio-economic characteristics of the town and the area itself. The areas under investigation are: the central area, including Pécs and its periphery, Komlói; from the external periphery Siklónagyfalva, and from the interior periphery Alsómocsolád.

Research methods

During the definition of the risk factors in Baranya's segregation, we partially used secondary analysis, while our source (unless otherwise noted) was the detailed database of the census carried out in 2011 by the Central Statistical Office (KSH). In some cases, during the secondary analysis, the indicators derived from the data make it more precise. The processing was done for each town in Baranya county and the data are displayed through the use of the GIS terrain visualisation software.

In addition to examining the county level processes, we also standardise and assess the segregated areas; this is done by using the questionnaires that form part of the survey conducted in 2010 by the Directorate in Pécs of the Türr István Training and Research Institute.

With regard to Pécs György-telep, we use the data from the City Development Strategy of the City of Pécs and the TÁMOP-5.3.6-11/1-2012-0001 programme's Community Intervention Plan; for Siklónagyfalu, we use the data from the City Council of Siklónagyfalu's TÁMOP-5.3.6-11/1-2012-0011 programme's Community Intervention Plan. In addition to this, for Komló we use the data from the City Council of Komló's Integrated City Development Strategy and the TÁMOP-5.3.6-11/1-2012-0005 programme's Community Intervention Plan.

Our primary sources are questionnaires, which cover either a quarter of the working age population or three quarters of the households in these areas.

The questionnaire survey can be considered a representative source, as we only distribute them to those living in these specific areas. It includes both open and closed questions and helps us paint a picture of the demographic characteristics of the segregated areas' population in the examined areas. We are also able to document their past and present situation, migration, economic and living conditions, social background and future expectations.

In addition to the above, we also question the human resources and social inclusion experts of the integration programmes available in these areas, as well as the mayors of these communities and social workers. It is important to mention that this study only analyses one of the many segregations in each town. As segregation research does not have a notable

past in the county, we can only evaluate the dynamics and changes over time within a relatively small interval (2005-2010).

Results

Summary of the similarities of socio-economic indicators in light of the territorial appearance of segregation

During the study, special attention is paid to defining and relating to one another the factors that lead to the birth of segregations on a town level. The question is: how many of these territorial or socio-economic factors are present in the towns where segregation is present? Indeed, as the Baranya county segregation rate is approximately one in every five towns (20.2%), we analyse the lower and upper quintile thresholds for each factor (depending on which one is negative from a socio-economic point of view) to identify whether or not segregation is present.

Table 1. Possible factors of formation of segregations

Indicator	Lower/upper quintile threshold	Rate of towns with segregation
Roma community	17% (upper)	40%
Aging indicator	62% (lower)	42%
Employment rate	38% (lower)	38%
Comfort rate	64% (lower)	42%
Maintenance indicator	3.74% (upper)	38%
Rate of those who only finished the first eight grades of school	53% (lower)	42%
Number of businesses	8% (lower)	32%

Source: KSH (2011).

In terms of the four most defining factors, the first two are the rate of Roma communities in a town, and the aging indicator – which shows a close, almost 50% correlation with those who consider themselves Roma and belong to the upper quintile; in addition to this are the rate of comfort and the rate of those who finished at least the first eight grades of school (Table 1). 73% of the towns that belong to a quintile of these categories show

segregation. Even if we also take into consideration the employment rate and maintenance indicators, we still find that segregation is present in 69% of these towns. The biggest emphasis is on the education, or as we can say in this case, non-education indicator. Almost half of the towns belonging to the quintile show segregation. Education also has a close relationship with employment. In the lower quintile, the overlap is 70%. Businesses tend to avoid the territories with a lower education indicator; in the sixty towns with the least number of businesses, the rate of those that only finished the first eight grades of school was in the worst quintile. If we compare the towns that belong to the worst 20% of all of these rates, we find seven towns, five of which have segregation (Siklónagyfalu, Kisvaszar, Gerényes, Gilvánfa and Cserdi). The rates are in close relation to each other; no matter how we combine them, we always get a segregation rate of above 50%.

These relations can be combined statistically and are also the logical consequence of each other. The towns with low comfort conditions have lower prices, especially if they are on the peripheries. Cheap housing options attract Roma people, whose households are bigger, while the higher number of children decreases the aging indicator. The more substantial number of households creates a low employment rate, due to obsolete professions, lack of motivation and lack of businesses that would hire these people. The chance of changing the situation is very slight; people do not leave their living areas, and thus they enter the process of segregation, which – unless territorial isolation is very strong – can spread to the whole community and create a ghetto town.

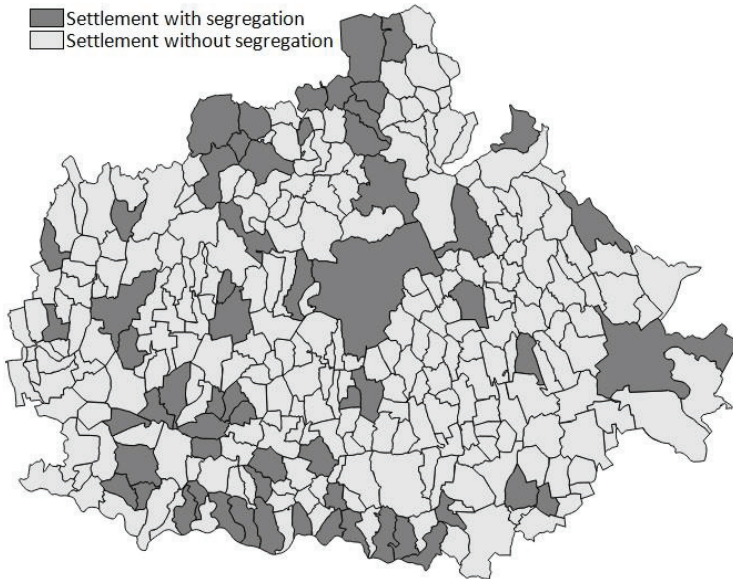
In light of the above, we must note the number of inhabitants in each town. This is because, in 85% of the cases, segregation is present in towns with a population of less than 1500. The distances from the central town and the territory's infrastructural supplies are also important factors. Peripheries are at higher risk, which is proven by the fact that 60% of towns in Baranya that have segregation are on the county or country border or are neighbours of a town which is on these borders.

In light of this, we can see the density of which factors lead to the segregation of poverty; therefore, managing these factors can stop or even reverse or prevent the segregation of marginalised communities and can increase their chances of integration and of becoming a useful member of society.

Territorial position of segregations

During the studies, we considered towns with segregation; indeed, these segregation towns were discovered by using a survey conducted in 2010 by the Directorate in Pécs of the Türr István Training and Research Institute (TKKI PI). Based on the results, in Baranya, 20% of towns (sixty-one towns) have areas with segregation (Figure 1), in total ninety-seven. The main characteristics of towns with segregation are a position on the peripheries and a low number of inhabitants; indeed, 77% of them have a population of less than 1000.

Figure 1. Towns with segregation in Baranya county



Source: TKKI PI (2010).

On average, there are 45-75 people living in 15-25 buildings in these towns. These living areas and communities are, in many cases, an important part of the town and there is no territorial segregation. Only 23% of segregated areas are physically separated from the town and are located outside of the village or city borders, thus meaning that their situation could predestine them to become marginalised.

The main characteristic of these areas is a low supply of utilities; in more than half of the segregated areas, there is no water network and those living here have to carry their own water supplies from one of the drinking fountains. However, the segregated areas are not separated from the towns; in most cases (47%) they are on the peripheries of the town, although 29% of them are in the centre. Transportation to these areas – due to the territorial separation rate – is not a problem, as two thirds of them have asphalt roads leading to the segregated areas and continued within. Most of these areas have street lights and in the case of almost half of them, more than 50% of their inhabitants have access to clean drinking water.

Possibilities for the standardisation of segregation in Baranya

The official definition of segregation is a segregated area in a town with less than 2000 inhabitants, in which case the entire town is to be considered segregated. However, based on the above results, this definition should be more precise. The formation of a segregation as a special form of territorial separation – as it is not only the segregation of poverty but also a social, economic segregation etc. – is the result of social processes (and their consequence). With this said however, we cannot consider them a final result which describes the entire administrative area. The appearance of segregation in a town is the result of negative processes and the beginning of a new, more dangerous process, which can mean that the town – regardless of its size – becomes a ghetto. Therefore, segregation is the territorial result of social inequalities and can be standardized. When creating the categories, we also take into consideration the possible dangers and effects of the examples we have seen in Baranya.

Classification based on the territorial position of segregated areas

In the case of the territorial positions of segregated areas, we take into account the role it plays in the town's morphology. Based on this, there are semi-central, peripheral and exterior segregated areas.

With regard to the *central and semi-central* segregated areas (such as Komló – Kazinczy street, Gilvánfa, Kővágószőlős), the space occupied by the marginalized inhabitants is easily accessible and definable, and has good

infrastructural and utility supplies. Due to its central position, transportation is not an issue; it always has asphalt roads and street lights. It is a large space and typically (63%) includes more than 25 buildings. Those living here are in connection with the rest of the inhabitants, which is dangerous but also represents a good opportunity, as their socialisation can be of a higher level. With this said however, their mentality can be carried on to their environment, which may in turn lead to disadvantages.

Peripheral segregated areas are on the edges of towns and their inhabitants are often moved there to be near some agricultural or industrial activities (e.g. Pécs – György telep) or are being transferred from homes that are in a bad condition (e.g. Ág). In half of these, we can see a lack of infrastructure; there are no modern roads or water networks, while in one fifth of them there are no street lights and they are farther from utilities. There are often geographic factors separating them from the towns, such as valleys, hills (e.g. Alsómocsolád, Ág, Kisvaszar).

Segregated areas that belong to the third type are those that exist *outside of the town's borders* (e.g. Drávaszabolcs, Matty, Magyarbóly). Many times, these are buildings used for agricultural activities, grasslands, and barns (e.g. Dencsháza). There is no direct relationship with the town; indeed, due to their isolation, the segregation does not show a growing tendency. Their infrastructure is poor; one fourth of them have no drinking fountains, while in another one fourth of the households, less than 50% have a water network. They are far from schools and the doctors (at least 2km). In these cases, the only solution is complete liquidation.

It is very important to mention whether these segregated areas are *open* or *closed*. An open segregated area refers to those streets which are – due to their central position – crossed by at least another street and the buildings and lands in this area are not neighbours with those of the segregated area. In the case of closed segregated areas, the area is not connected to its environment; those going there arrive with a purpose, and there is no transit traffic. Any kind of openness in a segregated area is a danger and an opportunity all at the same time. It can affect the population of the neighbouring territory (its demography, composition and structure etc.), real estate prices, formation of businesses, and other social-economic characteristics.

Classification based on the size of the segregated areas

The size of the segregated areas defines how great the chance is for their conditions to be spread onto the neighbouring, non-marginalised areas. A region's depreciation, a fall in real estate prices, and the disrepair of communal areas, houses and buildings oust the more qualified inhabitants and attract those with a lower prestige. If more than one street (or more than 10 buildings) is segregated, the segregation can be considered large and its influence can spread to the neighbouring streets. The impact of this mostly depends on the openness or closedness of the segregated areas.

Classification based on the type of town

One of the most obvious ways to classify the segregated areas is by the type of town they belong to. Based on this, we can mention city and village segregated areas. To define the possibilities of a *village segregated area* (e.g. Szalánta, Siklósnagyfalu, Piskó) it is important to look at the advantages and disadvantages that come from the village's territorial position. It is more difficult to handle the segregated area of a village that is on a peripheral territory than that of a village near a city or a county capital (e.g. Birján, Görcsöny). Thanks to certain programmes which came into effect as of 2014, one of the conditions for obtaining tender resources is that the candidate town creates a local equality plan. These programmes contribute to the self-awareness of towns and help them define their direction. The fate of a village's segregated areas is closely related with the socio-economic changes of the village and also with the number of inhabitants and their age and ethnicity rates. If the town is far from the city, is isolated and falling behind with a young age rate, the main issue is the spreading of the segregation of poverty and the chance that the town will become a ghetto.

For a *city environment*, the formation of segregated areas mainly happens on the peripheries, in the buffer zone of industrial and living areas (e.g. near railways – the segregated area of Pécs – Vágóhíd, living areas that once belonged to industrial workers, such as Pécs István-akna, Hősök tere and surroundings). These areas are home to people who, in many cases, have been unemployed for generations and have low qualifications. There is hardly any relationship between those living in the segregated areas and the inhabitants

of the city's higher quality areas, thus meaning that their socialisation is underdeveloped. If there is some relationship between the two, it often leads to conflict. The only solution would be to create complex programmes aimed at helping these segregated people to integrate on both a geographic and social level.

Classification based on the town's situation

When looking at territorial position, it is very important where the town is in the county's structure. There are three areas: *central*, *buffer zone* and *periphery*. Based on the county's tendencies, the farther we are from the central area, the higher the chance that a segregated area is formed and that its density peaks are on the peripheries (e.g. Baranya's southern part near the Drava river). This helps us define the dynamics of the socio-economic processes in each town, which indicates the probability of the formation of a segregated area.

Territorial differences in Baranya's segregated areas

Characteristics of central segregated areas

Pécs – György-telep

For the inhabitants of György-telep, integration is only possible if they move away from the area; although the segregated area is on an aesthetically attractive territory, due to its peripheral position and lack of utilities, it cannot be organised and there is no real and sustainable possibility to create a utility network. Therefore, in order to integrate, they either have to move or the living area has to be developed in such a way that motivates the inhabitants. When it comes to moving, first we have to decrease the inhabitants' "local patriotism". This is due to the findings of the survey, namely that 79% of those questioned have lived there for an average of 30 years. Those arriving from a different town – in every case the reason is that they moved because of their families – have lived there for an average of 10 years. With regard to the refurbishment of the houses, in order to obtain sustainable results, it is not enough to simply reform the living environment;

indeed, to maintain it, the population needs an income or financial support, which can only be reached if we improve the unqualified working age of inhabitants. The programme created for this – TÁMOP-5.3.6 Complex living space – has had some positive results; indeed, it has helped train 33 people, with 13 of them becoming qualified trained masons and painters, 12 of them becoming cleaning technology workers with OKJ accreditation, and 8 becoming forest farmers and chainsaw operators, also with OKJ accreditation. During the training, these people receive technical instruction in a work environment, following which they become public employees. The goal of the programme is not only to give the locals a profession: during their practical training the cleaning technology operators clean several public buildings in the Eastern part of town, while mason-painters carry out the painting and mould exemption of 10 houses in the area and refurbish the stairs leading to the area, including its railing. Forest farmers and chainsaw operators uproot the bushes, clean the drainage, and work on the public area near Komlói út. The purpose of these works is also to change the image of the area's inhabitants and to decrease conflicts. The programme ends in November 2014 and only future studies can tell whether or not it has been successful; however, the inhabitants seem motivated to hold down jobs and gain new knowledge. One of the dangers is that the impact of these programmes is not enough for the inhabitants to reach their goals and that segregation of the area may continue. An unsuccessful programme would destroy the faith that remains in the inhabitants and would push them into complete hopelessness, which means that all of the earlier results would disappear. In this case, the opportunities for young inhabitants to get out of the area would disappear and there would probably be substantial uncontrollable damage (Table 2).

Table 2. György-telep's SWOT analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
Great number of workers eager to be motivated and formed into a workforce	No positive examples for children
Young and formable inhabitants	High rate of permanently unemployed people
Integration into a workers' world has started	Workforce with low qualifications
One third of the population has a new profession	Peripheral position
There are and there will be development programmes	Inhabitants are not yet ready to step into the primary job market
Low discrimination rate	Low income
Low house maintenance prices	Households with a high number of people
Existent base of infrastructure	Uncomfortable houses
Attractive natural environment	Conflicts with the inhabitants of neighbouring areas
	Lack of service system
Opportunities	Threats
The inhabitants included in the programme can enter the job market as a result of their socialisation and the development of their competences	Employment programmes stop, inhabitants cannot find jobs, demotivation increases
The appreciation of inhabitants increases	More severe conflicts
Improving living conditions motivate inhabitants and help maintain their results	The quality of houses is becoming worse, their condition is not maintained after refurbishment
The growing generation sees the positive example and can exit their marginalised existence	The integration process is stopped, programmes end
Projects continue, previous experiences result in even more successful programmes	Opportunities disappear for the young generation, and they no longer have motivation

Source: own research.

Komló – Kenderföld and Kazinczy street

Unlike the county capital, most of the inhabitants in debt here (52%) owe more than half their yearly income. 80% of those most in debt live in their own rented apartments and probably have higher expenses than those living in municipal housing.

Low incomes are mostly a result of unemployment, caused by a lack of job opportunities. Indeed, a great number of those participating in the survey have worked abroad, for businesses in Pécs or as janitors in the city.

Therefore, in Komló we cannot see one of the characteristics of the segregated area in Pécs; the inhabitants are not isolated from the working world.

They have become unemployed as a result of an economic event, with one-third of them losing their jobs after redundancies or because the business closed; others have had to leave their jobs due to personal reasons – this mostly means moving or having children. Only 10% of them have made the voluntary decision to quit.

In light of this, it is clear that obtaining a job is an important part of the inhabitants' lives, which can be seen in their migration habits. The population of György-telep in Pécs have lived there for an average of 26 years, while the same number for the population of this area is 19 years. 38% of the inhabitants have spent their childhoods elsewhere and three quarters of them lived somewhere else before moving to Komló. In terms of the motivational factors we can, again, cite personal reasons and the following of job opportunities. The central position of Komlós' segregated area and the fact that its inhabitants are members of city life and society are contributing factors to this migration propensity. Moreover, although they live in a smaller town than Pécs, the flow of information reaches them more, and many of them are planning to leave the country. One-fifth of those questioned are thinking about this. On average, they are 28 years old, with a high school education; they come from a household with a low income, even compared with other households in the segregated area, and they expect solutions to their problems from everyone else but themselves.

The main problem is lack of job opportunities and low income. Unlike the case of Pécs, due to the central position, the segregated population do not physically sense isolation, with this being the case in only 4% of cases. Despite properties that are in a better condition and more supplies, 10% of them feel that their living conditions are an issue. As a result of the ongoing integration programme in the area, 52 people have received an accredited or OKJ profession and 9 of them have also obtained jobs (the details of this programme have already been alluded to). Thanks to programmes like this, the inhabitants' self-esteem grows, and they have better chances of finding a job and increasing their income; refurbishments can be maintained, and they start to want a cultured central living area, as well as infrastructure facilities.

Table 3. Kenderföld and Kazinczy street's SWOT analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
Central position, physical and social relationship with those outside of the segregated area	High number of unqualified people
Due to the programmes in the area, a part of the population could find a profession	Lack of job opportunities and investors
Infrasructure facilities	Extensive ghetto area with high unemployment
High number of formable young inhabitants	High number of families have significant debts
Inhabitants want to work	Low income
Mobility propensity	High number of young inhabitants with an intention to migrate
No significant discrimination	
Opportunities	Threats
As a result of programmes aiming to rehabilitate the area, the marginalised population becomes heterogenised	The inhabitants who move are replaced by an unqualified population, segregation spreads and becomes homogenised
The integration process accelerates, investments prove to be sustainable	Job opportunities do not increase, the population becomes unmotivated
Young inhabitants see the opportunities and become more motivated, with many obtaining higher qualifications	Due to poverty and demotivation, inhabitants neglect their environment, and the results of investments disappear
Due to the high number of free workers, investors arrive in the area	Young people leave – the area becomes old
Professions obtained during the integration programmes are useful and the standard of living improves	

Source: own research.

The mobility propensity we can see in the segregated area gives us an opportunity to move the families so that new inhabitants can arrive with a higher education; this also means that the population will become heterogenised and integration will increase. Positive examples can contribute to the improvement of the large-scale young population's behaviour, who could have a bigger appetite for studies and could find jobs in accordance with the changing labour demand in the area. In order to achieve this, we need the help of the city council to tempt investors with great offers and to improve local businesses. In a worst case scenario, the disadvantages of the area will dominate. Due to the change in inhabitants' poverty, marginalisation will grow. In this case, the successes of already existing programmes will disappear and the area will fall back into hopelessness (Table 3).

*Characteristics of interior peripheral segregated areas –
Alsómocsolád*

In the case of Alsómocsolád's segregated area, there is a new and surprising result (unlike two city areas): there is no debt. Only a quarter of households have a utility or bank debt and in one case they owe funds to a private person (although this amount is not significant, i.e. it is less than one month's salary of the person in debt). It may well be the case that this contributes to the fact that 40% of segregated inhabitants say they have no issues. Those who do have a list of problems say that they include low income and lack of job opportunities. This behaviour contributes to their lack of spending; indeed, when we examine their expenses, we barely see anything but bills and food. In the case of the older generation, we also see medicine expenses.

Table 4. SWOT analysis of the segregated area in Alsómocsolád

Strengths	Weaknesses
The dissolution of segregation starts in the form of employment and integration programmes	The majority of the population is aging
The number of youths is low in the poorest areas	Low-skilled workforce
Already existent infrastructure facilities	High number of uncomfortable houses
Low discrimination, the majority of the population is conforming	The presence of segregation is embedded in the minds of the majority of the population
More satisfied community	Peripheral position
Low or non-existent debts	
Good employment rates	
Opportunities	Threats
As a result of the DDOP-4.1.2/B-2012 public work and Start work programmes, employment grows and the living area improves	A low-skilled population arrives, segregation grows, positive results disappear
Successful integration as a result of the programmes	Rejection in the village due to the subsidies aiming to help the integration programmes
The area becomes attractive for the town's non-segregated population	Employment opportunities disappear, the population's work socialisation decreases
As a result of employment, the inhabitants' living conditions improve, and the results of the programmes become sustainable	Aging in the village and the segregated area means that marginalised inhabitants move into the depopulated houses
Due to territorial integration, new families move in, and segregation disappears	

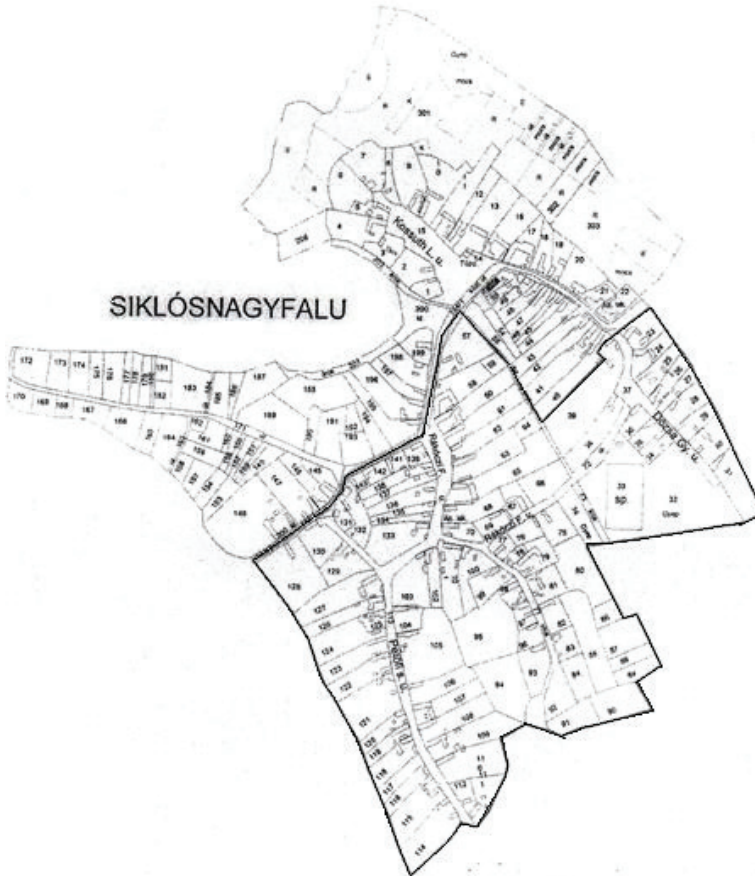
Source: own research.

With regard to the characteristics of the segregated area in Alsómocsolád, both the inhabitants' livelihood opportunities and employment – which are greatly helped by the town's public employment programme – are better than in the city areas. Their household conditions fall behind the segregated areas in Pécs and especially Komló; however, the inhabitants do not complain about this, and are actually more satisfied than usual. They are low-skilled and live on the village's periphery, both socially and physically; however, there are no significant conflicts. Due to the ongoing employment programmes and the planned DDOP programme, the area's integration can increase. Based on the plans, two of the segregated areas' houses will be demolished; the families that live there will be moved to the village centre, social rental houses will be created, and the plan also includes the creation of communal facilities that attract the village's population to the area. These inhabitants and the area get closer to the village, meaning that territorial and social integration can take place. If the programmes are not carried out as planned and developments do not happen, there is a danger that segregation will become stronger, as a result of the older population's dominance – in the case of not only the segregated area but the village as well – and the danger of population exchange. It is extremely important that we prevent this, as the village experienced a similar thing 50 years ago when the wealthy Swabian population was replaced by the lower prestige Hungarian population with a worse economic situation. By and large, there are positive processes and we have a good reason to believe that segregation will disappear once the programmes end (Table 4).

Characteristics of exterior peripheral segregated areas – Siklónagyfalu

Officially, the entire town is segregated, although in this study we only analyse the area marker as segregated by TÁMOP-5.3.6-11/1-2012-0011 Complex territory programme (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Segregated area in Siklósnagyfalu (marked with the thick line)



Source: Community Intervention plan of TÁMOP-5.3.6-11/1-2012-0011.

Based on the classification system, the biggest problems turn out to be low income, unemployment and lack of job opportunities. Living conditions are barely mentioned despite their bad state, which means that inhabitants are used to this standard and consider it usual. In terms of a new substantial factor we may well see discrimination, which is not seen in high numbers in other segregated areas. Rejection does not come from the town, but from the population of surrounding villages and cities. Since the rate of the Romany population is higher in Southern Baranya, I believe that the majority of people living here blame them for the (real or perceived) problems and

feel that they are discriminated against. However, negative indicators are similar in villages with less Romany inhabitants, thus meaning it is incorrect to say that a higher number of Romany people leads to a social or economic disadvantage.

Table 5. SWOT analysis of the nr 1 segregated area in Siklónagyfalu

Strengths	Weaknesses
Good quality soil	Peripheral position
High number of formable workers	Bad financial situation
Inhabitants are open to work and study	Low-skilled society
Built based on infrastructure	Bad living conditions
Work is part of the population's everyday life due to public employment and the Start work programme	Rejection of the high number of Romany people
Ongoing programmes are improving the population	Lack of job opportunities
High number of young inhabitants	
Opportunities	Threats
Social and small gardens can be created as a result of agricultural activities	The continuity of programmes is interrupted
Production can create profit and useful farming for the community	Segregation grows
With the increase of young inhabitants' education, human resources are improved, which can lead to employment	Members of the young, more educated population leave the area and are replaced by low-skilled inhabitants
The positive example of work is carried over to the currently unemployed, and the ir characters evolve	Growing discrimination
Due to the knowledge gained from programmes, a social cooperative can be created	

Source: own research.

One of the main problems of the town is the low level of human resources. Since most inhabitants only have a primary education (not more than 8 grades), it is especially important that we improve this group. There are and were related programmes in the area. However, these will only be successful if those involved can be employed or can become public employees in order to continue their integration into the working world. A high number of the population is young, meaning that they can be formed and trained to work.

Ongoing programmes also involve agricultural and construction studies. This kind of knowledge can not only be useful when it comes to finding a job, but also during everyday life. It also provides a chance to create social cooperatives and through them employment, thus meaning that, in addition to growing goods, they can also get an income. Useful knowledge also increases the thirst for knowledge and thanks to positive examples an increasing number of people are becoming active, which could decrease negative discrimination towards the Romany community. Programmes planned for the future, such as TIOP-3.2.3, can contribute to the improvement of the inhabitants' living conditions, the growth of their self-esteem, and to the retention of the improved, more qualified population. The continuity of projects is indispensable since if they are interrupted, the sense of disappointment and abandonment of the population can eliminate the results of the previous positive processes and can lead to increased segregation (Table 5).

Summary of the characteristics of segregated areas in different territories

In the case of Pécs, we see a segregated area in a central territory, which is on the periphery of the city; with several streets and more than ten houses, it is a closed unit. The territory is separated naturally from the city environment, which softens the negative impacts. The data of the studied indicators is very different from the data of the entire city. The rate of young inhabitants is more than three times that of the city's, which means that households are 1.5 times bigger than the Pécs average. However, there are less working age people, employment is lower, and there is a high number of inhabitants who only have basic education. Members of the Romany community represent the majority of the population.

The studied area in Komló is a great example of a central, open segregated area. The area is large and has a close relationship and interaction with the surrounding areas. This relationship is also present in the data describing the segregated population, as the numbers are closer to each other than in the case of peripheral areas. The difference between inhabitants aged under 15 and working age people is less than in György-telep. The population is more skilled, although the employment rate is lower. The size of households is the same as in the segregated area in Pécs.

In Alsómocsolád, we can see the segregated area of a village from the interior periphery; the area is closed and on the outskirts. Just like the area in Pécs, this segregated area is also naturally separated from the village. Some of the indicators show a bigger difference while some of the show a smaller difference between the segregated area and the entire village. The rate of those under 15 is lower in the segregated area than in Alsómocsolád (this is very uncharacteristic of segregated areas), although the rate of unemployed inhabitants is higher. The number of those who only finished a maximum of eight grades in school is much higher than the already above average rate in Alsómocsolád.

Siklónagyfalú is on the exterior periphery and is a special example of, as the entire village is, officially speaking, a segregated area. However, we study only the major part of the village, the so-called number 1 segregated area. From this point of view, the segregated area is a central and large open unit. Based on this, we can see an interaction between the village and the segregated area; indeed, in this special case, it is the segregated area that defines the village's indicators. Therefore, it is not surprising that the values are close.

During analysis of the previous residence of the segregated area's inhabitants, we can see territorial differences. In the case of Pécs, the majority of the population have lived there for generations, and have no intention of leaving; new inhabitants do not move there. In the case of the peripheries, there is more mobility, and many new people arrive in the segregated area. Although all of these people come from the same category, there is no pervasion between exterior and interior peripheries (Table 6).

During the analysis of the similarities between segregated areas, we can see that, in the cases of both György-telep and Alsómocsolád, there is a natural boundary between the area and the town, while the society's demography is also very different from the average. Due to the closedness, the self-definition of inhabitants is different from that of the majority of society; indeed, this strengthens the overall image, categorises the population of segregated areas, and leads to greater tension than in the case of an open segregated area. Those who are physically integrated do not face the rejection of their environment or this rejection is not too significant. We can also see that territorial isolation makes an otherwise city-based segregated area seem like a village and makes it more rural. Public work is not good enough and the conditions of the houses are bad, just like in the case of a village-based segregated area.

Table 6. The main features of the studied segregations

Territory	Central area				Interior periphery		Exterior periphery	
	Pécs		Komló		Alsómocsolád		Siklónagyfalu	
Category	Town	Segr.	Town	Segr.	Town	Segr.	Town	Segr.
Aged under 15	12,7	43	18,7	29	10,2	6	26,9	27
Working age	69,3	52	68	67	62,3	81	68,2	66
Employment	55,5	47	51,2	38	60,8	46	18,7	52
Max. basic	21	61	30	48	48	66	64	57
Size of household	2,15	3,16	2,15	3,14	2,43	2,9	2,37	3,6
Household's income (thousand Ft)	na.	100	na.	109	na.	135	na.	136
Rate of those in debt	na.	73	na.	59	na.	33	na.	46
Rate of Romany people	2	68,4	5	31,7	2	27,7	75	55,2
Main problems*	na.	1, 2, 3	na.	2,1, 4	na.	1, 2, 5	na.	1, 4, 2

* Meaning of numbers: 1. Low income; 2. Lack of job opportunities; 3. Isolation; 4. Unemployment; 5. Living conditions

Town data are based on the census of 2011 or indicators derived from it.

Source: KSH 2011.

We can also see a correlation in the rate of debt of the segregated area's population. In the cities, the debt rate is higher than in the villages, although here there are more people who owe money to a private person. In a central segregated area – if it is open – the inhabitants relate more to the majority of society and try to imitate the lifestyle of those who are in a better financial situation, which can lead to secret debts.

With regard to employment, the worst segregated area is that of Komló, although it would not be ideal to draw any conclusions because of this as in all cases the highest rate of jobs belongs to public employment. These types of jobs are, without question, necessary in order to reintegrate a population comprising low-skilled workers who have been unemployed or barely working for a long time. Although there is no other way to lead them back to a working life, we should not consider this programme a goal. Public employment

salaries are higher than unemployment support, although they do not provide people with security or a higher standard of living; moreover, temporary contracts that last only a few months do not give them the opportunity to plan ahead or save money. I believe that public employment should have a behaviour and character forming role. In this way, the inhabitants of the area can hope that in the case of a new business opening, they will be able to train in a profession and obtain a real job.

The problems of the population are not related to territories – these problems are: low income, lack of job opportunities, isolation, etc. The average income of an average household is almost 1.5 times higher in Alsómocsolád than in Pécs. Their income is the highest in the studied territory of Siklónagyfalu, although here households are also bigger than in the rest of the analysed areas; as such, if we take this into consideration, the funds available to them are less. As for expenses, food and bills are the most important, regardless of territory, although in the city there are other expenditures, such as travel, clothing and others. Those living on the periphery do not spend money on anything like this; they only travel if it is absolutely necessary. It is also for this reason that they are more isolated and have less information about their environment and the world. This becomes obvious if we compare the rate of those planning to migrate from a physically integrated segregated area with the same rate of those from a village segregated area.

The rate of Romany people is high everywhere, although it is the highest in Pécs' segregated area. The reason for this can be found in the past, as Romany people were moved here from outside of the city. During our study, we cannot see apparent disadvantages from the rates of those who consider themselves Romany and those who do not. The presence of this community mostly impacts the age indicator; it creates a younger age structure. This by itself is not a disadvantage, but parents do not have sufficient funds to maintain their children's welfare, thus meaning that child poverty can grow with increases of the Romany community in the area. This problem is most characteristic in the Southern part of the county, and thus it cannot be seen in the case of Alsómocsolád's segregated area. The rate of Romany inhabitants – based on what I have seen – depends on the openness of the segregated area and its position within the town. There are less Romany people in an open, central segregated area than in a peripheral one. This does not mean that the number of Romany people is lower, but instead indicates

the emergence of assimilation and consciousness belonging to mainstream society. Inhabitants here consider themselves more Hungarian than Romany, which is not necessarily caused by a fear of discrimination; indeed, those who discriminate Romany people do not care about their self-definition.

Conclusions

Due to Baranya county's peripheral position, the fact that it has many small villages and an above average Romany population, some social groups can become marginalised. Indeed, as a result of the territorial density and intensity of the indicators affecting this, they can also become physically separated from society, thus creating a segregated area. These segregated areas are the physical results of the accumulation of disadvantages and can spread depending on their relationship with their environment, how open their structures are, and how much influence they have on the dynamic of their environment's socio-economic changes.

The emergence of segregated areas in Baranya is a process impacted by many factors, none of which can be mentioned as the main one. The regime change has resulted in a structural shift and masses have found themselves looking for jobs; many of them – especially the coal miners – have not received adequate help or support. The groups that have all of a sudden become unemployed have entered a new life situation, as in their previous years' work was a natural element of their lives. Many of them were unable to find new positions; they could not find a competent profession, and as a result, the market economy was not interested in them. They either left – opening the way for new inhabitants who were also on the peripheries of society – or they stayed in the county capital in their low comfort houses, which were already physically isolated. Indeed, when these houses were built, all that mattered was that they were close to their workplaces, so they were near the mines.

In addition to the isolated position of the residence, other risk factors of segregation are low ageing indicator, high rate of Romany population, the comfort of homes, the education level of inhabitants, and the rate and quality of employment. The characteristics of segregated areas vary from territory to territory, although their populations have the same problems. Based on territorial, social and economic factors, an antisegregation

programme should manage these factors jointly; symptomatic help is not enough. Ongoing employment programmes can be considered a good first step, although we have to realise that segregation cannot be resolved by increasing the inhabitants' income – which, although on the increase, is still below average – and without increasing their standard of living. At the same time, public employment is indispensable, as it is nearly impossible for people who are strangers to work or who are separated from society and social norms, to get a job on the primary market. This programme gives them a chance to return to normal life.

By reforming public employment, we could achieve durable and extremely efficient results. Public employment should focus on the job market; workers could work for real companies with a wage discount or their public employment salary could be funded by the current method, and there would be no financial burden for the employers. In this way, they could gain real and value-creating experience. The analysis of this method could be the subject of a future study.

The resolution of segregation could be achieved by physical change, by demolishing the segregation, and by integrating its population with the help of social programmes. There have been positive examples and attempts in several towns in Baranya. Indeed, in terms of a continuation of this study, we could follow up on these projects, and describe and analyse their effects. It is also important to prepare a detailed and up-to-date segregation survey while simultaneously creating a public database that could help follow the results of the many programmes funded by Hungary and the European Union in a short amount of time. This would contribute greatly to refining the programmes and adapting them to the specific territory.

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