

# Urban Social Capital

## Civil Society and City Life

Joseph D. Lewandowski and Gregory W. Streich,  
The University of Central Missouri, USA

This volume presents a kaleidoscopic view of the norms and forms of contemporary city life, focusing especially on the processes of social capital (de)formation in the urban milieu. It brings together studies from highly diverse urban settings, such as squatter re-settlement projects in Kathmandu, urban funeral societies in Africa, an HIV/AIDS community in Los Angeles, the poor of Harare, pensioners in Shanghai, Maori gangs in Auckland, and a Roma boxing club in Prague, among others. Contributors draw on contemporary theory and research in social capital, political economy, urban planning and policy, social movements, civil society and democracy to explore how social norms, networks, connections and ties are created, deployed—and often frayed—under conditions of social complexity, inequality, cultural pluralism, and the ethno-racial diversity and division characteristic of urban contexts throughout the world. In this way, the volume engages in a genuinely globalized—and globalizing—discussion of contemporary urban social life, and stands as a unique and timely interdisciplinary contribution to the ever-expanding literature devoted to social capital.

*This is a book that adds major insights to our understanding of how social capital is constituted and transformed in the city. This in-depth and cross-cultural examination gives us unexpected findings about the diverse contradictions of urban social capital.*

Saskia Sassen, Columbia University, USA


*Comprised of very interesting and original papers on dimensions of social capital in cities across the globe, from Kathmandu to Baltimore, Los Angeles to Shanghai, this volume makes a strong case that public policy must focus on constructing spaces that enhance cross-group interactions as well as improving income inequality and construct integrative spaces as quickly as possible. It discusses both positive and negative aspects of urban social capital using a variety of disciplinary lenses and approaches, and contains an innovative use of both qualitative and quantitative data. The collection represents the next step in rigorous application of the concept of social capital in cities.*

Amrita Danier, University of Toronto, Canada

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With a foreword by Eric M. Uslaner

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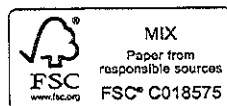
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The design encourages human interaction by keeping houses close to each other and by encouraging residents to gather on front porches, in nearby parks, and on open plazas. The movement's central organization, The Congress of the New Urbanism, issued a charter in 1996, clarifying its main goals: "neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice" (Congress of the New Urbanism 2011).

Although studies are mixed (Sander 2002, Jennings 2004), some evidence suggests that new urbanism neighborhoods have the potential to successfully achieve community goals (Kim 2000, Eppli and Tu 1999). Joongsub Kim conducted a study comparing Kentlands (a well-known "new urbanist" community) with a nearby conventional suburban development. He discovered that "Kentlands appears to fulfill some aspects of the New Urbanist promise. ... Kentlands residents' responses to the open-ended survey questions reveal a higher level of attachment to their community" (2000: 55).

Even critics of smart growth and new urbanism approaches are encouraged by the movement's core ideas, but warn that community planners should pursue projects in open collaboration with existing residents and must be sensitive to the issues of race, class, and power dynamics that have historically plagued that community (Jennings 2004). If pursued correctly and carefully, new urbanism has potential to boost bridging social capital in American cities. New urbanism and "smart growth" policies seek to minimize economic segregation, both by developing communities with housing options at different price points and by minimizing the geographic sprawl that can segregate economic and racial groups. If indeed new urbanism is able to fulfill this goal of economic diversity and simultaneously build civic community (through walk-ability, shared public spaces, boosting access to public resources, etc.), the movement could indeed build connections between isolated community groups and even possibly curb the growth of economic stratification.

In summary, economic inequality has been growing rapidly over the past several decades, with wealth accumulating at the top. Concerned with this trend, scholars have been exploring potential consequences of rising inequality for social and city life. This chapter explores the connection between economic inequality and community involvement and is unique in that it makes clear distinctions between bridging and bonding community ties, both in terms of theory and measurement. Findings suggest that income inequality is much more harmful to bridging social ties than bonding social ties. This is concerning, given that economic stratification is incredibly high in America's urban and metropolitan areas and has experienced considerable upward momentum over the past several decades. Because cross-cutting social ties are essential for a highly functional democracy, these issues are urgent and require considerable attention.

## Chapter 2

# Social Capital, Social Exclusion and Rehabilitation Policy in the Hungarian Urban Context

Katalin Füzér and Judit Monostori

The dazzling success of social capital both in social science academia<sup>1</sup> and in the policy world<sup>2</sup> was followed by a wave of criticism. In the former context, the concept of social capital was criticized for its under-theorized background and for grasping too much in explaining a wide variety of social phenomena, such as health conditions, educational attainment, success on the labor market, quality of life, government performance, and, of course, economic development (Portes 1998: 1, 8). In the practical world of development policies, social capital received criticism for the way in which it was treated as a panacea for all social problems (Woolcock 2000).

Much of this criticism is well-founded, for the standard theory of social capital puts the thrust of its emphasis on distinguishing its approach from that of social network analysis, and in doing so relies on three established concepts of sociological theory: trust, networks, and social norms. The problem is that it handles these sociological concepts in the theoretical and, especially, in the empirical dimension, rather casually. In the policy world, on the other hand, we see

1 Halpern nicely charts the steady rise of academic articles on social capital between 1984 and 2003 (2005: 9). While the late 1980s were marked by the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James Coleman (1988), the major contributions in the 1990s came from Robert Putnam (1993a, 1995, 2000, 2003) and Francis Fukuyama (1995).

2 Beside international development agencies such as the OECD (2001) or the World Bank (see two recent volumes that illustrate its commitment to taking social capital seriously, *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective and Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Multidisciplinary Tool for Practitioners*, as well as its task force on social capital, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20193068~menuPK:418218~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015,00.html> [accessed: 1/11/2010], several countries' national development policies have relied on social capital, such as the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland. In the US, Robert Putnam initiated a nationwide social capital development strategy in the form of the Saguro Seminar (<http://www.saguroseminar.org> [accessed: 1/11/2010]) as well as several concrete projects.

that the development of social capital is considered to be a relatively inexpensive solution for complex problems such as poverty or economic backwardness.

In response to criticisms, one of the most promising developments in the theory of social capital has been the introduction of distinctions among three types of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking (Woolcock 2001: 13–14, Field 2003: 42–43, Halpern 2005: 26–31). This has allowed for a reconnection to the sociological theories that stand in the background of social capital and made possible a more complex and robust re-theorization of how trust, networks, and social norms intertwine in the three forms of social capital. This development gives new impetus to empirical research and, as we shall argue in this chapter, should by all means be integrated into urban policy instruments, where such distinctions have been all but missing.<sup>3</sup>

Empirical research on social capital that takes note of the various forms of social capital has been expanded recently by a body of data that provides a hitherto unavailable perspective on how social capital's various forms are connected with social inequalities. The data base called EU-SILC (Statistics on Living and Income Conditions) gathered by Eurostat since 2005 is designed primarily to assess the trends of social exclusion but is also the prime data base for studying social inequalities in European societies.<sup>4</sup> The thematic module for the year 2006 added to the regular questionnaire<sup>5</sup> was supposed to cover "social participation" by including questions on "participation in cultural events" and "integration with relatives, friends, and neighbors" as well as "formal and informal participation" in activities of civil society.<sup>6</sup> This was a great opportunity for the Department of

3 One important exception is Gittel and Vidal (1998): their analysis of community development corporations mentions the bonding-bridging distinction (ignoring linking social capital) but does not really rely on it as part of its conceptual apparatus applied to the program's evaluation.

4 Regulation (EC) Nr. 1177/2003 of the European Parliament and of the Council. The survey replaces former household panel surveys of the EU. Data for EU-SILC, as all other data processed by Eurostat, is provided by the national statistical services of the member states.

5 European Commission Regulation No 13/2005 of 6 January 2005.

6 The list includes participation in informal voluntary activities, activities in political parties, trade unions, professional associations, churches or other religious organizations, recreational groups, charitable organizations. As to the understanding of these activities as part of civil society it should be noted that in the Hungarian context, the contemporary political language of civil society carries the legacy of Socialism and excludes from the sphere of civil society anything that has a connection to the state, especially to the political parties, and expects civil activities to address public interest matters and not to be confined to particular interests. The concept of civil society was introduced (via Poland) into Hungarian political discourse in the 1970s by opposition intellectuals in their efforts to counter the Socialist regime: the opposition of the whole of civil society against the oppressive state was largely a fiction (in contrast to Poland where large sections of society were actually organized by a cooperating network of trade unions, the Catholic Church and opposition groups of intellectuals) but this critical semantic layer remained nevertheless effective even

Sociology of the University of Pécs and the Department of Social Statistics of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office to run a joint survey in the segregating district of Pécs East on an 8 percent random sample of households (N=533) with the personal and household questionnaires of EU-SILC 2006. This survey usefully supplemented research conducted by a research group of the Department of Sociology in the district the year before (in 2005) that concentrated specifically on measuring social capital in the district's four crisis neighborhoods.<sup>7</sup> In 2005, we applied the majority of the tools developed by the social statisticians of the United Nation's Siena Group, a task force of the UN's Statistical Division.<sup>8</sup> Our 2005 questionnaire was essentially an adaptation to local circumstances of the Siena questionnaire and, for the sake of comparability, some sections of it were also included in our 2006 survey to supplement the EU-SILC tools for measuring social networks and social participation, i.e. social capital.

The field work for the research in 2005 and 2006 was carried out in the framework of an Interreg IIIC project, called "Cities against Social Exclusion"

after the regime change of 1989 (Berényi 1999). It is no wonder then that Hungary was a fertile ground for the Neo-Tocquevillian Putnam thesis delivered in the language of civil society: strong civil society makes democracy work (to paraphrase the title of the book where he first formulated the thesis); whereas weak civil society undermines democracy. Not surprisingly, a large body of research on civil society was produced in Hungary, which, however, has not really been able to address the complexity of perils of political life in the new democracy. (As Tocqueville would surely argue, against contemporary Neo-Tocquevillians, such an analysis should cover political institutions as well.) Thus in the Hungarian context one is well-advised to be cautious with the heavily loaded concept of civil society when conducting research and opt rather for the concept of social capital to examine related phenomena. Such a move is all the more called for given that important empirical cases question the validity of both statements of Putnam's thesis. For the first part, cf. Sheri Berman's argument that democracy in the Weimar Republic was under hostile pressure from large sections of a strong civil society and that the National Socialist takeover of power could be accomplished way too smoothly as a consequence (Berman 1997). For the second part, cf. András Kőrösnéyi's concept of stabilizing apathy advanced to explain democratic stability during the 1990s in Hungary (Kőrösnéyi et al. 2009).

7 We adapt the phrase "crisis neighborhood" from the first attempt in Hungarian urban policy to tackle urban social exclusion by complex urban rehabilitation means integrated into a policy instrument called "social urban rehabilitation" introduced in the capital, Budapest in 2005 (Szabó 2007). Social urban rehabilitation policy is designed for crisis neighborhoods where both the deterioration of the physical environment (housing, public spaces and buildings) as well as the concentration of socially excluded groups is the most pronounced.

8 <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/citygroup/sienna.htm>. One of the most important areas of focus for the Siena Group's activities in recent years has been the development of empirical research tools for measuring social capital and the harmonization of the research practice of countries and communities of researchers. As a result of many years of cooperation, the tool that can be considered to be internationally standardized is the survey worked out experimentally by the social statisticians of the Office for National Statistics of the United Kingdom. Cf. <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital>.

(CASE)<sup>9</sup> and the collected data was analyzed in the interest of providing the social science background to the rehabilitation plans for the segregated neighborhoods of Pécs East (Füzér 2007).

Our data set allows for comparison across neighborhood, district, city, national—and potentially EU—levels with a focus on indicators of social exclusion and the associated patterns of social capital's two forms, bonding and bridging social capital.

To begin, however, a short introduction to the empirical terrain of Pécs East is in order. This will be followed by an explanation of the various sources of empirical data for our analysis. The analysis itself will be divided into three main parts. First, findings in several dimensions of social exclusion will be presented, followed by findings in several dimensions of social capital. The role of bonding and bridging social capital will then be examined in the lives of excluded groups residing in the segregated neighborhoods of Pécs East. Finally, we offer a social capital reading of urban rehabilitation policies that aim to help segregated neighborhoods, and argue that such policies have to make social capital an element of their design and be able to take account of the changes they induce in a responsible manner: namely via empirical data on indicators of social exclusion and social capital.

#### Historical Background to the Research Field

The aim of this brief historical account is to explain how Pécs East's prosperous miners' colonies and housing estates came into being, prospered and then deteriorated, turning the area into a segregating district spotted with ghettos of the poor. For the past 150 years, mining has been the formative force that has shaped the district's face. The First Danube Steamship Company, with its headquarters in Vienna, "colonized" the area starting in the middle of the nineteenth century:<sup>10</sup> it acquired the nearby mines and in their vicinity built apartment houses (colonies) which were later organized into complete new neighborhoods equipped with public buildings. Administrative, educational, health, commercial, sports, cultural, religious facilities were maintained by the mining company, which also stood behind the area's major infrastructural developments: public utilities, roads, and a railway line connecting the area to the Danube and its waterway. The thrust of contemporary housing in the district was built in the wake of the extensive development of heavy industry, mining in particular, during the early period of communist rule and the state ownership of the mining company. Modern housing estates were built and public facilities continued to be maintained by the mines until the early 1990s.

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.interreg3c.net/sixcms/detail.php?id=8053&\\_interregbase=nozonenohome](http://www.interreg3c.net/sixcms/detail.php?id=8053&_interregbase=nozonenohome).

<sup>10</sup> On the studies of Zoltán Huszár, whose chief field of research is the history of the mining companies in the coal basin around Pécs (Huszár 2001).

The local society of the district was characterized by strong social cohesion among miners for 150 years in spite of high inward mobility of various ethnic groups from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, interwar Hungary and its detached territories, as well as from abroad during socialism (e.g., Polish miners). Mining always involves a quasi-military milieu due to the dangers associated with conquering natural elements. But strict social control on the one hand and care on the other had also characterized life in the miners' colonies and housing estates of Pécs East. A complex set of institutions guarded the lives of employees and their families from cradle to grave. Strong social integration of the whole district was jilted first when groups of travelling Roma were settled in worn-out residential and other kinds of buildings in some of the more peripheral colonies. Most of these Roma families had at least one member who was employed by the mining company in a low prestige job. Upon the closing of the mines around the early 1990s, segregation accelerated as a result of a two-way spatial mobility: higher status families moved out, lower status families (many of them Roma) moved (or were moved) into the district. Many of those families who stayed in the district lost their connection to the labor market as the massive lay-offs affected primarily jobs with the lowest qualification.

As the mining company left and the municipality was to take charge of the district, people living here had to face the deterioration of infrastructure, lack of renovations, and the spatial concentration of low status households, all of which created a segregating district from a high prestige, dynamically developing urban area. The only exception to this process of deterioration is the increasing appreciation of the location of the district as a residential area: since Pécs East lies in a beautiful green natural environment at the foot of the Mecsek Hills, it has recently attracted middle class families who created small enclaves of (inner) suburbs extending over a few streets of newly built homes. The district on the whole, however, is still to be "digested" by the city, and its integration into the urban fabric continues to be a challenge.

#### Sources of Empirical Data for the Study of Social Exclusion and Social Capital in Pécs East

The contemporary local society of Pécs East preserved traits of its historical past, interwoven with elements of the recent past. The result is a compound society with social groups of divergent backgrounds such as former miners (or their widows), resettled Roma families, middle class residents of inner suburbs, manual workers and self-employed entrepreneurs in the car trade/repair business. Neighborhoods with the most deteriorated housing stock, typically those built by the mining company until the early 1920s, clearly stand apart from the rest of the district, as do the recently built suburban houses of middle class families. The district, in short, is complex, which calls for a differentiated handling of its widely different

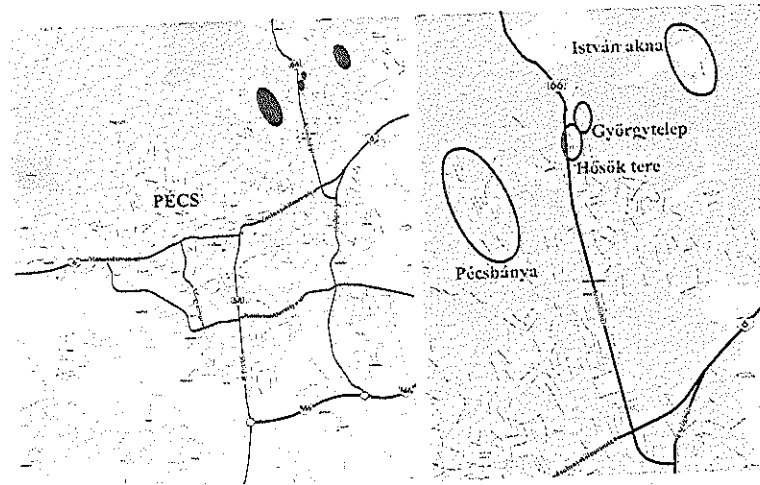


Figure 2.1 The City of Pécs and Pécs East (left); close-up of the crisis neighborhoods of Pécs East: Pécsbánya, Hősök tere, Györgytelep and István-akna (right)

neighborhoods. The University of Pécs research team of CASE<sup>11</sup> selected four of the neighborhoods with deteriorated housing stock and public spaces, deficient public utilities, poor services, and a population composed predominantly of poor households. These four crisis neighborhoods—Pécsbánya, Hősök tere, Györgytelep, and Istvánakna—needed to be supplied with their own data bases so that they could be compared to data bases of the district, the city, and where available, to the country and the EU.

For our current investigations, empirical data is available on the level of the whole country of Hungary (including national data broken down by settlement types<sup>12</sup>), the city of Pécs, the district of Pécs East as well as its crisis neighborhoods. Data is partly available from published sources (such as the 2001 census with its city and some district level data); some had to be bought from the Central Statistical Office in the framework of CASE for the district and its neighborhoods (again, from the 2001 census); and a good part had to be collected in the framework of CASE by surveying the district and its neighborhoods with EU-SILC 2006 and Siena questionnaires. Table 2.1 summarizes availability of data sources and levels of aggregation.

<sup>11</sup> Members of the Department of Urban Studies and the Department of Sociology.

<sup>12</sup> That is, for the capital Budapest, for major cities (county seats), for cities other than the capital or county seats, as well as for villages.

Table 2.1 Availability of data sources and levels of aggregation

	2001 Census	SILC 2006	Siena
<i>Crisis neighborhoods</i>	Yes (unpublished)	No	Yes (UP survey)
<i>Pécs East</i>	Yes (unpublished)	Yes (UP survey)	Yes (UP survey)
<i>Pécs</i>	Yes (published)	No	No
<i>Hungary</i>	Yes (published)	Yes (unpublished)	No

For the purposes of the various aspects of our analysis, the source of empirical data is as follows.

For the analysis of the dimensions and indicators of social exclusion we draw on data from:

- The 2001 census's individual and household questionnaires:
  - Demography (age structure, household composition)
  - Exclusion from acquiring knowledge
  - Labor market
  - Housing
- EU-SILC 2006 individual and household questionnaires:
  - Unemployment
  - Income
  - Deprivation
  - Welfare deficit
  - Ethnicity
- Siena questionnaire:
  - Ethnicity

For the analysis of the two types of social capital and their indicators we draw on data from:

- EU-SILC 2006 and Siena questionnaires for bonding social capital:
  - Social networks of relatives, friends, neighbors
  - Household transfers
  - neighborhood integration
- EU-SILC 2006 and Siena questionnaires for bridging social capital:
  - Generalized trust
  - Social participation

## Dimensions and Indicators of Social Exclusion

## Demography

Census data from 2001 show that the local societies of the crisis areas display demographic processes that are contrary to those found in Hungary, Europe, and the Western world in general. While one of the most critical social pressures on many societies is ageing, the segregated areas are characterized by the predominance of children and youth generations. Crisis neighborhood residents below 40 years of age are not only in majority in comparison to older generations, there are also great differences between these areas and their urban context (Pécs East and the city of Pécs), and the average values for any type of settlement in Hungary with respect to the distribution of people in every age group. Especially significant is the proportion of children below 14 years of age: while their proportion is considerably higher in Pécsbánya (20 percent) and in Hősök tere (25 percent) than in the district or the city, the values of Istvánakna (33 percent) and Györgytelep (49 percent) exceed by far anything encountered elsewhere. Similarly large differences appear with respect to the proportion of the age group above 65. Where the thrust of local societies is composed of the youngest generations, the presence of those above 65 is very low.

These distributions by generations result in extreme values on the composition of households: in the crisis neighborhoods, with the exception of Pécsbánya, households are much more populous than in the city of Pécs or in any type of settlement in Hungary.

Table 2.2 Distribution of population by age groups (percent)

Residential areas	Total	Age groups				
		0-14	15-39	40-64	65-x	
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	896	20.4	35.4	31.7	12.5
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	1,149	25.3	34.3	29.4	11.0
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	71	49.3	28.2	21.1	1.4
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	318	33.3	42.5	20.4	3.8
<i>Pécs East</i>	10,310	16.5	32.5	33.3	17.7	
<i>Pécs total</i>	162,498	14.5	37.7	32.6	15.2	
<i>Budapest</i>	1,777,921	12.8	35.9	33.7	17.6	
<i>County seats</i>	2,033,919	15.4	37.8	33.1	13.6	
<i>Other cities</i>	2,761,040	17.4	35.0	33.5	14.1	
<i>Villages</i>	3,625,435	18.6	33.1	32.7	15.6	
<i>Hungary</i>	10,198,315	16.6	35.0	33.2	15.2	

Source: Census 2001. Calculations by authors.

Table 2.3 Household characteristics (percent)

Residential areas	Total households	Out of which		Members in 100 households	
		Single member	Multi-family		
		Households %			
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	335	25.7	2.7	267.5
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	391	18.2	5.1	294
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	22	36.4	-	323
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	91	13.2	3.3	349
<i>Pécs East</i>	4,136	27.9	3.2	NA	
<i>Pécs total</i>	64,221	29.6	2.4	240	
<i>Budapest</i>	770,083	34.6	1.7	225	
<i>County seats</i>	786,383	27.5	2.3	259	
<i>Other cities</i>	1,011,373	23.2	3.2	266	
<i>Villages</i>	1,294,863	22.9	4.7	277	
<i>Hungary</i>	3,862,702	26.2	3.2	257	

Source: Census 2001. Calculations by authors.

In sum, in contrast to demographic trends of the city and the country, the local societies of Hősök tere and Pécsbánya but especially those of Istvánakna and Györgytelep continue to become younger in their composition, raising serious concerns about their welfare as one of the constant findings of poverty research in Hungary has been the disproportionate poverty of children (Spéder 2002).

## Exclusion from Acquiring Knowledge

The local society of the district of Pécs East is characterized by a low level of education. Locals with secondary school qualifications without a degree or a lower level of education are overrepresented in comparison with the rates for the rest of Pécs or the country as a whole. At the same time the ratio of those with higher degrees is much lower than in Pécs or in the country in general. The pattern of the district's educational level is very similar to that of rural Hungary.

The situation with respect to this dimension of social exclusion is even more severe in the crisis neighborhoods where the thrust of local societies do not have secondary school degrees and, what is worse, where about a third of each have not finished eight grades of elementary school. There are a few locals with higher degrees living in Hősök tere and Pécsbánya (not more than 30 in each neighborhood), whereas this qualification is practically missing in Györgytelep and Istvánakna. Residents of Györgytelep are in the worst situation, as the most educated 18 percent attended secondary school but did



Table 2.4 Distribution of population aged seven and older by highest level of education and training (percent)

Residential areas		Total	Less than eight grades	Eight grades	Secondary School without degree	Secondary school degree	University/college without degree	University/college degree
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	807	24.9	41.5	19.1	11.5	0.4	2.6
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	999	29.4	40.2	20.4	7.2	0.1	2.6
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	56	46.4	35.7	17.9	-	-	-
	<i>Isrvánakna</i>	265	32.1	37.4	26.8	3	-	0.8
<i>Pécs East</i>		9,577	21	34	22.7	16.3	1.2	4.7
<i>Pécs total</i>		152,730	14.8	22.2	19.5	24	5.3	14.3
<i>Budapest</i>		1,681,195	12.8	20.3	14.7	28.8	4.3	19.1
<i>County seats</i>		1,905,706	15.4	21.9	20.4	25.0	3.7	13.5
<i>Other cities</i>		2,562,668	20.6	26.5	23.0	20.1	1.6	8.3
<i>Villages</i>		3,337,618	25.8	31.7	23.1	14.2	0.9	4.3
<i>Hungary</i>		9,487,187	20.0	26.3	21.1	20.5	2.2	9.8

Source: Census 2001. Calculations by authors.

not earn a degree and almost every other local aged seven or older has not even finished elementary school.

These very low levels of education in the crisis neighborhoods tie into disadvantages in labor market positions, the next dimension of social exclusion to be analyzed.

#### *Labor Market, Unemployment*

In comparison with the district of Pécs East or the city of Pécs, the crisis neighborhoods show high proportions of unemployed, inactive and dependant groups. The less educated a neighborhood is, the worse its residents labor market positions are: this is most notably to be seen in the case of Györgytelep, where

the impact of the age structure only partly explains why there are so few people employed. It is obvious that children, who make up about half of the local population, count as dependants. At the same time, however, while those above 65 constitute only 1.4 percent of the population, the proportion of economically inactive is 22.5 percent and there is 8.5 percent unemployed as well. The result of this extremely disadvantageous labor market position on a neighborhood level shows itself in the value of an indicator that probably best describes the extent of exclusion from the labor market among the poor: the distribution of the employed among households. This is a compact indicator that shows both the frequency of participation in the labor market as well as its distribution according to households, the key units of income, consumption and social integration. The value of this indicator is by far the lowest in Györgytelep, and suggests that only in about every other household do we find a person with a job. This indicator is low for the other crisis neighborhoods as well but shows nicely that in spite of notable disadvantages in the dimension of education, the whole district of Pécs East cannot be described as suffering from exclusion from the labor market vis-à-vis the urban society of Pécs. In fact, in terms of the distribution of the employed by households, its position is almost identical to what is typical of Pécs households—which, however, do not themselves have very good labor market positions in the Hungarian urban context, as there are only 93 employed in every 100 households, in contrast to an average of 96–101 in other urban areas.

The high rate of dependants in the crisis neighborhoods raises the challenge of their future integration into the labor market. This is probably one of the greatest potentials as well as dangers of these areas: how the children of today will fare when they come of age. Will they be able to enter the labor market at all? If so, where would they find employment? On its periphery or in one of the jobs that promises secure, long term employment?

The present positions of the young in the labor market are clearly unfavorable: relevant national and district data show that in spite of the shortness of time they have spent in the labor market, about every second young person under 40 has already experienced unemployment. Older generations are in a more favorable position even though they have a much longer employment career—on the other hand, unemployment had been virtually unknown in Hungary until one and a half decades ago, as it appeared with the dismantling of Socialist structures. All in all, it is alarming that such a high rate of those above 40 have already been unemployed (40 percent).

The labor market position of a household greatly determines not only the income but also the social integration of household members. In this sense, jobs are just as crucial as schools in facilitating the embeddedness of families into the social fabric by establishing and maintaining bridge-like connections to people from various social backgrounds. Local societies that have a high concentration of households which have no or only temporary connection to the labor market have to reckon with various further disadvantages, among which income is only the most obvious one.

Table 2.5 Population and households by economic activity (percent)

Residential areas	Total	Out of which				Employed in 100 households	
		Employed	Unemployed	Inactive	Dependant		
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	896	29.7	7.5	34.4	28.5	79
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	1,149	22.9	6.3	36.4	34.5	67
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	71	18.3	8.5	22.5	50.7	59
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	318	24.5	6.3	23.3	45.9	86
<i>Pécs East</i>	10,310	31.9	3.6	38.9	25.6	94	
<i>Pécs total</i>	162,498	37.5	3.2	31.3	28	93	
<i>Budapest</i>	1,777,921	42	2.8	31.3	23.9	96	
<i>County seats</i>	2,033,919	39.6	3.6	28.9	27.9	101	
<i>Other cities</i>	2,761,040	36	4.3	31.7	28	97	
<i>Villages</i>	3,625,435	31.6	4.8	35.5	28.2	88	
<i>Hungary</i>	10,198,315	36.2	4.1	32.4	27.3	94	

Source: Census 2001. Calculations by authors.

Table 2.6 Age groups between 17 and 59 years old by unemployment experience until May 2006 in Pécs East (percent)

Age groups	Has never been unemployed	Has been unemployed
<i>29 and younger</i>	61.4	38.6
<i>Aged 30-39</i>	34.9	65.2
<i>Aged 40-49</i>	54.3	45.7
<i>Aged 50-59</i>	59.8	40.2

Source: University of Pécs (UP), Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

Table 2.7 Age groups between 17 and 59 years old by unemployment experience until April 2005 in Hungary (percent)

Age groups	Experienced unemployment					Total
	Never	Once		Several times	Has been unemployed for unknown period	
		For maximum three months	At least for four months			
<i>29 and younger</i>	55.1	8.3	20.9	12.6	3.2	100.0
<i>Aged 30-39</i>	49.1	7.1	23.9	19.3	0.6	100.0
<i>Aged 40-49</i>	54.0	4.2	23.5	18.0	0.4	100.0
<i>Aged 50-59</i>	62.6	3.7	20.1	13.2	0.4	100.0

Source: Jelenítés (2006: 59).

#### Income

The income situation can first be depicted by classifying households into income classes constructed according to various percentages of the households' median net income. Income classes provide an indicator that defines the poor (or the rich) not along objective or external criteria but according to the majority of a society and explains the situation of those in the most disadvantageous (or advantageous) income positions vis-à-vis this majority (Tóth 2005).

This indicator ranks those households in the worst off income class—i.e. among the poor—whose income is less than 50 percent of the sample's net monthly median household income. In the district of Pécs East, 17 percent of the households belonged to this income class in 2006, as their monthly net income did not exceed approximately 250 EUR. The income of the next class was between 50 and 80 percent of the sample's median income and 20 percent of households belonged to it. Those who earned between 80 and 120 percent of the net income's median made up another 20 percent of all households, while the two classes in the most advantageous positions, earning between 120 and 200 percent, and more than 200 percent, made up 28 and 14 percent of all households, respectively.

In the judgment of respondents, the minimal household income to make ends meet largely equals the actual income of the respondent's household. This makes evident an effect well-known from the literature on subjective poverty: the subjective judgment on one's own income situation depends not so much on whether it is above or below an objective limit, but on one's own previous situation and on the judgment of the most immediate social milieu. The coincidence of the presumed minimal and the actual income is interesting from the point of view that our survey findings show that a third of the households in Pécs East pursue subsistence consumption, which is a much higher rate than the 17 percent

**Table 2.8 Distribution of households according to income groups in Pécs East (percent)**

Income groups		Households
In % of median of household's net monthly income	In currency amounts	
Less than 50	Less than 62.500 Ft	17.1
50-80	62.501-99.999 Ft	20.1
80-120	100.000-149.999 Ft	20.6
120-200	150.000-249.999 Ft	28.0
More than 200	More than 250.000 Ft	14.3

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

found in the national survey (VÉKA 2005: 36). Subsistence consumption means that a household uses at least 80 percent of its income toward housing and food expenses and therefore cannot really spend on anything else or save. Poverty in this sense conveys the notion of exclusion from pursuing objectives due to a lack of resources.

**Table 2.9 The ratio of households with subsistence consumption in Pécs East (percent)**

Ratio of housing and food expenses in % of household's net monthly income	Households
Less than 80: above subsistence consumption	66
More than 80: subsistence consumption	34

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

### Deprivation, Welfare Deficit

While traditional poverty research agendas consider income as the main indicator of poverty, analysts of social exclusion apply a more complex approach to grasp the material situation of households (Hegedűs and Monostori 2005). They acknowledge that the current income position of a household determines the thrust of its material position and sharply defines the group of the poor. However, they maintain that by focusing on various measurable elements of individual and household ways of life, disadvantages accumulating in a longer period of time can also be grasped. The deprivation indicator employs data on housing and

durable goods, while another indicator, the so-called welfare indicator, approaches income deficiencies from a different angle and concentrates on socially accepted, customary or expected elements of a way of life and examines whether households can afford certain consumption or life style elements.

Deprivation indicators of the local society of Pécs East in comparison with national data bear witness to the fact that on the district plane great internal differences are leveled off due to the mixed social composition of the local society. Only two indicators show a comparatively unfavorable position for Pécs East households while the rest of the indicators are similar or even better than those for Hungarian society.

**Table 2.10 Deprivation indicators: deficiencies of housing and durable goods (percent)**

	Hungarian population*	Pécs East**
<i>Lack of bathroom</i>	8.4	4.1
<i>No toilet inside the apartment</i>	9.5	5.8
<i>Lack of washing-machine</i>	3.7	24.6
<i>Lack of refrigerator</i>	1.8	2.1
<i>Lack of telephone line</i>	7.7	32.4

Source: \* Jelentés (2006: 39); \*\* UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

When we move from the district level to those of the neighborhoods, deprivation indicators for housing suddenly come to convey a very different image. Apartments in the crisis areas are small and extremely crowded: in Istvánakna twice as many people live in a single room of an apartment (1.8) than in Pécs (0.9), whereas this figure in Gyöngytelep is almost three times more (2.6) in comparison with Pécs's value.

In terms of welfare deficits, our data sets make it possible to compare the local society of Pécs East to Hungarian society, and, in two ways, to societies of EU member states. Two central indicators grasp the terrains of consumption and life style: the first indicator assesses whether households can afford to eat meat (or an equivalent quality food) every other day; while the second concerns a certain component of households' way of life, namely whether they can afford to travel away for a week of holiday. Pécs East and the Hungarian result are very similar for households that cannot afford these customary welfare items (with values of Pécs East being even slightly better than the Hungarian ones). In contrast, European values are much better for both indicators and only in Portugal and Greece do a comparable proportion of households face the welfare deficit that they cannot afford a holiday. In sum, Pécs East as a whole does not lag behind in a Hungarian context, but Hungarian society viewed from within the European context reveals considerable deficiencies in the life style dimension of social exclusion.

Table 2.11 Deprivation indicators: apartments by size and by residents

Residential areas		Total	Rooms by apartments	Residents by rooms	m <sup>2</sup> per resident
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	333	2.0	1.4	21.0
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	402	1.8	1.6	16.8
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	21	1.3	2.6	12.6
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	92	2.0	1.8	16.5
<i>Pécs East</i>		4,220	2.3	1.1	n.d.
<i>Pécs total</i>		65,562	2.6	0.9	28.2
<i>Budapest</i>		820,977	2.4	0.9	n.d.
<i>County seats</i>		806,748	2.5	1.0	n.d.
<i>Other cities</i>		1,056,905	2.6	1.0	n.d.
<i>Villages</i>		1,380,023	2.7	1.0	n.d.
<i>Hungary</i>		4,064,653	2.6	1.0	n.d.

Source: Census 2001. Calculations by authors.

Table 2.12 Deprivation indicators: public utilities of apartments

Residential areas		Total	Piped water	Sewerage system	Private drain	Piped gas
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	333	98.5	12.9	85.9	36.9
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	402	77.6	13.9	73.9	25.9
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	21	9.5	0.0	9.5	0.0
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	92	100.0	98.9	1.1	0.0
<i>Pécs East</i>		4,220	96.8	61.5	35.7	68.4
<i>Pécs total</i>		65,562	96.7	87.8	10.2	69.6
<i>Budapest</i>		820,977	99.5	91.4	8.2	89.0
<i>County seats</i>		806,748	97.0	84.5	12.7	80.8
<i>Other cities</i>		1,056,905	90.6	53.1	38.0	64.9
<i>Villages</i>		1,380,023	81.6	19.2	62.9	51.3
<i>Hungary</i>		4,064,653	90.6	55.6	35.4	68.3

Source: Census 2001. Calculations by authors.

Table 2.13 Elements of Welfare Deficit Index in Pécs East (percent)

The household can afford to ...	Yes		No
	And they do so	But they do not do so	
Eat meat every other day (in case of vegetarians, the equivalent of meat)	36.8	33.0	30.2
Buy new clothes regularly	20.1	18.0	61.9
Change decrepit furniture	13.9	17.3	68.9
Travel for holiday at least for a week	25.3	13.9	60.8
Save money regularly	37.3	4.1	58.5
Invite friends over for dinner once a month	28.7	18.2	53.1
Dine out in a restaurant with the family once a month	11.4	20.5	68.1
Go out to the movies, theatre, concert or museum once or twice in a month	15.4	20.8	63.8
Give presents to loved ones on the occasion of holidays	90.6	1.5	7.9

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

Table 2.14 Elements of Welfare Deficit Index in Hungarian society (percent)

The household can afford to ...	Yes		No
	And they do so	But they do not do so	
Eat meat every other day (in case of vegetarians, the equivalent of meat)	42.1	25.8	31.9
Buy new clothes regularly	16.9	16.5	66.4
Change decrepit furniture	6.4	12.5	80.9
Travel for holiday at least for a week	23.6	10.2	66.0
Save money regularly	35.9	2.7	61.2
Invite friends over for dinner once a month	24.6	13.5	61.6
Dine out in a restaurant with the family once a month	12.0	14.1	73.7
Go out for to the movies, theatre, concert or museum once or twice in a month	22.0	15.9	61.9
Give presents to loved ones on the occasion of holidays	90.3	1.2	8.4

Source: Jelentés (2006: 42).

**Table 2.15 Two elements of Welfare Deficit Index in member states of the European Union (percent)**

Country	The household cannot afford to ...	
	Eat meat every other day (in case of vegetarians, the equivalent of meat)	Travel for holiday at least for a week
<i>Belgium</i>	5	27
<i>Denmark</i>	2	13
<i>Germany</i>	2	20
<i>Greece</i>	13	52
<i>Spain</i>	2	38
<i>France</i>	2	22
<i>Ireland</i>	3	26
<i>Italy</i>	5	36
<i>Luxemburg</i>	3	13
<i>Netherlands</i>	2	12
<i>Austria</i>	9	24
<i>Portugal</i>	3	61
<i>Finland</i>	3	25
<i>United Kingdom</i>	8	22

Source: EUROSTAT, 2001, 2003. Quoted in Jelentés (2006: 41).

Data on indicators of deprivation and welfare deficits show that aside from households that face subsistence consumption and experience a serious tension between their income and expenses, a good part of households in the district of Pécs East enjoy an advantageous position in terms of way of life—one that reaches and at times surpasses that experienced in Hungarian society on average. These results unambiguously indicate a favorable situation, namely that the local society of the district is mixed: alongside very low status families whose residential areas lock them into geographically small, high concentration neighborhoods (poor ghettos), the presence of middle class families in other neighborhoods of the district is significant, making district averages similar to national ones.

#### *Ethnicity*

In order to determine the ethnic composition of the district of Pécs East and the crisis neighborhoods, three different approaches had to be considered against the background of practice in the field of studying the Roma. There is a well-known

distortion in applying the method of self-declaration, which otherwise is the least disputed approach applied to determining "who is Roma." This was the method used in the 2001 census,<sup>13</sup> in which a mere 190,000 people declared themselves to be of Roma origin. In contrast, a series of studies carried out on the basis of samples estimated the Hungarian Roma society to number a minimum of 500,000 (Kemény et al. 2004). In the course of these investigations researchers used the method of the milieu's judgment, i.e., people in the respondents' immediate surroundings (such as neighbors or social workers) determined "who was Roma." There have been three waves of surveying (in 1971, 1993 and in 2003) confirming these numbers, but applying this method produces a process that is rather complicated, expensive and lengthy. Thus in designing our survey of Pécs East, we relied on the methodology of the recent large scale comparative research of Central and Eastern European Roma societies (Ladányi and Szelényi 2004). This comparative analysis had among its objectives the very testing of methodological alternatives and ended up endorsing the method of classification by interviewers immediately after completing the survey with a respondent.

According to our survey results, there are two types of crisis neighborhoods: while in the local societies of Istvánakna and Györgytelep residents of Roma origin are in a majority, their proportion being around 60 percent, in Hősök tere and Pécsbánya they make up about one third of the local society. In the whole district of Pécs East, people of Roma background make up 16 percent of the local society. Accordingly, the crisis neighborhoods are not characterized by full ethnic segregation, even though the rate of the Roma is much higher in these areas than in the country, the city or in the district.

**Table 2.16 Distribution of population by ethnic background (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
<i>Roma</i>	34.3	33.4	65.0	56.3	15.7
<i>Not Roma</i>	65.7	66.6	35.0	43.7	84.3

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

Although the Hungarian Roma society is disproportionately affected by social disadvantages, making about two thirds of them socially excluded (especially, as Hegedűs and Monostori demonstrate (2005: 79–90), in terms of education,

<sup>13</sup> Although respondents were not obliged to answer questions related to their ethnic background, as such information was judged to be sensitive personal data, still more than 90 percent of them gave answers. Because of this, data on ethnic background can be analyzed as all other census data, cf. [http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04\\_modsz.pdf](http://www.nepszamlalas.hu/hun/kotetek/04/04_modsz.pdf) [accessed: 1/11/2010].

labor market position, income and deprivation, and importantly in terms of spatial segregation), poverty is not wholly ethnicized as only about half of the poor are Roma (Hegedűs and Monostori 2005: 80, 84, 85).

### Two Types and Indicators of Social Capital

By looking at income, deprivation and life style above, we examined social inequalities in a material perspective, and identified the group of the poor with respect to disadvantages in material goods at their disposal. The social phenomenon of segregation we also examined above refers to separation in the physical space of the city and the spatial concentration of the lowest status households into particular neighborhoods—these are the problems studied chiefly by urbanists. From the point of view of social capital, however, positions within physical and social space are equally important. Consequently, the social capital approach puts the emphasis on examining the qualities of social space made up of social networks and norms.

In comparison with other kinds of capital, the chief characteristic of social capital is that it cannot be possessed individually as money or human capital can be: it is a resource of essentially social nature, making possible cooperation among people within and among various groups. According to researchers (Fukuyama 1995, Putnam 2000), increases in the stock of social capital go together with a number of socially favorable changes: better health conditions, improving crime statistics, better school performance, increasing social integration, and improved government performance can be observed in societies with ample social capital. But just how can the presence of social capital be grasped? In the social networks that place people into the web of micro-social solidarity and onto the institutionalized macro-social terrain (Utasi 2002). In short, social capital is about the density of the social fabric, constructed from networks and the connections among networks. Beside networks, the social phenomena belonging to the perspective of social capital are trust (interpersonal and institutional) as well as the field of social norms (along with the questions of deviance and sanctions). These elements intermingle in various ways in the three types of social capital (Halpern 2005).

Bonding social capital is inherent to social networks that build on a high degree of personal trust as well as honesty, reciprocity, and trustworthiness in such relations as among family, relatives, and close friends. Those who do not belong to these networks are closed off from them. Bonding social capital plays a vital role in the lives of all social groups since it is a guarantee of wellbeing, interpreted as realizing various levels of satisfaction with life, as opposed to the material dimension of welfare. In the everyday lives of socially excluded groups, however, bonding social capital assumes great importance as they, by definition, possess a relatively smaller amount of other kinds of capital.

The relations belonging to bridging social capital are predicated upon generalized trust among people, and require a considerable degree of honesty and reciprocity. These relations connect us to people belonging to social groups

other than our own, such as our classmates, acquaintances, or colleagues. Bridging social capital is vital to social integration, and constitutes a resource that supports advancement in individual careers and in terms of household status.

The concept of linking social capital is applied to the relations within the hierarchical structures of society, which connect us to people in positions of influence ("good connections"). In the case of these relations, expectations of honesty and reciprocity do prevail but in very different configurations compared to the two previous types: linking social capital can, for example, thrive in a web of favors that can be interpreted as a system of corruption—a witness to the warning that social capital does not always necessarily have only positive social implications (Field 2003: 71–90, Whitehead 2004, Füzér et al. 2005). It is evident, on the other hand, that in any society linking social capital plays a central role in attaining and retaining advantageous social positions. This type of social capital is predicated upon a mix of trust in the formal, institutional structures of society as well as on trust in informal connections that often overwrite formal hierarchies. Linking social capital was arguably the chief asset in the post-communist transformation process and acted as a catalyst in the redistribution of other forms of capital resulting in the creation of vast social inequalities, one manifestation of which is urban segregation.

The research tools that we had applied in the Siena Social Capital Research of 2005 in Pécs East (Siena 2005) and the SILC Social Exclusion and Social Capital Research of 2006 in Pécs East (SILC 2006) contain a number of indicators for both bonding and bridging social capital which make it possible to convey variation across various levels of aggregation (i.e. in terms of differences among concrete social groups or categories thereof) in a manner that is empirically adequate for social scientists (Atkinson 2002, Berger-Schmitt and Noll 2000, Berger-Schmitt and Jankowitsch 1999) but at the same time is also comprehensible for a lay audience (e.g., in the segregated neighborhoods of Pécs East), among municipal officials, and development or social service professionals.<sup>14</sup>

In order to study the relationship between social exclusion and social capital, we concentrated information contained in the indicators into indexes of bonding and bridging social capital, enabling our analysis to account even for the relationship between the two types of social capital.

Before turning to the indexes, let us present the indicators in the local societies of the crisis neighborhoods, the district of Pécs East and, where available, in Hungarian society, including results by the various type of settlements, i.e., for the capital, Budapest, for major cities (county seats), for cities other than the capital or county seats, as well as for villages.

<sup>14</sup> The research team of CASE in Pécs insisted on making research results available to locals and therefore, instead of a final academic workshop, organized an open meeting for any interested locals where we presented findings and handed out (or subsequently emailed) research reports on indicators to all who attended the meeting.

### Bonding Social Capital

The presence of bonding social capital is to be detected foremost in the various networks of micro-social solidarity, such as relatives, friends, and neighbors. Let us first see indicators that show how extensive these networks are in the crisis neighborhoods, in the district of Pécs East, and for one indicator in Hungary across the urban-rural divide.

**Table 2.17 The number of close relationships to relatives (household totals) in Pécs East (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hösök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
None	2.6	4.7	7.8	3.6	4.9
1-3	15.4	19.8	23.5	18.2	25.7
4-9	42.3	34.0	45.1	29.1	33.8
More than 10	39.7	41.5	23.5	49.1	35.7

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.18 The number of friends (household averages) in Pécs East (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hösök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
None	23.3	13.2	20.5	21.8	16.7
1-2	16.4	15.1	15.9	16.4	11.3
3-10	37.0	49.1	47.7	20.0	43.6
More than 10	23.3	22.6	15.9	41.8	18.5

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.19 The rate of those with no friends in Hungary (percent)**

Type of settlements	No friends
Budapest	11.3
County seats	10.3
Other cities	11.1
Villages	9.4
Hungary	10.4

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

**Table 2.20 The number of close neighbor relationships (household totals) in Pécs East (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hösök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
None	2.5	5.7	17.0	7.4	18.0
1-2	13.9	27.4	34.0	24.1	30.0
More than 3	83.5	67.0	49.1	68.5	51.9

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

Among socially excluded groups, relationships that make up the network of micro-social solidarity are significantly more extensive than in the mixed local society of Pécs East. In the crisis areas, with the expectation of Györgytelep, the rate of households without close relationships to relatives is somewhat lower than in Pécs East, and at the same time the rate of those with extended close connections to relatives is significantly higher. Results are similar with respect to neighbors: with the exception of Györgytelep, the rate of crisis area households that do not have close relationships to neighbors is lower, while the rate of those who keep close contact to more than three neighbors is higher than in Pécs East. In contrast, with respect to friendships, we found that in crisis neighborhoods, slightly more households have no friends than in Pécs East, which—set into a national context—puts the whole district in a very bad position since the rate of those with no friends at all is significantly higher here than in any other urban or rural setting in Hungary. At the same time, the rate of households with an extensive circle of friends is higher in the crisis areas than in Pécs East, again with the exception of Györgytelep.

Györgytelep stands apart from the rest of the crisis neighborhoods from the perspective of the breath of micro-social solidarity networks that is an important element of bonding social capital. Residents here have a narrower network both in terms of relatives, friends, and especially neighbors; in fact, they come very close to Pécs East averages with regard to networks of micro-social solidarity.

This relatively unfavorable position of Györgytelep is also corroborated by results for the next set of bonding social capital indicators, those that measure the intensity of connections in micro-social solidarity networks.

Meeting relatives personally is one of the most important terrains where the socially excluded local societies of the crisis neighborhoods possess a lot of bonding social capital, much more than people in any other urban setting or in the rural areas in Hungary. The rates of those strongly integrated from this perspective is much higher in the crisis neighborhoods than in any other setting, whereas the rates for the excluded are much lower (so much so that in one of the crisis neighborhoods, Pécsbánya, not a single respondent was categorized as excluded!). In the interpretation of these data it is notable that in all of the crisis neighborhoods the rate of those who have relatives living in their own neighborhood is around 50 percent. That is to say, half of the local populations are kin who keep close

relationship among themselves; and, according to our findings, higher rates than that maintain very intensive kinship bonds. Thus we can conclude that these networks traverse the boundaries of the neighborhood.

**Table 2.21 Intensity of meeting relatives personally (percent)**

Residential areas		Strongly integrated	Average integration	Excluded
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	70.4	29.6	0.0
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	80.6	14.8	4.6
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	63.6	27.3	9.1
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	74.1	18.5	7.4
<i>Pécs East</i>		73.5	21.8	4.7
<i>Budapest</i>		45.8	36.0	18.2
<i>County seats</i>		56.6	31.9	11.5
<i>Other cities</i>		57.1	31.1	11.8
<i>Villages</i>		60.9	28.9	10.2
<i>Hungary</i>		56.3	31.4	12.3

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.22 Intensity of contact with relatives (other than meeting) (percent)**

Residential areas		Strongly integrated	Average integration	Excluded
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	79.1	12.3	8.6
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	78.9	11.0	10.1
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	50.9	23.6	25.5
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	61.1	24.1	14.8
<i>Pécs East</i>		70.5	16.1	13.4
<i>Budapest</i>		64.6	26.3	9.1
<i>County seats</i>		68.1	25.4	6.5
<i>Other cities</i>		63.6	28.3	8.1
<i>Villages</i>		65.3	26.9	7.8
<i>Hungary</i>		65.2	26.9	7.9

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.23 The rate of those with relatives in the neighborhood (percent)**

	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	<i>Hősök tere</i>	<i>Györgytelep</i>	<i>Istvánakna</i>
<i>Has relatives in the neighborhood</i>	50.5	50.5	50	50.9

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005.

As to the relatively unfavorable position of Györgytelep, we can presume that the half of the population who are relatives keep close contact with one another but there are no significant extra-neighborhood stocks of bonding social capital among locals here as the rate of those with very intensive bonds to kin surpasses the rate of relatives in the neighborhood by only 13.6 percentage points. We have to note here, however, that rates for Györgytelep are nevertheless more favorable than the rates for any of the urban or the rural settings in Hungary! One of the greatest deficiencies in bonding social capital among Györgytelep locals, then, is arguably the very high rate of those who find it difficult to keep contact with relatives by a media of communication—a quarter of the local population is in this situation. Disadvantages in this dimension of bonding social capital characterize a good portion (almost 15 percent) of locals in Istvánakna as well. These deficiencies are especially significant in national comparison and could be remedied by making affordable means of communication (such as pre-paid cell phones with limited call options) available to locals.

Also indicative of how much bonding social capital is accumulated by the local societies of the crisis neighborhoods are the ways in which, and the extent to which, households can rely on other households to satisfy their everyday needs.

From among transfers between households, support with cash stands out, which is surprising as one would assume cash to be the scarcest resource among socially excluded households. Our results, however, coincide with similar national research findings (Utasi 2002: 150). About half of the households in the crisis neighborhoods receive regular or occasional financial support from other households and, interestingly, the same proportion also helps other households this way. These findings suggest that the poor groups of Pécs East enjoy a relatively high degree of integration into networks of micro-social solidarity. At the same time, regular cash support is given to a somewhat lower rate of households in the crisis areas than in Pécs East.

There are interesting findings in the case of Györgytelep, which, we recall, was in the worst position in terms of the extent of its households micro-social solidarity networks: transfers favored households here more than elsewhere, as households here received more help in cash, child care, in looking after the sick, shopping, and food than in other crisis neighborhoods. Thus households in Györgytelep do not have very extensive networks of relatives, friends and neighbors, but the bonding social capital they have is vital to getting by in everyday life.



Table 2.24 Household transfers: frequency of support received and given in the crisis neighborhoods (percent)

Type of support	Area	Support received			Support received		
		Regularly	Occasionally	Never	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Cash support	Hösök tere	7.2	43.2	49.5	12.6	50.5	36.9
	Györgytelep	3.6	55.4	41.4	3.6	44.6	51.8
	Pécsbánya	6.2	39.5	54.3	12.3	53.1	34.6
	Istvánakna	7.3	40.0	52.7	9.3	40.7	50.0
Household work	Hösök tere	6.3	23.4	70.3	4.5	39.6	55.9
	Györgytelep	7.1	19.6	73.2	8.9	23.2	67.9
	Pécsbánya	9.9	27.2	63.0	8.6	38.3	53.1
	Istvánakna	7.4	22.2	70.4	9.6	21.2	69.2
Child care	Hösök tere	7.6	19.0	73.3	14.4	23.4	62.2
	Györgytelep	17.9	17.9	64.3	5.5	16.4	78.2
	Pécsbánya	9.9	8.6	81.5	12.3	25.9	61.7
	Istvánakna	12.7	25.5	61.8	9.4	5.7	84.9
Looking after the ill	Hösök tere	4.5	20.0	75.5	9.0	25.2	65.8
	Györgytelep	7.1	21.4	71.4	1.3	21.8	76.4
	Pécsbánya	6.2	25.9	67.9	4.9	33.3	61.7
	Istvánakna	7.5	7.5	84.9	5.5	3.6	90.9
Shopping	Hösök tere	13.6	14.5	71.8	6.3	36.9	56.8
	Györgytelep	10.7	33.9	55.4	16.4	21.8	61.8
	Pécsbánya	7.4	25.9	66.7	8.6	40.7	50.6
	Istvánakna	10.9	23.6	65.5	11.1	13.0	75.9
Construction and repair works	Hösök tere	6.3	42.3	51.4	3.6	37.3	59.1
	Györgytelep	7.1	19.6	73.2	8.9	23.2	67.9
	Pécsbánya	4.9	43.2	51.9	4.9	33.3	61.7
	Istvánakna	9.1	14.5	76.4	5.6	11.1	83.3
Helping with errands and giving a lift	Hösök tere	4.5	29.7	65.8	5.5	35.8	58.7
	Györgytelep	3.6	25.0	71.4	5.4	23.2	71.4
	Pécsbánya	11.1	35.8	53.1	6.2	35.8	58.0
	Istvánakna	10.9	18.2	70.9	5.5	16.4	78.2

Table 2.24 continued

Type of support	Area	Support received			Support received		
		Regularly	Occasionally	Never	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Food	Hösök tere	8.3	18.3	73.4	8.3	31.2	60.6
	Györgytelep	5.4	37.5	57.1	3.6	8.9	87.5
	Pécsbánya	8.6	23.5	67.9	6.2	43.2	50.6
	Istvánakna	12.7	21.8	65.5	9.3	11.1	79.6
Other Consumer goods	Hösök tere	3.7	23.1	73.1	5.5	29.4	65.1
	Györgytelep	5.4	32.1	62.5	3.6	10.9	85.5
	Pécsbánya	2.5	19.8	77.8	4.9	34.6	60.5
	Istvánakna	16.4	27.3	56.4	9.3	3.7	87.0

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005.

Table 2.25 Household transfers in cash in Pécs East (without crisis neighborhoods), and Hungary (by type of settlements) (percent)

	Cash received regularly	Cash given regularly
Pécs East	9.2	16.9
Budapest	10.0	12.2
County seats	11.5	13.3
Other cities	9.1	8.7
Villages	7.5	6.7
Hungary	9.2	9.6

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

The next dimension of bonding social capital is the integration of households into the neighborhood. Because we have discussed above one of the most important elements—i.e., the number of close neighbor relationships—we now turn to other indicators that assess the extent to which a household finds a supportive, acceptable environment in its neighborhood and can therefore identify itself with it.

**Table 2.26 Neighborhood integration in Pécs East: subjective assessment of support from neighbors (percent)**

Statements	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
"Neighbors here help each other"	35.0	26.4	18.2	25.4	33.0
"Neighbors here help each other only if trouble is great"	20.0	19.8	18.2	12.7	17.6
"All care only for himself here"	45.0	53.8	63.6	61.8	47.6

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.27 Neighborhood integration in Pécs East: subjective assessment of minimal solidarity from neighbors (percent)**

Statement		Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
"Please imagine that you lose your ID card here in the neighborhood. How likely it is that it would be returned to you if someone from around here were to find it?"	Likely	40.0	19.2	27.8	34.6	51.0
	Not likely	60.0	80.8	72.2	65.4	43.3

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.28 Neighborhood integration in Pécs East: vandalism, crime in the neighborhood (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
Typical of the neighborhood	41.3	18.5	32.7	18.5	74.7
Not typical of the neighborhood	58.8	81.5	67.3	81.5	25.3

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.29 Neighborhood integration in Pécs East: drunk and loud people on the streets (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
Typical of the neighborhood	23.8	7.4	5.6	16.4	62.7
Not typical of the neighborhood	76.2	92.6	94.4	83.6	37.3

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.30 Neighborhood integration in Pécs East: loud neighbors (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
Typical of the neighborhood	51.2	60.0	55.4	41.5	68.3
Not typical of the neighborhood	48.8	40.0	44.6	58.5	31.7

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

**Table 2.31 Neighborhood integration in Pécs East: satisfaction with place of residence (percent)**

	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
Satisfied	42.5	20.0	23.2	31.5	72.1
Not satisfied	57.5	80.0	76.8	68.5	26.4

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

One of the dimensions of neighborhood integration is the subjective judgment of locals on how much they can rely on each other. From this point of view, about half of the residents of Pécs East's neighborhoods expect locals to be supportive, while a third thinks that in their neighborhood people are especially helpful. In contrast, in the local societies of the crisis neighborhoods, with the exception of Pécsbánya, in only about a third of the households do people expect locals to be supportive. At the same time, surprisingly few people expect their lost ID cards to be returned to them: even in the district of Pécs East the rate of distrusting approximates 50 percent and is much higher in the crisis areas. In Istvánakna and Pécsbánya two thirds of households do not expect this minimal solidarity from locals, whereas this rate is already as high as 70–80 percent in Györgytelep and Hősök tere.

The integration of local societies depends to a great extent on how locals perceive the violation of social norms, i.e., deviance: to what degree are such norms present, and, are they characteristic of their neighborhoods. Our findings provide the most intensive contrast between the local society of Pécs East and those of the crisis neighborhoods. While one fourth of households consider vandalism and a third the presence of drunk on the streets to be typical of their neighborhoods in Pécs East, in the crisis areas, with the exception of Pécsbánya, three times more locals consider these forms of deviance to be typical of their neighborhoods.

In close connection with the subjective judgment of locals' solidarity and the deviance typical of the neighborhood, satisfaction with the place of residence is much better in the district as a whole than in the crisis neighborhoods. While almost three fourths of Pécs East households are satisfied with their place of residence, in Györgytelep and Hősök tere only about every fifth household is satisfied; in Istvánakna close to a third and even in Pécsbánya only less than half of all households are satisfied. The main source of the sharp contrast between Pécs East and the crisis neighborhoods, according to our findings, is the deviance locals consider to be present in their neighborhood a remedy for which could greatly improve locals' attachment to their place of residence.

The various indicators of neighborhood integration reviewed thus far present a fairly mixed image of the district and the crisis neighborhoods. By integrating findings into an index, overall comparisons become possible.

In the local society of Pécs East two thirds of the population experiences average integration, while the remaining one third is divided almost equally between those who are strongly and those who are weakly integrated. In contrast, in the crisis areas, with the exception of Pécsbánya, about half of the population is weakly integrated while the rate of those strongly integrated is only 5–10 percent. The local society of Pécsbánya shows a different face when compared to the other crisis areas: instead of half, only one third of the population is weakly integrated,

**Table 2.32** Distribution of households by levels of neighborhood integration in Pécs East (percent)

Levels of neighborhood integration	Pécsbánya	Hősök tere	Györgytelep	Istvánakna	Pécs East
Weakly integrated	33.3	56.8	48.2	50.9	15.0
Average integration	40.7	35.1	48.2	40.0	66.8
Strongly integrated	25.9	8.1	3.6	9.1	18.2

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

while the rate of strongly integrated is about one fourth, which is the highest rate in the whole district of Pécs East.

In sum, we find that crisis neighborhoods provide the social context for a considerable amount of bonding social capital, especially regarding strong bonds among relatives, friends, and in one neighborhood, Pécsbánya, also among neighbors. From a different perspective, indicators show that certain assets of bonding social capital (e.g., kinship bonds as well as transfers among households) play a role in the lives of socially excluded groups that surpasses the significance of this type of capital for the rest of society (i.e., for more well-off social groups).

#### *Bridging Social Capital*

The *sine qua non* of bridging social capital is generalized trust (Sztompka 1999, Seligman 1997, Misztal 1996, Giddens 1990) which serves as the background to bridge-like (and, for the most part) voluntary relationships that are much less tight than bonding networks but still realize a high level of honesty and reciprocity. In the absence of trust, people would not form associations to achieve their aims or just to spend their free time together—all group activity presumes that members can rely on one another to some extent.

Generalized trust is thus a crucial factor, but its measurement has been carried out on a poorly operationalized basis for decades in important surveys such as the World Values Survey or the European Values Survey. In the interest of comparability, we attempted to measure generalized trust in the usual way and asked our respondents to select the statement on trust that they agreed with: "Most people can be trusted"; "It depends on the people/ situation whether people can be trusted"; "People cannot be trusted, one cannot be too careful."

**Table 2.33** Generalized trust in Pécs East and Europe (percent)

Area	People in general can be trusted
Pécsbánya	11.1
Hősök tere	4.6
Györgytelep	3.8
Istvánakna	3.6
Pécs East	9.6
Hungary	22.0
Romania	10.0
Denmark	67.0
EU average	31.0

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and European Values Survey 2004 (quoted in Körösnéyi 2009).

Data show that, compared to the Hungarian and the European averages (the latter leveling out great differences within the EU), generalized trust in the crisis areas is very low. Pécsbánya is an exception inasmuch as here almost every tenth person agreed that people in general could be trusted, which is twice the rate measured in the other three crisis neighborhoods. In the whole district of Pécs East, generalized trust is present to an extent that approximates that measured in Pécsbánya: 9.6 percent of respondents stated that people in general could be trusted.

The most tangible manifestation of bridging social capital is the system of group activities that provides connections among various social strata and stretches over tighter relationships. Such group activities feature more or less organization and continuity, and include civil organizations, various community or group activities (such as participation at religious ceremonies, collective sporting and team games, collective excursions, gatherings of those who have the same hobby, etc.), and various forms of interest representation and political activity (membership, demonstrations, campaign work, etc.).

Looking merely at indicators for the local society of Pécs East, it would be tempting to say that very few people took part in organized group activities since the rate of the most frequent activity of this sort, religious activity, was only slightly above 10 percent. In some form of group activity outside the confines of organizations, however, about one fourth of the local society participated. In order to be able to interpret these findings, comparing them to indicators from various urban settings as well as the rural Hungarian milieu is called for. When allowing indicators "to speak for themselves" in this context, we notice a sharp divide between two types of crisis neighborhoods on the one hand, and Pécs East or any other Hungarian social setting on the other hand. In one set of neighborhoods, namely in Györgytelep and Istvánakna, the local society is wholly passive, in sharp contrast to the district of Pécs East where half of the population engages bridging social capital in their civil society activities. The district's civil agility is very pronounced in comparison to data from other social settings where slightly more than 20 percent are active to any extent and the rate of those who are strongly integrated into civil society does not exceed 10 percent, in contrast to an almost one fourth (23.9 percent) of the local society in the district of Pécs East. The indicator for the more active set of crisis neighborhoods, Pécsbánya and Hősök tere, shows that there is a functioning civil society in these neighborhoods (social participation here is more intensive than nationally, although it lags behind the intensity of activity in the district)—a factor that can play a crucial role in realizing any plan that is aimed at reducing segregation.

Table 2.34 Rate of social participation in the district of Pécs East (percent)

Group activities/membership	Rate of participation
Political party	4.1
Trade union	5.8
Professional association	4.5
Religious group	10.1
Interest group	8.3
Sports club	7.1
Hobby and leisure group	8.4
Charity or welfare organization	4.9
Environmental group	3.8
Other group activity (such as excursion, rooting for a sports team)	24.4

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, SILC 2006.

Table 2.35 Intensity of social participation in Pécs East and Hungary  
(by settlement types) (percent)

Residential Areas	Strongly integrated	Average integration	Excluded
Crisis neighborhoods	Pécsbánya	11.1	63.0
	Hősök tere	9.1	70.9
	Györgytelep	0	100.0
	Istvánakna	0	100.0
Pécs East	23.9	25.8	50.4
Budapest	8.6	13.2	78.2
County seats	8.7	12.6	78.6
Other cities	6.9	10.7	82.4
Villages	8.7	14.4	76.9
Hungary	8.1	12.7	79.1

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

### The Indexes of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

After evaluating the indicators of bonding and bridging social capital, let us examine how these elements can be reduced into two indexes.

Table 2.36 Social capital in the four crisis neighborhoods (percent)

Residential areas		Bonding	Bridging	Bonding and bridging in % of Pécs East (100%)	
				Bonding	Bridging
Crisis neighborhoods	<i>Pécsbánya</i>	51.6	22.2	91.8	120.2
	<i>Hősök tere</i>	52.1	16.5	92.6	89.3
	<i>Györgytelep</i>	44.2	15.7	78.6	85.0
	<i>Istvánakna</i>	49.0	13.6	87.2	73.4
Crisis area average		51.3	17.4	91.2	93.9
<i>Pécs East</i>		56.2	18.5	-	-

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

The index of bonding social capital was compiled from the following elements: 1) networks (relatives, friends, neighbors); 2) household transfers; and 3) neighborhood integration. The index of bridging social capital was compiled from generalized trust and social participation, i.e., group activities. We can make a comparison among the crisis neighborhoods and with the district by the index whose value is a percentage of the index's maximum value.<sup>15</sup>

Györgytelep and Istvánakna are in the worst position in terms of the concentration of both types of social capital. In comparison to the mixed local society of Pécs East, both the bonding and the bridging social capital indexes are significantly lower in these two neighborhoods. The indexes for the local societies of Hősök tere and Pécsbánya suggest that the strength of their micro-social solidarity network, as well as the web of their bridge-like relationships, approximate those of the Pécs East, or even exceed it, as in the case of Pécsbánya's bridging social capital index.

### The Role of Social Capital in Social Exclusion

In order to explore the problem of the role of social capital in social exclusion, we must examine the concentration of two types of social capital in various status groups of society.

Against the background of the foregoing investigations into social exclusion, including its effects on income positions and way of life, we were interested in how the concentration of the two types of social capital relate to two previously

<sup>15</sup> The index could not be calculated for the national level as certain basic variables were not available on that level of aggregation.

Table 2.37 Indexes of bonding and bridging social capital by income classes in Pécs East

Income classes, in % of median of household's net monthly income	Bonding	Bridging
	Social capital index	
<i>Less than 50</i>	88	80
<i>50-79</i>	95	92
<i>80-119</i>	101	96
<i>120-199</i>	104	116
<i>More than 200</i>	111	116

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

Table 2.38 Indexes of bonding and bridging social capital by welfare groups in Pécs East

Welfare groups	Bonding	Bridging
	Social capital index	
<i>Extreme deficits</i>	81	84
<i>Strong deficits</i>	96	88
<i>Average deficits</i>	107	104
<i>Weak deficits</i>	109	120
<i>No welfare deficit</i>	112	128

Source: UP, Department of Sociology, Siena social capital research 2005 and SILC 2006.

discussed dimensions of social inequalities, namely, income classes and welfare groups created on the basis of welfare deficit indicators.

The data nicely illustrate how the concentration of bonding and bridging social capital tends to increase as we scale up in social status. Thus social capital seems to be distributed among the large social groups in a way similar to other types of capital, namely in a traditional hierarchical manner: those in better positions possess more of this capital, while those in disadvantageous positions possess less of it.

However, bonding social capital is of greater importance than bridging social capital in the lives of socially excluded groups, and the connection clearly reverses in case of groups with higher status. The differences suggest, on the one hand, the indispensable role of tight networks in supporting survival and getting by in

everyday life among the excluded,<sup>16</sup> and indicate, on the other hand, the role of loose connections in getting ahead in the lives of better positioned social groups.

Any urban policy designed specifically for crisis neighborhoods has to recognize the importance of bonding social capital in the lives of excluded groups and must not induce changes that would weaken these networks, as this would diminish or even eliminate one of the few resources at the disposal of segregated groups. At the same time, urban rehabilitation measures could have far-reaching effects in the lives of crisis neighborhood communities if programs are devised for strengthening their bridging and linking social capital<sup>17</sup> by which local societies would be enabled to improve their own situation. However, the development and implementation of urban rehabilitation policy is a complex process with varying implications for social capital. With the above research results in mind, let us turn to the practical world of urban development policy making and implementation to see what role social capital plays in the course of this process and its outcomes.

#### Urban Rehabilitation Policies: Making and Breaking Social Capital in Segregated Neighborhoods

Physically deteriorated urban neighborhoods that concentrate socially excluded groups become the targets of urban rehabilitation policy in one way or another. It makes a great difference how policies influence the infrastructural as well as social dimension of life in crisis neighborhoods. There are three models through which we can conceptualize how urban rehabilitation policies are developed, implemented, and how they affect the social capital of the urban communities they are intended to help. Each model involves a different set of actors and implies distinct elements of policy,<sup>18</sup> which in turn have diverse effects on bonding, bridging, and linking social capital.

16 For a similar empirical finding on the poor in Bolivia, see Grootaert (2002: 73).

17 The development of social capital has become a prime field of public policy recently. See the projects of the World Bank against poverty at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTSOCIALCAPITAL/0..contentMDK:20193068~menuPK:418218~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015.00.html>, the policy of OECD (The Well-being of Nations 2001), public policy advising by the Saguaro Seminar established by Robert Putnam in the United States (<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/saguaro>), (former) government strategy in the United Kingdom by the Performance and Innovation Unit (Social Capital 2002), government strategy in Canada (Social Capital as a Public Policy Tool 2005), government policy in Ireland (The Policy Implications of Social Capital 2003) and public policy in Australia (Winter 2000). For an attempt at drawing conclusions for the field of social urban rehabilitation, see Füzér (2005), Füzér et al. (2005), and Füzér et al. (2006).

18 For an earlier discussion of the actors and policy elements of the three models see Bukowski and Füzér (2007). Here this earlier discussion is extended by a social capital reading of urban rehabilitation practice.

In the *expert model*, rehabilitation policy is an official instrument that is initiated and put together by municipal experts working in various departments of a city's bureaucracy (the chief role played by urban planning officials with a background in architecture, civil engineering, or urban planning). Municipal officials consult with local politicians as well as lobby groups and outsource the concrete writing of particular policy elements to consulting firms. The urban rehabilitation policy that is developed under this model can contain a program of (or even be a fully fledged policy of) clearance which means that as a segregated neighborhood's housing stock is demolished, families are moved to other neighborhoods and the plot of their former neighborhood is no longer used for residential purposes. Together with houses, clearance destroys the bonding and bridging social capital vested in many segregated neighborhoods in the form of kinship and neighborly connections (Halpern 2005: 289).

Alternatively, rehabilitation policy under the expert model concentrates not on the destruction but on the physical revitalization of the infrastructure of segregated neighborhoods, such as public spaces (parks, squares, playgrounds, etc.), public buildings (schools, health facilities, etc.), residential buildings, and utilities. The focus, however, is still almost exclusively on the infrastructural dimension (Egedy 2005), with the exception of programs aimed at strengthening local trade, as the most easy-to-grasp element of the local economy. Rehabilitation programs that are written without a strong focus on the social dimension of segregated neighborhoods usually make the mistake of "doing too much good." The physical rehabilitation of residential buildings can result in the gentrification of the neighborhood (Egedy 2005): since renewed housing facilities are usually much more expensive to maintain, more well-off families move into the renovated area, as poor households can no longer afford to live in these facilities and are forced to move to other parts of the city where conditions are usually similar to those that had characterized their neighborhood before it had been renewed in the framework of a rehabilitation program. The concentration of socially excluded families in rundown neighborhoods becomes no less intensive as a result: the problem is simply being relocated in these cases. Gentrification has the same detrimental consequences for the bonding and bridging social capital thriving in segregated neighborhoods: kinship and neighborly connections to which the neighborhood provides the social context become depleted as the composition of the neighborhood changes drastically. Obviously, the renewed neighborhood with its new population can be grounds for new social capital formation—but this new social capital does not enrich the lives of socially excluded groups.

There might still be a fundamental problem even if no gentrification occurs as a result of an urban rehabilitation policy that focuses only on infrastructure and pays no attention to the community of a segregated neighborhood. The vast amount of resources devoted to physical revitalization may seem unnecessary in light of the probability that the physical conditions will deteriorate in a few years and circumstances become similar to what they had been before revitalization. That is to say, money is thrown out the window if the community of a segregated

neighborhood does not view its renewed environment as its own (Egedy 2005). Only programs designed specifically for strengthening local communities have the potential to make families act as quasi-owners, both of their renewed houses as well as of the public facilities of their neighborhood.

The *partnership model* embraces a practice well-known in the development profession: work with stakeholders, and do not apply universal solutions but search for local answers, preferably in local voices. As opposed to the expert model, the objectives of physical and social rehabilitation are equally important under the partnership model (Egedy 2005, Egedy et al. 2005, Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities<sup>19</sup>). The social focus manifests itself in various programs of community development, but it is equally revealed in the very approach development and/or municipal officials take toward the community of a segregated neighborhood: local civic organizations, local businesses, local public service providers (schools, district doctors, health visitors), and other local actors such as parish priests are considered as partners in designing and implementing the various program elements of an urban rehabilitation policy, including those of physical renewal.

The partnership model also involves an organizational solution that makes cooperation in complex rehabilitation programs more feasible among actors whose backgrounds vary greatly. A multiprofessional management agency (Egedy 2005: 25, Egedy et al. 2005: 74) coordinates input from the various groups of locals as well as a variety of experts, typically from (local) universities. The agency is an organization that is independent from the municipal bureaucracy, but its team is employed by the city: it is made up of professionals from various backgrounds such as social work, architecture, and accounting, and is thus capable of managing complex programs as diverse as renovation works, community building, family budget counseling or training programs. The agency works both with locals as well as experts whose input is required at various stages of a social rehabilitation program: they can be involved in the designing and implementation phases as well as in project and policy evaluation tasks (Leipzig Charter).

Urban rehabilitation policy under the partnership model is not a matter of efforts behind writing tables: its elements are developed in the course of consultations, workshops and meetings among local partners, and are coordinated by the management agency. Projects are implemented by the management agency with input from local partners where applicable. Importantly, physical revitalization is carried out chiefly by local businesses.

Such a design has crucial implications for social capital. Participation in joint efforts to plan and implement the revitalization of the neighborhood increases bridging social capital among locals and, by strengthening local identity, adds to the stock of local, neighborhood-related bonding social capital. The linking social capital of locals is greatly increased in the course of activities coordinated by the

19 [http://www.rfsustainablecities.eu/IMG/pdf/LeipzigCharte\\_EN\\_cle1d4c19.pdf](http://www.rfsustainablecities.eu/IMG/pdf/LeipzigCharte_EN_cle1d4c19.pdf) [accessed: 1/11/2010].

management agency: work with the agency's staff as well as with the experts they engage results in new contacts and (potentially) trusting relations with people in positions of influence. Very importantly, new jobs at local businesses (whose share of local renovation works is set to be the highest possible), create bridging social capital in the form of new colleague connections as well as linking social capital in the form of boss-staff relations.

In contrast to the overall positive implications of the partnership model for social capital, it has to be noted that a central program under this model can have (unintended) negative consequences for the overall stock of social capital. Certain conventional community development programs in segregated neighborhoods are designed to increase bonding social capital among locals belonging to same disadvantaged gender, ethnic or generation groups by supporting the creation of various in-group associations and activities for these groups disadvantaged even in the not very favorable social context of a segregated neighborhood. At the same time, however, such programs (unintentionally) prevent members from building connections outside their groups and thus contribute to the preservation of a low level of bridging social capital amongst the most disadvantaged (Pantoja 2000, Halpern 2005: 290).

Another shortcoming of the partnership model from the perspective of its social capital implications is that it essentially focuses on locals who had already organized themselves into various associations and all but overlooks locals whose bridging social capital is less abundant and does not make them visible elements of the local social fabric—at least not for urban rehabilitation policy planners. A potentially serious tension arises therefore out of the discrepancy between the significant increase of bridging and linking social capital among members of organized local groups who participate in urban rehabilitation programs (when there is a cluster of middle class families present in a segregated neighborhood they are very likely to be active in such organizations), and the relatively worsening social capital positions of those who do not belong to local associations (Field 2003: 75–76). What is more, even among organized groups there is the potential that existing inequalities in social capital will not only be reproduced as a result of participation in the planning and implementation of rehabilitation programs, but also that groups with more linking social capital to begin with will become more dominant within the local community as they can access and control disproportionately more resources devoted to rehabilitation programs (Pantoja 2000). The relative social capital positions of other local groups, especially of unorganized locals, becomes much worse as a result of urban rehabilitation if no conscious effort is made to manage partnerships in a manner sensitive to such negative consequences.

The *community planning model* attempts to overcome the limitations of the other two models and focuses not only on the social dimension of urban rehabilitation and physical matters of infrastructure; it actually makes the perspective of the local community the decisive factor in all of its endeavors.



In contrast to the partnership model, community planning addresses not only organized local associations and businesses—local civil society, in short—but all locals, irrespective of their prior positions within the local community. Under this model, attempts are made to make each and every member of the local community a participant in urban rehabilitation (Alföldi et al. 2007): such efforts are predicated upon programs that develop the capacities of locals with varied backgrounds and enable those otherwise incapable to play an active role in certain rehabilitation programs. In this vein, not only local businesses but also locals with appropriate training (possibly gained in the course of a rehabilitation training program) can participate in renovation and building works (Egedy et al. 2005: 89). In order to facilitate the involvement of potentially any local resident, an organizational solution is implemented in this model that takes the partnership model's management agency a step further and installs a district (or even a neighborhood) management agency (Alföldi et al. 2007). It is by bringing city-employed officials and local experts so close to locals as to actually make them work directly with locals that the potential for joint work, not just simple coordination, is made possible. This potential is vested in the trust, both interpersonal and institutional, that develops between locals and outsiders.

The planning and implementation of rehabilitation policy is essentially a process of several rounds of meetings managed jointly by local partners and the district management agency. The nature and stake of these gatherings range from presentation of ideas and discussion of alternatives to making decisions on virtually all aspects of rehabilitation programs. This means that locals are made "owners" not only of program outcomes (such as a renewed public park) but also of the very resolutions that are behind program elements. It is thus not only their voice (or vote for that matter) that counts in this model but also their understanding of local issues, their pondering of alternatives, their contribution to making collective decisions as well as their participation in the realization of rehabilitation programs (Alföldi et al. 2007).

In contrast to the other two models, programs based on community involvement extend to developing a viable (and in certain respects self-sufficient) local economy; establishing a segregated neighborhood's community infrastructure (such as a community centre, neighborhood web site); fostering neighborhood programs that reinforce local identity (e.g., by (re)naming neighborhoods in ways that have positive connotations both for locals and for others in the city); and developing programs that bring locals as well as the rest of the city together in events such as a neighborhood (or district) day with a street party or a festival.

As opposed to the other two models, collective planning cannot do without a prior social mapping of the segregated neighborhood and must implement the monitoring and evaluation of rehabilitation programs on the basis of serious empirical research of the segregated urban community. Indicators of social exclusion as well as social capital convey both to lay and professional audiences what conditions characterize a neighborhood before rehabilitation plans are drawn up, how they change as program implementation goes through major milestones,

and how they figure in the long run when we ponder the overall effects of such programs in retrospect. In organizational terms, the coordination of research, the dissemination of its results, and the task of making it count in the course of program design and implementation, belong to the activities of the district management agency, supported by local experts from universities.

In terms of implications for social capital, it is no exaggeration to maintain that the collective planning model of urban rehabilitation actually makes the development of all three types of social capital an explicit objective of specific programs and attempts to guarantee that social capital is not destroyed or worsened as a result of any rehabilitation program elements. This can only be a realistic objective if there is a way to know what the actual and ongoing conditions are and how programs affect social capital. Equally crucial, however, is the presence of what can be called "social capital mainstreaming" in the thinking of rehabilitation policy planners, coordinators and implementers, i.e., all actors involved in collective planning.

One major mistake that urban policy can make under the collective planning model happens when the focus on the social dimension and the concomitant social programs moves from being decisive to being exclusive (DeFilippis 2001, Füzér et al. 2005). The result is that resources devoted to the renewal of physical conditions of a segregated neighborhood become meager or even nonexistent and the overall policy costs become appealingly small as social programs are relatively inexpensive to run (Woolcock 2000). The problem with this is that social capital is only one of the dimensions of social exclusion: the poor will be better off only if households can better position themselves in the labor market, their housing conditions improve, and their neighborhoods are better places to inhabit. Realizing the latter costs a lot of money; in order to minimize such expenses, programs that develop social capital are needed as well. If social capital is treated as a panacea for the problems of the poor, however, urban rehabilitation ends up tackling social exclusion at its heart, but without heed for its body.

To sum up, it might be helpful to restate the features of the three models here.

**Table 2.39 The three models of urban rehabilitation policy-making and implementation**

	Main actors	Chief policy elements	Major implications for social capital
Expert model	Municipality officials	Clearance or physical revitalization of infrastructure	Clearance destroys bonding and bridging SC vested in neighborhoods
	Consulting firms		
	Local politicians	Local trade	Gentrification destroys a lot of neighborhood bonding and bridging SC—but also creates some new
	Lobby groups		
			Stronger local trade increases bridging SC by creating jobs



Table 2.39 continued

	Main actors	Chief policy elements	Major implications for social capital
Partnership model	Local politicians	Physical revitalization of infrastructure largely by locals (primarily by local firms)	Increases bridging SC among organized locals
	Local civil organizations		
	Local businesses	Local economy	Increases linking SC between local groups and those in positions of influence (management agency, university experts)
	Municipality officials	Training programs	
	Local public service providers (schools, district doctors, health visitors)	Community development	New jobs at local businesses increase bridging SC
	Parish priests	Multiprofessional management agency	
	Experts from (local) university		Conventional community development programs increase bonding SC but at the same time prevent the accumulation of bridging SC
Multiprofessional management agency			
Community planning model	Local residents	Physical revitalization of infrastructure almost exclusively by locals (residents and firms)	Increases bonding SC by reinforcing neighborhoods
	Local civil organizations		Increases bridging SC by making locals work together and with others from the urban society (in rehabilitation projects or in new jobs)
	Local businesses	Local (self-sufficient) economy	
	Parish priests	Training programs	Increases linking SC by creating new connections among locals and those in positions of influence (district management agency, university experts)
	Local public service providers	Community infrastructure	
	Local politicians	Neighborhood programs	Increases linking SC by creating new connections among locals and those in positions of influence (district management agency, university experts)
	Experts from (local) university	Multiprofessional district management agency	
	Multiprofessional district management agency	Research on indicators of social exclusion and social capital	

The heuristic value of such models can be appreciated when they are applied to concrete cases. Let us consider in closing which model best explains the design and implementation of urban rehabilitation policy in the context of Pécs East—the case that forms the empirical setting of the present inquiry.

The very first step in the 10-year-old history of making plans for the segregated neighborhoods of the eastern district of Pécs was in 2001, when local civil associations organized a conference on the past, present and future

of their neighborhoods with the title, "Pécs East in Focus."<sup>20</sup> The members of these organizations came from among the minority middle class families of the district who were discontented with the decline their residential area had experienced since the early 1990s. They possessed enough bridging and linking social capital to make this conference an event that garnered much publicity: the location was the Regional Seat of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs, and the presenters included important decision-makers, academics, and other professionals. The objective was to raise awareness about the negative tendencies and urgent social problems of the district and, more importantly, to highlight the positive potentials of their neighborhoods (such as the green environment in which the district is located). This local initiative largely corresponds to the collective planning model, with the obvious limitation that not all locals, only middle class organized groups, participated at this stage. But ultimately it was not experts (either at the city hall or in a management agency) who defined local problems but the locals who took it upon themselves to try to come up with some practical solutions for the local predicament. Given that our research findings on indicators of bridging social capital suggest that the local society of the district of Pécs East, comparatively speaking, is highly active in various forms of social participation, the resources still seem to be available for a continuation of activities that, on the whole, correspond to the model of community planning.

Decision-makers and experts from the municipality were called upon as a result of this local initiative and drew up the first, small-scale and largely experimental rehabilitation program called Borbála (named after Saint Barbara, patron saint of miners), which ran between 2005–2006 in one of the segregated neighborhoods, Istvánakna. The program included projects for renovating apartment houses, public spaces, as well as conventional community development projects. Whereas the program design of Borbála is an example of the approach under the expert model, implementation was carried out along the lines of the partnership model as locals, after acquiring the appropriate training in the course of the program, took part in the renovation of their own apartments and the public spaces of their neighborhoods. (It should be noted here that our research had been carried out at the site just before project implementation started; therefore the neighborhood's bonding social capital, especially as regards neighborhood integration, could not have been effected by project activities, let alone impacts.)

The project that serves as the backdrop for this chapter overlapped with Borbála not only in terms of timeframe but also as regards some of the personnel, and was meant to be a clear-cut example of the partnership model, adapting experiences

20 The conference proceedings (really, a word-by-word transcription of the presentations and discussion) were never published, contrary to plans, but the document is available to anyone who declares an interest in it. Information on this first step of making rehabilitation plans is based on personal communication to Füzér from Ms Edit Molnár, one of the association leaders of Pécs East Forum for Interest Protection. She also made the conference proceedings available to the authors.

gained in the former, experimental project in Istvánakna. Cities Against Social Exclusion (CASE) was financed as an Interreg III C project of the European Union<sup>21</sup> and in the context of Pécs East brought municipal officials, politicians, (local) university experts, local public service providers as well local residents together to make preparations for drawing up the urban rehabilitation policy for the district. Project members studied the best practices of cities with prior experience in urban rehabilitation (like the German cities of Hamburg and Gelsenkirchen), the research necessary for defining indicators of social exclusion and social capital were carried out, and documents were put together to serve as part of an urban rehabilitation program for Pécs East. Most instructive for project members was the insight that successful urban rehabilitation (i.e., programs whose outcomes are lasting) must be planned and carried out not merely with the participation of but also by the locals themselves, and that such a process is best facilitated by a district and/or neighborhood management agency. Thus documents prepared by project partners put great emphasis on these two elements and recommended the application of the community planning model. The very last phase of the CASE project, however, took a turn towards the expert model as the city outsourced the task of actually drawing up a rehabilitation program to (local) consulting firms.<sup>22</sup> In terms of program design, ever since then (and in spite of a complete change in the city's leadership in 2009 and in the composition of local government representatives in 2010), the expert model has dominated.

One important factor also played into this story of an ironic shift from the collective planning to the expert model. After several years of preparations, which mobilized much support and input from local artists, academics, professionals, and businessmen, the city in 2005 filed its candidacy to become European Capital of Culture in 2010.<sup>23</sup> The chief idea behind the bid was that, in the wake of the post-communist collapse of several branches of industry in the city and surrounding region (with mining being only one, albeit the most painful component), Pécs and the South Transdanubian Region should take advantage of its cultural, touristic, and recreational potential which could be well-served by the prestigious title. As soon as the announcement was made that Pécs won the title of European Capital of Culture 2010, most, if not all, the time and energy of the management agency that had coordinated the bid became focused on putting together the program for the

21 The project brought together municipalities with prior experience and good practices in urban rehabilitation (Hamburg and Gelsenkirchen), and cities of Central and Eastern Europe that have serious problems with segregated neighborhoods (Arad, Komarno, Krakow, Olomouc, Pécs) as well as two universities, the University of Pécs and the Jagellonian University of Krakow.

22 The document was finalized late 2008 under the title "Preliminary Action Plan in the Matter of Implementing the Social Urban Rehabilitation Plan of Pécs East," available at: <http://eugyintezes.pecs.hu/download/index.php?id=116217> [accessed: 10/29/2010].

23 This discussion is based on documents available at: <http://www.pecs2010.hu>, as well as on Füzér's own personal impressions as a knowledgeable citizen of Pécs.

year 2010. An ambitious array of investments into large scale cultural projects<sup>24</sup> began in 2006—most of which are still under way. To be able to cope with the complex tasks, the agency was turned into a real multiprofessional management agency and the municipality, too, had to switch into higher gear. Generally speaking, not much time, attention, energy or money, for that matter, was left over for another, probably equally challenging task, that of urban rehabilitation in Pécs East.<sup>25</sup> Now that Pécs's role as the cultural capital of Europe is ending, how to shift the focus from the cultural industry (which hopefully gives new impetus to the urban and regional economy) to the segregated neighborhoods of Pécs East remains an important question. Just which model of urban rehabilitation will best fit the designing and implementation of concrete rehabilitation programs is still an open question—what we can be more certain about are the consequences each model would have for the local stock of social capital.

24 Such as a the second largest concert hall of Hungary (Kodály Conference and Concert Hall), a new cultural quarter at the site of the world famous Zsolnay ceramic factory's former production facilities (Zsolnay Cultural Quarter), and a brand new library and knowledge center that integrates a good part of the university's and all of the city's libraries; see <http://www.pecs2010.hu>.

25 Füzér had tried to tease out the implications of this ambiguous "click or clash" relationship between Pécs's role as Cultural Capital of Europe 2010 and the challenge of urban rehabilitation in two conference presentations: "Complex Development Projects and Urban Management: the European Capital of Culture program and social urban rehabilitation in Pécs" (paper presented at the conference of the Department of Sociology, University of Pécs, "Pécs, Cultural Capital of Europe" 2007), and "Social Urban Rehabilitation Policies and Universities: the Case of Pécs, European Capital of Culture 2010 and the University of Pécs" (paper presented at the Joint Conference of The University Network of the European Capitals of Culture and the Compostela Group of Universities, "Inclusion through Education and Culture" 2010).