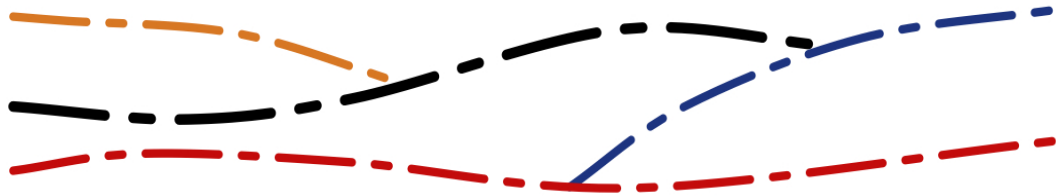


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Roma Communities, Urban Development and Social Bordering in the Inner City of Budapest

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Abstract

This paper relates socio-cultural borders to neighbourhood change in central Budapest. In doing this the authors focus on rationales behind appropriating and demarcating urban spaces according to political, ethno-territorial and economic agendas. We are concerned with bordering as reflected in representations of neighbourhood in Budapest's VIIIth District and socio-ethnic issues that have been framed in conjunction with urban development. This includes the selective ways Roma-specific issues are made visible, or in fact masked, through ostensibly 'colourblind' policies. Furthermore, we relate these representations to concrete impacts of urban renewal with regard to challenges of multi-ethnicity but also to often exclusionary practices of border-making. As we indicate in our discussion, social segregation is not an official policy but is eagerly pursued in practice. However, this is only part of the story as we can clearly identify attempts to create a sense of Roma belonging and pride.

Introduction

The 'bordering' concept now in wide academic use suggests that the making of borders is a highly political and reflexive process, both as a formal and a socio-cultural exercise of power and authority, but also as a very basic social practise in terms of the construction of sense of identity and place (Scott 2012). Henk van Houtum et. al. (2005) refer to everyday 'bordering and ordering' practices that create and recreate new social-cultural boundaries and divisions which are also spatial in nature. Everyday lived experiences include intersections, differentiations and similarities. As Rhodes (2012) has argued, cognitive boundary-making can also contribute to geographies of difference through the stigmatization of specific places - places where danger, deviance and degradation are to be found.

Consequently, borders are essential to place-making while place-making is itself about the appropriations of space by different actors and for different purposes. Here we investigate a specific case of bordering cum place-making: the reimagining of an inner-city neighbourhood of Budapest through policies of urban development and regeneration but also through bottom-up appropriations of neighbourhood spaces. We are equally interested in the impacts of these place-making exercises which are informed not only by explicit economic and design agendas but also by implicit socio-ethnic objectives. The local Roma population is particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of urban renewal and we will hence consider links between socio-cultural borderings of urban spaces and the top-down, often punitive regulation of access to those spaces. The specific case that will be developed here involves a traditionally multi-ethnic and multicultural area of Budapest, the VIIIth District or Józsefváros. Within this larger administrative area, our study reconstructs developments in the Magdolna neighbourhood which during the early 2000s became the focus of Budapest's – and East-Central Europe's - first socially integrative urban renewal programme. Urban redevelopment is of course not simply a policy; in addition to its economic rationalities, political motivations and physical impacts it has concrete socio-spatial consequences for neighbourhoods and specific groups. Recreating place image and identity can and does often involve the sorting out of groups that disturb or do not conform to a politically desired sense of well-organized neighbourhoods and public spaces. And yet, the situation is generally more complex than a simple narrative of middle class 'revanchism' (Smith 1996) in which the rich retake inner cities from the poor and homeless. Neighbourhoods are seldom surfaces that are wiped clean of their pasts and place identities by gentrification. Furthermore, the process of re-appropriating neighbourhood spaces is often about socio-ethnic and cultural 're-borderings' and not simply, to paraphrase Mitchell (2003) the crossing of 'neo-liberal lines'.

This case study will develop bordering perspectives that shed light on the rationales behind appropriating and demarcating urban spaces as means to promote political, ethno-territorial and economic agendas. Our research is based on extensive fieldwork, including interviews with local stakeholders, as well as a literature review. In reflecting the main insights of our research, we develop two major analytical perspectives. With the first we are concerned with bordering as reflected in representations of neighbourhood in the VIIIth District and socio-ethnic issues that have been framed in conjunction with urban development. This includes the selective ways Roma-specific issues are made visible, or in fact masked, through

ostensibly 'colourblind' policies. Secondly, we will relate these representations to the concrete impacts of local urban renewal policies with regard to challenges of multi-ethnicity but also to often exclusionary practices of border-making. As we will indicate in our discussion, social segregation is not an official policy but is eagerly pursued in practice. However, this is only part of the story as we can clearly identify attempts to create a sense of Roma belonging and pride.

While Jozsefváros' experience is not unique it is, nevertheless, quite distinct in terms of strategies, trajectories and social impacts of urban development. Our work indicates that the visible effects of urban regeneration programme in the Magdolna neighbourhood of Jozsefváros, such as the renewal of housing, streets, and public spaces and the creation of a community centre, cannot hide the political intentions of the local government to change the neighbourhood's character and with it the composition of the present population. The aim is clearly to gradually push out visibly 'problematic' groups, poor Roma families in particular, by redrawing social and spatial borders between the different ethnic and social groups that live in Józsefváros. It is notable that as part of 'divide and rule' practices an instrumentalization of Roma identity has taken place that distinguish between 'orderly' and cultured Roma and groups considered as anti-social and stigmatized due to their association with poverty, crime and laziness. The impacts of such practices can only be assessed in the long term. However, such re-bordering attempts could undermine any sense of solidarity between Roma and open the way for gentrification to transform the area.

Bordering and Place-Making as Urban Regeneration Processes

Within the context of this discussion, bordering can be defined as a situational process of negotiating social contexts that at the same time involves spatial bounding (see Kolossov and Scott 2013). Borders are an attempt to suggest edges and limits and to construct a degree of order within 'unordered' situations. At the same time these limits often remain fuzzy and indeterminate and thus contentious. Borders involve differentiation, filtering and control practices, but also hybridization and border-crossing inventiveness (Brambilla 2014). Following Kramsch (2002), borders do not necessarily support an exclusive use or meaning of space and place, they can also sustain interdependence, negotiation and adaptation. These tension-laden qualities of borders are intrinsic to the social production of space and it is therefore crucial to revisit them in terms of a deeper understanding of place-making processes and their social and political consequences. Urban settings are laboratories that offer insights into how borders are created within society in different social, ethnic, cultural and political circumstances. Cities are themselves much more than materializations of economic relations, they can be more generally understood as products of border-making processes, composed of a mosaic of interlinked yet differentiated spaces that give a particular city its social, economic, cultural and political character.

Our theorizations of urban borders involve a potentially wide field of social practices. In studying the condition of Roma communities in Budapest we will largely focus on the local-level and on urban borders as part of the 'practice of everyday life'. Inspired by Michel de Certeau's (1980) now classic analytical vision, everyday bordering describes specific ways of maintaining, controlling but also transforming social space through material and discursive

means. On this view, strategies designed to organize space and to impose a specific narrative and image of place are confronted by tactics that subvert and re-appropriate place identities. De Certeau's perspective has been applied quite productively in discussions of formal state or state-like borders (Nugent 2011; Ward, Silberman and Till 2012). However despite some important exceptions (Breitung 2011; Ionossova 2015; Kolonokova 2009) the urban context of de Certeau's actual field of study has been somewhat neglected. Following de Certeau's perspective and understanding borders as open-ended *bordering* processes rather than finalizable institutions (Scott 2012), urban borders emerge as narratives, as stories that develop through interactions in space that give meaning to urban place (Egger 2012). The borders of urban places, such as neighbourhoods, are therefore constructed and communicated by different representations of places and uses of physical space. As a result, borders create place images and identities while the 'city' is itself intimately tied to the politics of representation (Smith 2005) which can involve the construction of alternative images and boundaries of urban space.

As the above suggests, bordering urban spaces often involves a tension between 'official' and instrumental forms of place-making and informal, everyday narratives of place. One aspect of formal bordering is the use of sanctions by public actors in order to control access to urban spaces (Wacquant 2009). By controlling urban spaces, for example by excluding and sanctioning homeless people, urban politics ensure both a 'liveable' environment for 'law abiding' citizens, and value capture for urban rehabilitation and capital investments (Misetics 2013; Mitchell 2003). Furthermore, urban redevelopment often destroys existing borders (for example, as expressed by buildings, roads, physical barriers, poor and 'dangerous' neighbourhoods) in order to connect subareas of the city as consumption and residential spaces (Spierings 2012). Informal bordering processes on the other hand often compete with, and even subvert, elite-led appropriations of place identities and images. To paraphrase Michael Peter Smith (2002), such bordering processes often involve 'localization' in which community is both locally defined but also connected to wider social contexts through a variety of performative and symbolic means.

Following our constructivist lines of interpretation, segregation is a dynamic process and the concepts used to identify and spatialize it are not immutable but subject to continuous economic, social, and political changes. Furthermore, ethnicity is not an objective, permanent category, conceived as a matter of relations between predefined, fixed groups, but rather a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining the boundaries between them. (Barth 1969; Jenkins 1997). The images that different social and ethnic groups create of each other may be interpreted as embedded in the social history of a given society. The images thus formed and local narratives of the *other* are conditioned by many factors: central government and local policies, histories of coexistence of various ethnic, and social groups, the changing social composition of a given society, patterns of social, and economic relationships, and cooperative ventures that operated in the past and present. In other words local societies create different concept of Roma; objectified forms of social inequalities manifested in different access to and unequal distribution of resources and social opportunities. (Lamont and Molnar 2002; Wimmer 2008) To put it differently: local actors keep re-constructing space and ethnicity along their social, economic, and political interests, which at the same time feeds back into the processes forming it, and to the

internal representation of the given community (Lefebvre 1991; Smith 2005). Even internal social relationships of a neighbourhood will influence the status of a given area determining its integration within the city's texture. Representations of various spaces and areas within a given urban context reflect shifting relationships between decision-makers, the majority population, the poor, and questions of belonging and ethnicity that surface in local practice, discourse, and 'policies'.

Our study of the impacts of urban regeneration on Roma communities will relate urban borders to place-making and to *the politics of representation that they reflect*. And indeed, boundary-making processes are central to interpretations of Roma discrimination in Budapest because they link localized place-making with the more global contextual framing of Hungary's Roma communities. The boundary-making process is itself highly political, both from a formal and an informal point of view as it involves a spatialized politics that conditions the social visibility of Roma communities. However, it is also a manifestation of local appropriations of space and of belonging and also makes apparent the limits to top-down intervention in urban regeneration.

In the following we will investigate the development of Józsefváros since 1990 in terms of a contested politics of representation, emphasizing interconnections between narratives representing the neighbourhood, the place-making actions and policies undertaken by different actors and stakeholders, reactions to these narratives and the results they have achieved. Ultimately, politics of representation are about visibility and the making (in)visible of specific socio-ethnic contexts. As we will demonstrate, political, economic, social, cultural actors have been reshaping the neighbourhood's image by addressing popular narratives of poverty and Roma 'ghettoization' – either by emphasizing them, turning them into positive messages or by trying to change them according to specific interests and perspectives.

The Magdolna Quarter: A Site of Urban Regeneration and Place-Making

Before 1945 living in Józsefváros meant a kind of 'decent poverty' (Gyáni 1992). Local society was heterogeneous and despite spatial separation in terms of employment, ethnicity, and religion, there was no real social segregation. Another essential element of the district until the late 1950s was the Jewish population that left a significant footprint on the neighbourhood's general appearance and social makeup. In the written history of the district Roma do not appear as an independent social group and a Roma presence in Józsefváros can only be reconstructed from individual recollections, such as this passage from Péliné's (1996:69) autobiographical novel: '*Józsefváros is unique, and it is where most of Roma live. (...) This house was inhabited by rather shabby people. There were peasants, Roma, and Jews living there, but we lived in complete harmony. (...) Somehow poverty kept the people together. (...) Being Roma, Jewish or Hungarian was never subject to discussion, and it never even emerged as an idea.*'

Starting in the 1960s the social composition and status of Józsefváros radically changed and the district began to be associated both with poverty and with Roma communities. On the one hand, due to the social and ethnic policy of State Socialism, best summarized as 'forced emancipation', Roma inclusion was effectively tied to an obligation to work. However, the

economic role of Roma was primarily seen in performing unskilled labour, and this assured continued discrimination and segregation, linking Roma ethnicity to urban poverty and second-rate citizenship (Szalai 2000). On the other hand, state socialist policies also prompted the migration of rural Roma to the rapidly developing capital city and, ultimately, to run-down central districts. The highly centralized and bureaucratic housing allocation system reserved substandard public housing of Józsefváros for large low-income families, assuming their inability to cover the costs of newer flats in this district (Zolnay 1993; Ladányi 1989, 1992). At the same time, higher status inhabitants began to leave Józsefváros. By the political transition of the 1990s, Józsefváros had become a neighbourhood sharply different from those surrounding it, characterized by both spatial and social segregation. Particularly affected was the area of Józsefváros situated outside the inner city ring defined by the Grand Boulevard which came to be seen by the majority society as a dangerous place, a 'Roma ghetto', or the 'Harlem of Pest'. The relative isolation and stigmatization of these neighbourhoods has been the result of a complex and long-term process, a cumulative product of political and social transformation (Ladányi 1989). Moreover, these neighbourhoods have become obstacles to further development of the district. The more and more did they represent strong visual and perceptual boundaries, contrasting starkly with adjacent inner city areas of renovation and gentrification. Józsefváros' decline has elicited policy responses and consciousness-raising on the part of local decision makers and civil society actors. Since 2000, the need to counter the stigmatization of the district and thus break down physical, cultural and mental borders between these areas and the other parts of the city have become an objective shared by different stakeholders. These various initiatives reflect the common purpose of re-bordering Józsefváros' deprived neighbourhoods – that is, integrating them within the overall development of the city but also by providing them a sense of positive distinction. Nevertheless, the place-making actions undertaken during the last ten to fifteen years have reflected very different policies and positions and as such have led to the formulation of very diverse narratives and images of the area.

To begin with, the general perception of Józsefváros as an exceptional space within the inner city is partly based on racialized stereotypes and popular images of an ethnic 'ghetto'. This of course does not correspond to reality; the district is home to many nationalities and there are considerable local concentrations of Roma population but the majority is still overwhelmingly non-Roma. However the place-making narratives, i.e. the representations of neighbourhood, we will discuss below have framed the role of the Roma community and the public visibility of multi-ethnicity and Roma culture in different and more subtle ways. The question of transforming public perceptions of the District's neighbourhoods has involved several competing representations that oscillate between a zone of multicultural integration (and a pioneer project of citizen participation), a performative space for the promotion of Roma pride and belonging, and a highly normative vision of social order targeted at the endorsement of 'mainstream' society.

Because of its paradigmatic nature, the so-called 'Magdolna Quarter' deserves particular attention. This area has been developed since the early 2000s as part of a long-term regeneration strategy in contrast to outright demolition and more heavy-handed approaches to the treatment of poorer residents, Roma families in particular (Fayman, Keresztély and

Tomay 2008; RESPECT 2010). With much of the housing stock of substandard quality, Magdolna was designated as a pilot project of social urban renewal in Budapest and in 2005 the government of the VIIIth district launched the first phase of the Magdolna Neighbourhood Urban Renewal Programme (MNP1), co-financed by the district and the city of Budapest and with the support of European Union. According to its main principles, the programme intended to enhance social cohesion within the area in order to support its integration into the city (Keresztély and Scott 2012). The basic concept of the Magdolna Neighbourhood Programme has followed several Western European examples of socially integrative urban regeneration initiatives, such as the case of Birmingham, or the Soziale Stadt programme in Germany (Fayman, Keresztély and Tomay 2008). In line with these examples, the goal of MNP was to develop an integrated and socially mixed neighbourhood, and to encourage local people to participate in the development of the local community. The main underlying objective was to improve the quality of life of the area and even to make it attractive for small-scale private investment.

Although far from optimal, the first phase of the programme (2005-2007) had a positive impact on community development. For example, the refurbishing of the main square in the neighbourhood, Mátyás square, was realized through a community planning process. This approach was continued during the second phase, or MNP2 (2008-2011), which saw a project-based drive to mobilize neighbourhood participation. This was facilitated by a newly inaugurated Neighbourhood Community Centre, the old gloves factory (Kesztyűgyár) which served as a focal point for local projects and neighbourhood dialogue. Independent local residents were also involved in initiatives that included the production of a local newspaper, the organization of a local second hand market, of different forums with local inhabitants, the launching of a local TV and a blog etc. Furthermore, many of these initiatives took place in cooperation with organizations representing Roma rights and culture. However, after 2009, changes in local government leadership led to the suspension of most of these initiatives. Since the end of MNP2 in 2011, furthermore, local NGOs have been almost completely excluded from the programme, systematically pushed out from the neighbourhood.

The vicissitudes of the MNP, including the shift from decentralized, civil society oriented action to a more stringent political and public sector management approach, are characteristic of the contested nature of place-making in Józsefváros. Although never openly emphasized, one main goal of MNP has always been the eradication of the neighbourhoods' image as a Roma ethnic ghetto. The official place-making strategies of the VIIIth District have, despite different ideological positions and understandings of integration, all strived for a 'normalization' of the Magdolna's image and a reconfiguration of the local population in order to create a more mainstream, 'socially compatible' neighbourhood environment. However, the actions and policies conducing to this goal have represented different ideological, and social approaches. For instance, the ruling political elites have always promoted the image of a regenerated neighbourhood - although this regeneration has been conceived in different forms according to the political leanings of local government. Parallel to this, Roma (cultural) activists have attempted to transcend received notions of 'ghetto' and recast their neighbourhoods as places where Roma culture and belonging can be expressed and experienced. Indeed, there has also been an conversion of sorts of the

negative image of ghetto into a space of urban coolness, partly through the actions of local Roma youth but also by outsiders who have discovered Magdolna and other areas of the VIIIth District (György 2009, Imre 2009). Hence, as part of the place-making and bordering of Magdolna and other areas of Józsefváros, 'Roma-ness' has been appropriated in rather different and complex ways.

Politics of Representation – Framing the Multicultural Neighbourhood

A major regeneration narrative of Józsefváros and the Magdolna is one of transformation from an isolated Roma ghetto to an attractive multi-ethnic neighbourhood. In this place-making vision, a lively and multicultural urban environment is emerging that despite its social problems and tensions is a source of strength, reinforcing the cosmopolitan character of the capital city. This image is reinforced by major redevelopment and improvement projects bordering the Magdolna: the entertainment, retailing and housing complex of the Corvin Promenade, the elegant 'Palace Quarter' and the faculty of Kandó Kálmán University. At the same time, the Magdolna Quarter itself is represented as the socially sensitive face of Józsefváros' transformation, an example of comprehensive community regeneration that emulates European best practices (Tosics 2015). One Roma rights activist stated in an interview that: *'Working in the 8th district had always meant for me crossing the street and entering to the Syrian hairdresser to agree with him on my new hairstyle; then going out for lunch at the Chinese; than saying hello to the Arab baker and exchanging a few words with him about the weather. I had the feeling of being in a small provincial town. It was very interesting to see that Chinese families took Roma nurses to their children, that Roma women made the housework for them.'*

Within the context of these 'multiculturalist' urban regeneration policies, representations of Józsefváros, and the Magdolna neighbourhood in particular, have reflected the presence of Roma in rather ambiguous ways. On the one hand, the treatment of their everyday material problems has been reduced, once again, to a question of poverty and social inequalities rather than related to identity issues. In this sense, the Magdolna programme has been officially framed as 'colour-blind' and place-based, downplaying Roma ethnicity as a neighbourhood-defining element. On the other hand, cultural and educational aspects of MNP have highlighted the significance of Roma culture within a vision of a special multi-ethnic neighbourhood, following similar examples from all over Europe. This development can be clearly perceived through the transformations which have occurred in the functioning and leadership of the Neighbourhood Community Centre, one of the main tools realized within the MNP in order to enhance social integration. The Centre was created by the conversion of a former Gloves Factory situated in Mátyás square. The refurbishment of the building was realized during MNP1, while the cultural concept and the realization of the programmes were organized during MNP2. Between 2008 and 2011, the centre enjoyed considerable financial and operational autonomy. During the first phase, the work of the Community Centre was informed by a vision of multicultural local community and was aimed at facilitating the integration of Roma through different cultural, educational and social programmes. The method was to involve local NGOs in order to respond to real local needs, and create a large variety of programmes that would attract both Roma and non-Roma population in order to bring them together in one place.

Unsurprisingly, integration, at least as originally conceived, has been elusive. For example, Roma and non-Roma inhabitants rarely attended the same community-oriented programmes that were organized between 2008 and 2011. The only real occasions for interaction have been those of street festivals and concerts, organized in cooperation with local NGOs. While these events were not really local ones and or socially representative - they attracted a large number of young people, artistes etc. from all parts of Budapest - they greatly increased the general visibility of the neighbourhood and its multicultural nature. Still, social and ethnic barriers and hence segregation between the different groups in the neighbourhood have remained the rule. The externally applied, i.e. 'European', place narrative of multiculturalism has been rather employed as a place-making slogan and the appropriation of Roma cultures and identities used rather as an expedient that has skirted messy issues of everyday stigmatization of poorer Roma families and youth. While gradual processes of gentrification have complicated the situation, an underlying desire to change the character of Magdolna as part of Józsefváros' transformation cannot be overlooked. According to a political representative of the district local government interviewed by the authors: *"the solution is to replace the population, albeit not through external pressure, because this constellation (of people) has to be changed, they cannot be integrated. It wouldn't be good to change the entire population here, but it could be initiated slowly. For this reason the new University of Public Administration is a good point of departure; there will be those who move into the renovated buildings and change will gradually follow. Here is where external action can be effective."* This interpretation of gentrified multiculturalism contrasts starkly with a notion of neighbourhood oriented towards satisfying basic needs. As one Roma rights activist exclaimed in an interview: *'(...) in case of discriminatory policies, political power can easily find the Gypsies, but in the case of policies needed to allocate equal rights for the Roma, political power often argues that it is legally impossible to define who is Roma and who is not.'*

Roma Belonging, Roma Pride

This multicultural bordering and place narrative has coexisted, often uncomfortably, with an alternative strategy of Roma visibility representing the Magdolna Quarter and other areas of Józsefváros, as a locus of belonging, community development and improvement. Beginning in the early 1990s, Roma groups consisting mainly of trained musicians embarked on an attempt to improve the status of the neighbourhood. They were among the instigators in establishing and operating numerous Roma educational and cultural institutions and civil rights movements. In the early years of the political transition, Józsefváros, and especially the area that later became the Magdolna neighbourhood, developed as the centre of national level institutions representing Roma culture and Roma society. In the 1990s, national Roma policy was closely linked to the most powerful Roma NGO known as the 'Roma Parliament' which enjoyed solid political ties with the liberal leadership of the district, and as such reinforced the political position of the Roma minority in Józsefváros. The Roma Parliament, established in 1990, began operating in the district since 1991 as an institution and umbrella organization. The Parliament provided active political representation, and its premises regularly offered musical and theatrical events, as well as the first, and only, permanent exhibition of contemporary Roma art and a Roma cultural periodical 'Amaro

Drom'. It also operated a social and legal protection service offering assistance primarily, though not exclusively, to the Roma inhabitants of the district.

Thanks to its Roma and non-Roma cultural programmes, the Roma Parliament grew not only into a major institution of Roma representation, but into an important cultural centre for other intellectuals as well. It maintained close ties to other associations and initiatives such as the Roma community centre, the primary school Roma clubs, the Józsefváros theatre which staged regular talk shows with Roma artists, and the Roma Civil Rights Foundation (Roma Polgárjogi Alapítvány) created in 1995 primarily for preventing evictions of Roma people all over in the country. Radio C, a Roma community channel covering all Budapest, also started operations in the same area in 2000. All these institutions, mutually reinforcing each another, helped produce the image of a large Roma presence in the VIIIth District. In addition, Józsefváros achieved media attention as a site of alternative Roma music culture, partly through videos popularizing the hip-hop milieu of 'Nyócker' (Hungarian slang for VIIIth District) (György 2009, Imre 2009).

These appropriations of neighbourhood as a space of Roma belonging have not always meshed with the multicultural narrative of 'new' Józsefváros. The MNP has had difficulty in reconciling its mission of social equity and sustainability with highly negative perceptions of everyday Roma culture. While Roma institutions and organizations have relieved some of the isolation of families living here and helped them in solving their problems, they also have contributed to the high visibility of Roma in Józsefváros and in this way, ironically if not cruelly, reinforced popular perceptions of the District as an 'ethnic ghetto'.

Contingent Integration and a Punitive Turn

In 2010 a right-wing political majority within city government took power. This change meant the reinforcing of place-making strategies seeking to de-emphasize multiculturalism and neighbourhood ethnic identities and instead focus on showcase projects of redevelopment on the one hand (e.g. under the slogan of 'Józsefváros rebuilds itself') and social welfare and public order on the other. The new local government also reduced the power and autonomy of the MNP's leadership and the public company (RÉV8) responsible for implementation. Project management was directly incorporated into municipal governance structures and the number of employees considerably reduced. As for the Community Centre its leadership has also been relieved of management tasks within RÉV8 and everyday running of the Centre is now part of local government. The Centre's new leadership duly adopted the new approach to social cohesion in the Magdolna area with a place-making narrative that is decisively traditionalist, based on a top-down and prescriptive integration of the Roma community into majority society. Through the new administrative structures, the Community Centre began to function as a municipal institution for social services, the core element of its activities being the 'Mentoring Programme' aiming to help young Roma children succeed in public schools. Some other elements, such as support for job seeking, special trainings for the unemployed etc. have been maintained, but the cultural programmes and neighbourhood events have been eliminated. In an interview conducted by the authors, the present director stated that: '*we are not a centre for Roma cultural integration*' and '*we are definitely not a place for organizing parties*'. In this way the period

of experimenting with local and decentralized cultural projects of social integration ended after 2011.

This new approach of the MNP and the Community Centre's work reflects the change of paradigm, a turn from a vision based on a multiculturalism and integrated development towards a notion of neighbourhood where values and rules are defined solely by the majority society and by 'personal choices'. Parallel to the exclusion of NGOs connected previously to MNP2 was the conscious weakening of the Roma Parliament and other organizations of Roma representation (e.g. the Radio C channel, the Roma rights protection office and the Amaro Drom newspaper). At one point the local government considered the highly symbolic act of reappropriating the building housing the Roma Parliament and thus forcing the organization to move. This move would have in fact facilitated the renewal of public spaces according to the MNP. Renovating this part of the Magdolna neighbourhood, and turning it into a pedestrian precinct, has linked it to the elegant and gentrified district of the neighbouring Palotanegyed (Palace District). This concept was visually, even architecturally reinforced by the use of identical paving and street furniture in the two quarters. There are two important institutions in the same street: the faculty of the University and the Roma Parliament; while the former dovetails with the gentrification endeavours in progress in the district, the function of the latter is not in line with the concept. Thanks to the efforts of civil activists and organizations, the Roma Parliament remained, although the role of the organization itself has been considerably reduced.

The case of the Roma Parliament highlights another important issue: as in political and public discourse where racism has greatly increased since the mid 2000s, solidarity with vulnerable social and ethnic groups has weakened. From the mid-2000s there has been a 'racial turn' in mainstream discourses and in certain policy areas (social protection, welfare, labour and later education policies). The rise of radical racist discourses, coupled with the political successes of the radical right, have set the political and media agenda by again raising the 'Roma question' in which Roma appear as 'annoying' beggars, welfare dependents, prostitutes and thieves (Fox, Horváth and Vidra 2013). The flip side of this representation is the figure of the Roma musician serving and born to entertain the majority society as an 'accessory' of the latter (Kóczé Trehan 2009). The representation of the romantic figure of the Roma musician reinforces the romantic image of an era long gone - a representation accurately fitting the current government's nostalgic interpretation of the pre-WW2 period - and neglects the linguistic, cultural, and social diversity of the Roma society and the emancipatory endeavours of the past decades. With a considerable degree of resignation, one interviewed Roma sociologist and local activist exclaimed that *'there are two accepted Roma roles [for integrating into majority society]: one of them is managing otherwise non-efficient social programmes, the other one is being a Roma musician and playing at representative events. Politicians and public discourse take advantage of both of them.'* This new image is represented specifically by the VIIIth district's local government and a freshly created Roma cultural centre closely cooperating with it. They established the 'Park of Roma musicians' even though not on Mátyás square, the once symbolic central place of Roma musicians, but on a hidden street. They operate the Józsefváros Roma Band, mostly in a public employment scheme, and have already twice staged the Roma Music Festival, an

annual event in the framework of which members of the Józsefváros Roma Band play 'traditional' Roma music at various public places of the district

This paradigm shift in representing the neighbourhood has also been accompanied by a punitive turn – a penalization of poverty and the criminalization of homelessness. These policies are signs of a deep structural and political crisis in Hungary. Promising to restore law and order, Viktor Orbán's right wing coalition won an absolute majority in Hungary in 2010. Since that time the assertion of power through *penal populism* has gained ground and resulted in increased social tensions. While the current punitive surge has its antecedents in the neo-liberal policies of past governments (Misétics 2013), the criminalization of homelessness and drug abuse treatment (!) has now become systematic and volunteer movements that assist marginalized groups are facing increasing pressure. These new policies have also fed into a popular narrative of 'Gypsy crime' and have thus targeted poor Roma families and homeless as well. Criminalization and an increase in the number of local police has forced drug use, homelessness and prostitution into dilapidated buildings of former industrial areas. This increasingly concentrates neighbourhood problems in a relatively restricted geographical space (Rác, Márványközi and Melles 2010). At the same time, however, a significant part of the District has been 'cleansed' of persons seen as deviant or socially undesirable. Thus, following the arguments of Wacquant (2012), the maintenance of the stigmatized ghetto in the affected streets serves the purpose of protecting members of the majority population from daily contact with ghetto dwellers, and thus from the symbolic dangers that members of the majority associate with the members of the ghetto.

As in many cities housing policies in Budapest constitute one of the main urban regeneration tools that facilitate the exclusion of stigmatized and problematic social groups. Exclusion has been a problematic aspect of the regeneration programme since its beginnings in 2005, although in its first phases it was compensated by general objectives supporting integrated community development. Since the advent of right-wing political leadership the wholesale change of population has been clearly articulated as a political objective (see also above). This policy can clearly be detected in the MNP's housing programme which in large part is based on managing social housing that is comparatively abundant in Józsefváros and in the Magdolna area in particular. A large sector of the tenants are trapped within a spiral of indebtedness and an inability to pay bills and rent often leads to eviction and ultimately exclusion from the social welfare system (Horváth and Pósfai, 2014). The number of these renters at risk is permanently increasing, and according to the observations of housing right activists and other experts and witnesses, a considerable percentage of them are of Roma origin. Thus, although it has never been admitted in official discourse (and regardless of political leanings), the Roma population have always been particularly affected by housing policies that target exclusion. Supporting these affected groups had in fact been the main objective of the Roma Rights Protection offices that was hosted by the Roma Parliament until 2011.

At the same time, the policy of eviction contradicts the main objectives of the MNP which is financed by the European Union as a programme enhancing social integration and urban regeneration without displacement. The contradiction has become particularly evident

during the third phase of MNP, when after the launching of the financing period an extra element was added to the programme by the municipality, the complete renovation of 10 'crisis buildings'. According to municipal decision, these buildings have been selected according to the following criteria: (1) tenants are characterized by typical problems of anti-social behaviour and incapacity to live within the community; (2) the buildings and their environment are particularly affected by the possibility of crime; (3) tenants with rent arrears are overrepresented (4) the number of illegal occupants is higher than the average. Crisis buildings are thus spaces where 'problematic groups', including many Roma families, are concentrated – in fact forcibly moved - before the start of the construction work. Very probably these persons will never be able to resettle to newly renovated flats with increased rental and energy costs.

As a final observation, it must be noted that in contrast to more recent shifts towards highly conservative, normative and punitive approaches to neighbourhood development, new forms of Roma representation have emerged through informal channels. These new movements are largely based on the use of social media (Facebook groups and events). The 'We Belong Here Movement' was formed in the year of the national census (2011) with the aim of persuading Romani people to openly declare their Roma identity. After the census was completed, the movement remained active as a virtual community intending to inform local Roma communities, organizing civil rights actions and different cultural events such as the Roma Pride Day, Roma Resistance Day, not only in the Magdolna neighbourhood but in different locations around the country. It can be considered a good example of reactive ethnic mobilization in a new, changing political environment (Setét 2013). Apart from this virtual organization, Gallery8, the contemporary Roma gallery established in 2010 at Mátyás square, is presently the only institution to represent the social and cultural identity of the Roma living in the neighbourhood. In addition to art exhibitions, Gallery8 undertakes the mission of representing the social problems of disadvantaged minorities by placing its exhibitions in an international context, connected to civil rights movements, and to the sociological concept of 'critical whiteness' (Junghaus 2011).

Conclusions

Bordering is by definition one of the main impacts of urban regeneration. In our case study area, the Magdolna neighbourhood of Budapest's Józsefváros, bordering could, furthermore, be observed as a multilevel process, influenced by national politics, local policies, and persistent popular stereotypes but also by local actors creating public spaces for the articulation of community needs. Consequently we have focused on tensions between politically instrumentalized appropriations of Roma identity and Roma attempts to re-appropriate local space as an empowering environment and facilitator of a sense of belonging.

What appears clear is that multicultural and normative-contingent approaches to integration and neighbourhood development have favoured, first of all, gentrification processes that inherently serve to divide the Roma community and marginalize the poorest neighbourhood residents. These bordering processes have generated several new forms of exclusion in the area, clearly contradicting the EU's goals of promoting social cohesion and cultural tolerance

and suggesting a rather cynical implementation of EU structural and other public funds. These place-making strategies have also contributed to the generation of new borders in the area. Physical borders have emerged between the streets, facades and the inner courtyards, between the rehabilitated streets and the dilapidated ones, between the rehabilitated areas and the steadily shrinking slum and 'ghetto' area. Social borders have been accentuated between old and new inhabitants, Roma and non-Roma, and, ultimately between 'good' and 'undesirable' Roma and thus also within Roma society itself.

As the above discussion has suggested, bordering, for example as place-making, involves making 'visible', both physically and discursively, specific narratives and appropriations of neighbourhood space. In the case of the VIIIth District, the Magdolna Quarter in particular, local appropriations of neighbourhood space have often diverged from those characterized by the rationalities of government. Indeed, the Roma community's own representations of the neighbourhood have provided powerful counter-narratives. This has included the promoting of a sense of 'Roma pride' as an alternative to mainstream policies of integration. Ultimately, however, these attempts at place-making reflect the problematic legacy of Roma discrimination and the difficulty of creating a more generally empowering environment for Roma communities.

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