



Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

Urban Policies on Diversity in Budapest, Hungary

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1. Introduction

In this chapter we provide an assessment of the policies related to urban governance and diversity in Hungary. According to the objectives of the work package this chapter is divided into three main parts. In the *first part* we give an overview on the political system and governance structure in Budapest, the city where our case-study area is situated. This part has two main objectives. On the one hand, we discuss the institutional and governance structure related to urban diversity in Hungary. In this respect, the formal government agencies and key decision-making bodies that shape urban policy at different scales are introduced. In addition, other relevant organisations in the private, voluntary and community sector which have an influence on policy discourses on diversity are portrayed, and the formal links between different bodies are represented. These institutional settings and connections are also demonstrated by an institutional map, besides a short description. On the other hand, based on secondary sources and the classification proposed by Syrett and Sepulveda (2012), a short description and periodisation (from the late 1980s) of the national policy context and the key shifts in national policy regarding migration, citizenship and diversity is provided.

In the *second major part* of the chapter we present the results of the critical discourse analysis we conducted on the city-wide diversity-related policy approaches in Budapest. In this subchapter more objectives are addressed. Firstly, employing Fincher and Iveson's (2008) framework of redistribution, recognition and encounter, we highlight the dominant governmental urban policy strategies, discourses, and their main effects in relation to diversity and the resource allocations (financial, non-financial, legal and institutional) of the policy programmes. Secondly, we focus on the views of non-governmental actors (e.g. charity organisations or minority advocacy groups) and their reflections on diversity policy and the openness of policy-making processes. The *final part* of the chapter contains some concluding remarks assembled from the above mentioned subchapters.

In general, the political environment and the institutional and legal frameworks in Hungary support diversity, but anti-diversity factors still exist in everyday policy-making practices and in the resource allocation. Analysing the *governance structure* of Hungary, it can be concluded that the functioning of the system is determined by a dualist character at different scales (see Chapter 2.1). The political system of Hungary is a unitary, parliamentary representative democratic republic with a multi-level governance structure including territorial bodies and decentralized administration offices on regional, county, capital, micro-region, and local (municipal) levels. This structure is divided into public and municipal administration offices and appointed bodies. Dualism can also be observed in the city of Budapest where both the Municipality of Budapest and the districts enjoy independent legal municipal status. Regarding the overview of the *national policy context* it can be stated that the approach of the national government of Hungary towards diversity, multiculturalism and immigration issues is basically characterised by pluralist and integrationist/intercultural features, what is mainly the result of the political transition of 1989-90. In Budapest *governmental* programmes, city-wide policies, mid- and long-term strategies and concepts have increasingly focused on multiculturalism, diversity, and issues related to the inclusive society over the last two decades. However, policy-makers in everyday practice mostly focus on topics related to equity and (re)distribution. From the area-based policies, they pay special attention to urban regeneration/renewal programmes, while among people-based policies, those related to disadvantaged groups (e.g. the homeless, the Roma population) are prioritised. The attitude and role of *non-governmental* actors in urban diversity is similar in many respect to the governmental side (e.g. problem-oriented programmes, similar priority target groups). However, in particular topics they criticise the municipal government's instruments (e.g. in the homeless question).

2. Overview of the Political System and Governance Structure in Budapest

2.1. Governance structure for urban policy in Budapest

The political system of Hungary is a parliamentary representative democratic republic. The executive power is exercised by the government. The Prime Minister plays the most important role in the governance system as the head of government. The general policy making takes place in a framework of central legislation (parliament) supplemented by the state administration on national level including eight ministries.

Considering urban policy and social diversity the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Human Resources are the key departments which define the directives, the regulations and the comprehensive policy strategies. The government pays special attention to urban development issues. The legislation of urban planning exists since 2012 through the ratification of Government Decree 314/2012 on Urban Development Concept. The decree established a framework for local urban policies also involving socio-spatial aspects into the planning process. The approval of this decree was a milestone in the regulatory framework of Hungarian urban development because the legislation focused previously exclusively on regional planning. The regulation prescribes methodology, requirements for content as well as rules of processes for providing local urban policy.

Regarding the allocation of financial resources the Cabinet of Development Policy – including the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Development, the Minister of National Economy and the Head of Prime Ministers's Office – and the National Development Agency are the key governance institutions. The Equal Treatment Authority is responsible for investigating the complaints filed for the violation of the principle of equal treatment and enforcing that principle on national level. The autonomous authority prohibits discrimination on the basis of protected characteristics, for example ethnic origin, age, disability, family status, sexual orientation or social origin. The most important policy documents in connection with urban diversity are currently the New Széchenyi Development Plan (2010), the National Development and Regional Development Concept (2013), the National Strategy of Social and Roma Inclusion (2011) and the Migration Strategy (2013).

Being a unitary state Hungary has a multi-level political system and governance structure including territorial bodies (county, settlement, capital, minority assemblies with elected members) and decentralized administration offices on regional, county, capital, micro-region, and local (municipal) levels. The governance structure can be characterised as a dual-system divided into public and municipal administration offices and appointed bodies (Figure 1).

The regional level has been traditionally responsible for allocation of financial resources of European Union and the regional bodies also coordinated the programming of regional and urban development projects between 2007 and 2013. Today this tier has a consultation forum of regional development and operates the regional intermediate body. Several offices of public administration exist on regional level in the governance structure (e.g. for taxation, environmental protection).

In the present planning and administrative system of the country the oldest historically rooted elements are the 19 counties and the capital city of Budapest which is perceived *de jure* as a county. The capital city has a two-tier self-government system (Tosics, 2005; Dövényi and

Kovács, 2006; Enyedi and Pálné Kovács, 2008) including the Municipality of Budapest (i.e. City Hall) as well as the 23 district municipalities with special legal status. The tasks and responsibilities are divided between the district municipalities and the Municipality of Budapest.

There is an independent self-government system of Hungarian minorities on national, county and local level including Budapest and the districts. There are altogether 13 nationalities officially recognised by the law in Hungary¹. Out of the 13 official minorities ten have self-governments on the city level, and all of them have self-governments at least in one district. The self-governments of national minorities are independent from the central and local governments, and their representatives are elected people. Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Minorities defines the competences of self-governments of national minorities (e.g. representation of interests, establishment and operation of institutions, education, equal opportunity, protection of traditions and culture etc.). According to Act XXXVI of 2013 on Electoral Procedure, representatives of national minorities can be elected through special lists to the next parliament, thus, political representation of ethnic minorities will be settled at the highest political level in Hungary.

Both the Municipality of Budapest and the district municipalities – similarly to every settlement in the country – have independent legal municipal status with own budget and a separate self-government system including assemblies with elected politicians as well as local offices. The decision making power of district municipalities is highly independent from the Municipality of Budapest. This has been the source of conflicts between Budapest City Hall and the districts since 1990 as far as policy goals, competencies and division of financial resources are concerned.

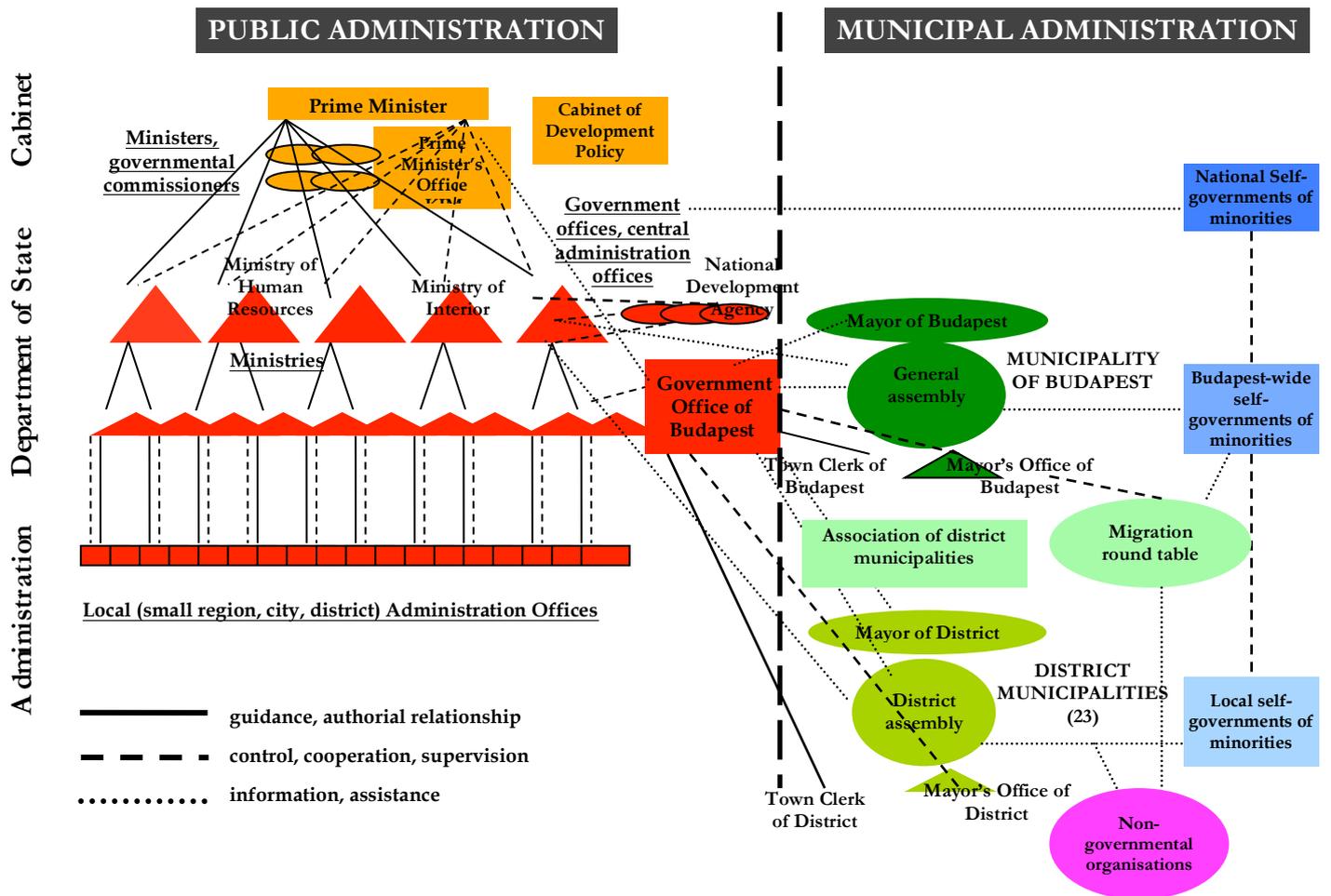
The urban and social issues of Budapest have got starker priorities in the current political and governance system. Formulating urban policies is in the capacity of local governments in Hungary except for Budapest. Act CLXXXIX of 2011 on Local Governments in Hungary defines the tasks and competences of the Municipality of Budapest and the districts. The Municipality of Budapest is basically responsible for overall urban policies, whereas the district municipalities are responsible for the specific ones (see Appendix 1).

The so-called ‘government offices’ have become the key players in the public administration system integrating the administration services after 2010. They are organised on county (19) and Budapest level. The government offices are in charge of providing diverse public services in situ as well as supervising and controlling the operation of governmental system on different levels.

A wide range of actors (e.g. NGOs) actively participate in the planning process and the realisation of urban policy programmes on the local (district) level, however, their role is limited mostly to consultation on the Budapest level (e.g. Budapest Civic Office providing platform for consultation between the Municipality of Budapest and a great number NGOs). As a consequence, NGO actors have only limited power in the decision-making process.

¹ The 13 “historical” national/ethnic minority groups are the Bulgarian, the Gipsy/Roma, the Greek, the Croatian, the Polish, the German, the Armenian, the Romanian, the Rusyn, the Serbian, the Slovakian, the Slovenian and the Ukrainian (Act LXXVII of 1993; Act CLXXIX of 2011).

Figure 1: Tiers of governance and actors of policy-making



2.2. Key shifts in national approaches to policy over migration, citizenship and diversity

The ideology of multiculturalism appeared in Hungarian scientific and political thinking in the second half of the 1990s (Majtényi, 2007a; Berkes, 2010). Though not a single definition/concept of multiculturalism or social diversity does exist currently in policy-making, elements of these ideas are reflected in official documents of the post-1990 era (Table 1). In European comparison, the Hungarian society is ethnically quite homogeneous. The proportion of *ethnic minorities* is 5.6 percent, while of the *foreign country citizens* with residence is 1.4 percent of the total population (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2011). In addition, the majority of the members of these groups is relatively well integrated (except the Roma) into the Hungarian society and their minority identity has been lost or they have developed a ‘dual identity’ (minority *and* Hungarian). *Immigrants*² represent 2 percent of the population (Office of Immigration and Nationality, 2012). About two thirds of all foreign country citizens and 90 percent of those obtaining citizenship arrive from the Hungarian diaspora living in the neighbouring countries (e.g. Romania, Serbia, Ukraine). Therefore, this kind of immigration can be considered as a ‘special ethnic migration’ (Kováts, 2010). As a result, the phenomena of multiculturalism and diversity are rarely addressed in political discourse, but this situation has also historical causes.

Before 1989-90 the central government followed basically *assimilationist* directives in minority and migration issues. Its approach was determined by *communist/state-socialist ideology*, so the existence of social differences was denied officially and almost every sphere of social life was controlled directly by the communist party and the central state. As a result, the opportunities of social-cultural minority organisations – e.g. churches or those representing ethnic minority groups – were very limited. Although in 1968 the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party (MSZMP) dropped its strict assimilationist stance, what resulted in the liberalisation of official minority politics, this process accelerated only in the 1980s (Vermeersch, 2003, 2004; Eiler, 2011).

The change of regime in 1990 had considerable effects on minorities. In internal affairs assimilationist attitude came to an end and ethnic communities became ‘visible’ for the public. Social inequalities also increased due to rapid economic restructuring (e.g. the marginalisation of the Roma population deepened). Migration trends also changed substantially: Hungary had been a sender country before but became a destination and transit country after 1990 (Fullerton, 1997; Világosi, 1997; Juhász, 2003), and consequently ‘new’ minorities (e.g. Chinese) appeared. In foreign policy, issues of the Hungarian diaspora were not taboo any longer. Two groups have received special attention in national politics from the late 1980s: the foreign Hungarians (especially in neighbouring countries) and the Roma (Kováts, 2010; Pastore and Ponzo, 2013).

In the early *transition period* (1989-1993) new minority policy was introduced with *pluralist and integrationist/intercultural* features (see the categories of Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). The central government started to establish a legal and institutional framework to guarantee wide-ranging rights and opportunities for domestic minorities and to support the Hungarians living abroad. Cultural diversity was acknowledged as a value in itself and ethnic minority groups as ‘constituent parts of the State’³. Moreover, the legal basis of their institutions (e.g. national and local minority self-governments) was set. These arrangements indicated the emergence of a ‘multicultural political community’ (Majtényi, 2007a, 2007b) or a ‘multicultural turn’ (Horváth et al., 2010). Regarding the diaspora-question, foreign Hungarians received considerable moral and financial

² Those persons who have a residence permit for at least three months.

³ Act XL of 1990 Amending the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary.

support (e.g. through foundations) and as immigrants they were given preference in acquiring citizenship. Simultaneously, they were encouraged to stay at their place of residence in order to prevent the breakup of Hungarian communities living abroad. Their preferred status is exemplified by the so-called 'two-tiered refugee system'. The public administration made efforts to ease the immigration of ethnic Hungarians, while introducing relatively strict arrangements against non-Hungarians, for instance in employment issues (Fullerton, 1997; Juhász, 2003; Hárs et al., 2009; Tóttás, 2009).

From 1994, minority politics was strongly influenced by the *preparations for the accession to the European Union*. Thus, the accession process coincided with the formulation of the Union's standard migration policy (Világosi, 1997; Kováts, 2005). Urged by the European Commission, for example, in 2003 the Hungarian government implemented an EU-conform antidiscrimination act⁴ (Mészáros, 2004). Furthermore, the immigration act⁵ was modified in the same year, which had the primary aim to police illegal migration and the connected organised crime. These new priorities, however, made an opportunity for the government to introduce stricter legislation towards foreign, non-Hungarian citizens (Hárs et al., 2009). In this period it also became clear that ensuring rights is not enough for the integration of the Roma (mainly because of their deprived status). Therefore, the 'Roma question' turned from a symbolic/legal issue to a social/welfare question. The Horn Government (in office between 1994 and 1998), for example, perceived the Roma as a 'socially disadvantaged group' and this approach was adopted – at least in part – by the successors of the Horn Cabinet (Vermeersch, P. 2003, 2004; Kállai, 2006).

Since the *EU accession* (2004), one of the most important tasks has been the continuous harmonisation of the minority and migration legislation with the common standards. After 2004, the labour market liberalisation and the growing role of international labour migration emerged as relevant topics (Hárs et al., 2009). The then government encouraged the employment of ethnic Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries but not their resettlement. Furthermore, responding to the restrictions on Hungarian labour movement inside the EU, the national government introduced stricter regulations of the employment of third country workers (Hárs et al., 2009; Móricz, 2013). However, as an effect of the 2008 credit crunch, there was a substantial decrease in the labour demand and in the immigration to Hungary (Móricz, 2013).

The current government still follows *pluralist* and *integrationist/intercultural* principles but its activities are strongly affected by the global financial crisis. According to its official rhetoric, it opposes assimilationist policies and regards cultural diversity as a source of economic growth⁶. One of the most important arrangements of the current government is the implementation of a national migration strategy for the 2014–2020 period. The document simplifies residency schemes and promotes legal migration, especially of those arriving with 'economic purpose' (e.g. investors, skilled labour). The Roma policy of the government seems to be rather contradictory. The Hungarian EU presidency (2011) brought about an improvement in Roma policies as the social integration of this ethnic group came into the frontline at the European level. Moreover, the Hungarian government interprets the 'Roma question' as a 'national issue' (but the welfare dimension is still significant⁷) and is committed to the integration of the Roma (see e.g. Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy [2011]). However, several of its actions (e.g. cut-backs and more strict regulations of welfare supports) are criticised because of their negative effects on the Roma (Policy Solutions, 2012).

⁴ Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and Promotion of Equal Opportunities.

⁵ Act LXXXVI of 1993 on the entry of foreigners into, their stay in, and their immigration into Hungary.

⁶ The Fundamental Law of Hungary (2011) and the Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Minorities.

⁷ According to one of our national-level interviewees.

Table 1: Key shifts in national policies regarding migration, citizenship and diversity issues

Period	Political and economic context	Migration policy	Citizenship policy	Diversity policy
Pre-transformation (pre-1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> state socialism powerful central government; direct state control over almost every spheres of social life gradual liberalisation from 1968; became more substantial during the 1980s 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> restrictions in cross-border migration, but liberalisation at the end of this era occasionally providing asylum for refugees (e.g. during Greek civil war) Hungary is a sender country: relatively high number of out-migrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1948. Act LX on Hungarian Citizenship 1957- Act V on Citizenship the possibility of losing citizenship (e.g. denaturalization as penalty or on request of the citizen) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> assimilationist and non-policy approaches diversity is not applied in policy documents because of official ideology limited rights and functions of churches and minority organisations
Early transformation (1989-1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> collapse of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact strengthening role of Euro-Atlantic relationships retained national sovereignty economic transformation and restructuring, resulting in high unemployment rates large-scale privatisation programmes decentralisation of state power from central to local governments i.e. municipalities (but central state remained powerful) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> altered migration trends: Hungary became a destination and transit country immigrants: diverse group but relatively low proportion within the total population and regionally concentrated (mostly to Budapest) most of the migrants are ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries ('special ethnic migration') introduction of a 'two-tiered refugee system' making sharp distinction between ethnic Hungarians and non-Hungarians immigration of Hungarians is favoured by the central government but the basic goal is to maintain their communities in the neighbouring countries non-Hungarians perceived as a threat to Hungarian labour market; in response relatively strict regulations against them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> political dialogue began between the Central and Eastern European countries about the status of ethnic minorities strong support of ethnic Hungarian communities living in the neighbouring countries, main priority in foreign affairs set up the legal framework to support Hungarian minority communities 1989. Act XXIX on Out- and Immigration 1993. Act LV on Hungarian Citizenship 1993. Act LXXXVI on the entry of foreigners into, their stay in, and their immigration into Hungary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> minorities became 'visible' appearance of 'new' ethnic minorities (e.g. Chinese) socially and economically integrated 'native' minorities with the exception of the Roma population due to the development of a multicultural social/political environment diversity is encouraged 1993. Act LXXVII on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities wide-range of collective rights are guaranteed for ethnic minority groups (e.g. self-governance, cultural interests) minorities remained still unrepresented in the Parliament
Pre EU accession (1994-2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> preparations for EU-accession; synchronisation of legal frameworks economic recovery; foreign investments; privatisation introduction of PHARE programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> continuation of the 'two-tiered refugee system' accelerating decrease of Hungarian population; immigration of skilled Hungarian labour from neighbouring countries is welcomed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2001. Act LXII on Hungarians living in neighbouring countries: new relationship between the Hungarian state and ethnic Hungarians living abroad; cultural and social/welfare benefits for ethnic Hungarians (e.g. employment, education, insurance, travelling) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is encouraged development of minority institutions (e.g. establishment of their national and local self-governments) 2003. introduction of Act CXXV on Equal Treatment and Promotion of Equal Opportunities the 'Romany question' became a welfare issue
Post EU accession (2004-2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2004. accession to EU liberalization of labour market 2008. global economic crisis 2011. Hungarian EU presidency Hungarian government before 2010: socialist-liberal, after 2010: right-wing, conservative government with a two-third majority in Parliament 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> new priority: policing illegal migration and connected organised crime 2007. Schengen Treaty came into effect 2007. Act LXXX on Asylum 2007. Act II on the Entry and Stay of Third-Country Nationals effect of crisis: decreased labour demand and immigration 2013. migration strategy: promoting legal migration, especially 'economic' migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2010. introduction of dual citizenship scheme for ethnic Hungarians living abroad obtaining permanent residence permit: possible after 3 years of living and working in Hungary with a residence permit obtaining citizenship: possible after 8 years of residence naturalization on preferential terms is possible (e.g. if an ascendant was a Hungarian citizen) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity is encouraged and regarded as a 'source of economic growth' impact of austerity politics (especially on deprived Roma population) 2005. Decade of Roma Inclusion Strategic Program

3. Critical Analysis of Policy Strategies and Assessment of Resource Allocations

3.1. Dominant governmental discourses of urban policy and diversity

Generally, city-wide policies, mid- and long-term strategies and concept documents in Budapest have increasingly focused on multiculturalism, diversity, and issues related to the inclusive society over the last two decades. The group of the arrangements which attempt to manage diversity in Budapest is rather heterogeneous and can be divided along several dimensions. In this report, we analyse policy discourses through the categories proposed by Fincher and Iveson (2008) and Fainstein (2010): (1) equity and (re)distribution, (2) recognition and (3) encounter. In addition we take into consideration that in each of the above mentioned categories there are *area-based* (e.g. neighbourhood- and district-level revitalisation programmes), *people-based* (e.g. integration programs focusing on different social groups) and *comprehensive/universal* policies (see Table 2).

Table 2: A typology of national- and Budapest-level diversity-related policies (see Appendix 2 for more details)

Category of policies	Area-based policies	People-based policies	General policies
Equity/ (re)distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> urban renewal programmes Urban Renewal Fund of Budapest [1996]: from the privatisation of the public housing units owned by local governments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Migration Strategy (2013): attraction of high-skilled migrants 'silver economy' initiatives Act II of 2012 (Misdemeanour Act): statutory provisions against homeless people the Roma question as welfare issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity as a basis of economic performance and competitiveness Budapest 2030: the idea of 'unified Budapest' (to decrease social inequalities) Urban Equal Opportunity Programme (2011)
Recognition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Budapest 2030 (2013): land use, functional, and tenure structure as part of 'urban diversity' (e.g. the building stock of the World Heritage Site) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> equal opportunities: special attention to women, people with disabilities, Roma minority, the elderly, young people, the homeless and immigrants Urban Equal Opportunity Programme (2011): to integrate the Roma culture and community into the general image of Budapest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Spatial Development Concept (2005); National Development 2020 (2012): strengthening Budapest as an international hub and national cultural centre Budapest 2030 (2013): preserving and developing the cultural diversity of the city;
Encounter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban Development Handbook (2009): Action Area Plans should increase the level of diversity involves the socio-spatial aspects into the planning process / Decree 314 of 2012/ special attention to housing estates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration Roundtable of Budapest: network for actors concerning migration activities of Budapest Chance Nonprofit Ltd.: creating inclusive workplaces, institutional spaces, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the municipality of Budapest pays attention to policy and social networks as special spaces of encounter and discussion critiques from the opposition: the municipal government's 'elitist stance' towards public spaces erodes social diversity

Besides these broad categories, there is a considerable diversity in the ways how policy documents and policy-makers⁸ approach social diversity, multiculturalism, minorities and migration. According to the interviews, *governmental actors* often construct a positive-negative dichotomy and categorise the phenomena and the different policy arrangements/initiatives over diversity accordingly. One of them, for instance, advised that the two categories should be explicitly separated. The first approach concentrates basically on the (economic) opportunities vis-à-vis diversity, while the second one seeks to treat the negative externalities of the phenomenon. Although diversity is considered positively by respondents, many of them emphasised that in relation to social dissimilarity and diversity the needs of the marginalized groups deserves utmost attention.

The traditional diversity of Budapest has been positively evaluated by most of the different area-based, people-based and general policies and strategies, and there are many ways how it is approached by these documents. Diversity is often interpreted by them as *environmental* diversity. Accordingly, urban environment has several facets: for example natural (e.g. biodiversity), social, cultural, economic and built environment. *Social* (i.e. socio-economic and socio-demographic) diversity is mostly understood as the coexistence of groups differing from each other by age, ethnicity, gender, income and status, religion, and health status or disability. *Economic* diversity mainly refers to the diversity of enterprises, jobs, sectors, opportunities of business actors and tourist attractions. The diversity of housing market, services (public and private), urban functions and land use, and infrastructure (e.g. modes and means of transportation, R+D) are also mentioned. Finally, *cultural* diversity is rarely specified, but sometimes represented by lifestyles and habits. However, the different approaches are not given equal emphasis in the official policy documents and especially in the thinking of different actors in Budapest-level policy-making. As it turned out during the analysis of core documents and interviews, in Budapest policies targeting equity/(re)distribution of resources (see above) are the dominant.

In addition, some of the interviewees pointed to a discrepancy between the goals of official policy documents and the everyday political thinking related to diversity. Based on the remarks of some of the respondents and on our own experiences during the interviews, it can be concluded that the managing or the strengthening of social diversity is not a priority of the Budapest government. This is particularly true for possible positive aspects of diversity (e.g. the relationship between diversity and economic performance). This negligent attitude in political thinking has several reasons. One of them is the legacy of the communist era: as a consequence of the pre-1990 central governments' (the ruling communist party) assimilationist approach and their denial/ignorance of the existence of social differences (see Chapter 2.2), recognizing the importance of diversity-related policies in urban governance can take more time in Hungary (and other post-socialist countries) than in Western Europe.

Moreover, some interviewees expressed that the level of openness and tolerance in Hungarian society is relatively low, and terms like diversity or multiculturalism are often associated with negative ideas in everyday (not political) discourse. As a senior official from the City Hall noted:

“I think we are now in a bad historical moment in Hungary. Nowadays, people feel very miserable and do not tolerate otherness, do not tolerate difference. On the contrary, they perceive it as an error. And this is a process getting more and more intense”.

⁸ For the list of the interviewees see Appendix 3.

As a result of this attitude, the political actors rarely formulate explicit objectives regarding diversity or they hardly use this wording in their programmes. Some respondents said that the economic recession and the widening gap between different income/social status groups could also contribute to a significant reduction in tolerance. To sum up, interviewees evaluated the current political environment and public attitude adverse for diversity issues.

Within the category of *policies for equity/(re)distribution of resources*, the *comprehensive/universal* ones focus, on the one hand, on the exploitation of economic opportunities provided by social diversity. This idea covers for example the development of cultural economy, creative industries and international tourism. On the other hand, policies from this category also concentrate on social/welfare inequalities within the urban society. Similar topics mentioned in national-level documents are relevant for Budapest-level policy-making as well.

Regarding the first topic (economic opportunities), The Urban Development Handbook (2009), a guide for actors of urban planning, for example points out that it is expected from urban rehabilitation programmes to create urban spaces which can attract tourists, entrepreneurs and immigrant labour. The Spatial Development Concept of Pest County⁹ (2012) emphasises that this is an extremely diverse region from ‘natural, geographical, economic, social and cultural’ points of view. The document considers diversity as a basis of increased economic performance and competitiveness, linking it closely with other concepts like innovation and creativity. This approach is consistent with the objectives of several national-level documents (National Spatial Development Concept [2005]; National Development 2020 [2012]) which envisage the creation of a competitive Budapest metropolitan area. Generally, these documents (even if not have specific goals or recommendations for Budapest) perceive cultural heritage and the different social identities as human and economic resources and relevant factors of urban development.

Although it rarely comes into question among policy-makers and planners in everyday meetings, the analysis of core documents shows that stakeholders consider the possibilities of employing diversity as a resource. Fostering the consumption of everyday cultural products (e.g. arts, gastronomy), and the flows of economic migration and tourism are important aspects for Budapest-level policy-makers. The diversity of the local society (e.g. economic actors) is highlighted as one of the key factors related to creativity and economic competitiveness in Budapest (Budapest 2030 [2013]; preliminary study on the local economic strategy of Budapest [2009]). According to the relevant economic policies, the development of creative and innovative activities enjoys priority in Budapest in the future. The creative milieu inspires a great number of local enterprises creating a network and stimulating each other.

Considering the second topic (social/welfare inequalities) the primary objective of the policies is to reduce inequalities among different groups within the local society regarding the quality of life as well as to prevent social exclusion and socio-spatial fragmentation. This is expressed by the universal idea that in Budapest social tensions should be alleviated by increasing the standard of living of low-status groups (‘unified Budapest’; i.e. Budapest without extreme social inequalities). The commitment of Budapest’s government to social issues is indicated by the fact that it has elaborated its own programme for the promotion of equal opportunities.

The Urban Equal Opportunity Programme (2011) is the most important city-wide strategy in Budapest regarding social diversity. According to this programme, social diversity must be protected because Budapest is a multicultural city. In order to become an inclusive global city,

⁹ The agglomeration of Budapest is part of Pest County.

social cohesion should be strengthened; therefore, exclusionary attitude and negligence of equal treatment should be reduced. The programme provides guidelines for the various sectoral policies (urban development, education, health, employment, social services, etc.) in order to perform coordinated public services provided by the Mayor's Office and its institutions. Since 2010 Budapest city hall has performed its equal opportunity programme on a voluntary basis, as the law relegated this policy field to the competence of districts. Moreover, as it turned out from the interviews, Budapest has actually started to deal with the phenomenon of diversity in relation to equal treatment. Nowadays, the city-government also urges the districts to adopt a more structured thinking regarding this topic.

The *area-based* approach in urban policies and strategies as well as policy ideas related to social diversity began to unfold from the second half of the 1990s (relevant documents are e.g. Budapest Urban Rehabilitation Concept [1997], Budapest Social Charter [1997], Social Concept of Budapest [2002]). Based on the interviews and document analysis we can emphasize that there has been a consistent concept in the case of area-based city-wide policies in order to halt the downward spiral of deprived urban areas (crisis areas) during the past two decades – primarily from urban planning aspects (e.g. allocation of metropolitan resources provided by the Urban Renewal Fund of Budapest [1996], support of complex urban renewal projects). However, it was not associated with a socio-political strategy focusing explicitly on social diversity and multiculturalism. The socially disadvantaged groups and especially the Roma are over-represented in some of the poor inner-city neighbourhoods, nevertheless each district has an individual policy related to socio-spatial segregation (e.g. preserve the former community or relocate them).

According to the opinion of some of the members of local Policy Platform a new type of social diversity could be detected in those neighbourhoods where area-based urban renewal programmes have been realised and the local government led interventions resulted in a radical transformation of the local society. As a result of these regeneration programmes, firstly, an increasing social mix can be observed given the coexistence of long-term residents and gentrifiers. These neighbourhoods become destinations of university students, managers, employees of multinational companies, investors and upper-middle class strata. After certain time, due to gentrification the local community becomes more homogeneous considering social status and at the same time more diverse considering cultural background (religion, language, nationality etc.). Consequently, new functions (cultural institutions, enterprises, hotels, etc.) start to operate as urban regeneration commences producing wide-range of diversity.

In the case of *people-based* policies, a unified conceptual approach appeared at the end of the 1990s. Nowadays, different people-based policies exist at the national level and they have significant implications for Budapest. According to the National Migration Strategy (2013) for example Hungary should become an attractive destination for those who can actively contribute to the national economy (p. 17), like high-skilled migrants. This has special relevance for Budapest since this city is the primary area of destination and settling of immigrants and foreign capital (see also Chapter 2.2). Policies also focus on the increasing weight of elderly within the population of Budapest, for example by stressing the idea of 'silver economy'. Strategies for economic development do not cover all aspects of diversity: ethnicity, for example, is not articulated in these documents but according to the interviews, some government officials see opportunities in this field.

There is a greater emphasis on social/welfare aspect of diversity than on economic opportunities connected to the phenomenon. Integration and socio-economic sustainability are the key elements of the Budapest government's approach: the city seeks to integrate disadvantaged groups into the mainstream society. Spheres of major interventions include employment,

education, health-care and housing programmes (see also: Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy: Extreme Poverty, Child Poverty, The Roma [2011]). The Budapest Chance Nonprofit Ltd. is a good example for this approach. It is a company created by the city government of Budapest and its primary task is the promotion of employment among marginal social groups. In addition, the company provides additional services, like the training of employees and employers for inclusive techniques and cross-cultural communication.

The target group of these interventions is quite diverse since they aim to decrease inequalities along different axes: income, ethnicity, gender, age, state of health, marital status/family size. However, a comprehensive conceptual approach appears only related to some 'priority' social groups like the homeless, persons living with disability, elderly or the young people. There are separate city-wide people-based policy strategies in order to achieve the inclusion of these groups (e.g. Homeless Concept of Budapest [2011], Concept of Disability [2011], Social Service Organisation Concept [2011]).

The situation of the *homeless* people is one of the most relevant topics in Budapest. The location and spatial movement of this group does not stick to administrative boundaries (i.e. the districts or the city), therefore, handling the problem of homelessness is the common responsibility of the city-government and district municipalities. Both parties try to solve the problem by removing those people from public spaces who live there on a daily basis (e.g. sleep on benches or in pedestrian subways) and accommodate them in high-capacity facilities (i.e. homeless shelters) or provide them public housing. The legal basis of such arrangements is an amendment of the Act on Misdemeanours¹⁰ which provides possibility for municipalities to introduce statutory provisions against homeless people and beggars.

Regarding *ethnic groups and immigrants*, there is a lack of city-wide people-based policy. The current existing initiatives are parts of projects supported by the European Union. Evaluating these projects we can conclude that they have limited coverage (focusing on specific groups of people) and short lifetime (1-3 years), but on the other hand, they often support civic grass-root initiatives, and their main outcomes and lessons are converted into policies and concepts under preparation which can be seen as a positive aspect. For example, based on the experiences of URBACT II/Roma-Net 'Integration of Roma population in Budapest' project, the Roundtable of Migration was set up. Another positive example is that the ongoing revision of the Urban Equal Opportunity Programme is strongly influenced by other projects focusing on migration (e.g. Learning Cities).

If the issue of ethnic minorities appears in policy-making a special attention is paid to the situation of *Roma*. Similarly to the national level the Roma is the largest ethnic minority in Budapest and it is the least assimilated into the mainstream society. Their proportion within the total population is the highest in the dilapidated inner-city districts of Pest, although this figure is not high, e.g. only 4 percent in the 8th District (Józsefváros) where they are the most populous ethnic community. Nonetheless, social problems attached to the Roma are the most salient in these neighbourhoods.

The so-called Roma question is basically treated by Hungarian policies as a social/welfare issue (although in some cases its racial or cultural aspects are also taken into consideration). Being a Roma person significantly increases the possibility of being affected by poverty and deprivation. The integration of the Roma, however, is hampered by public attitude: as a consequence of the

¹⁰ Act II of 2012, amended on 30th September 2013.

failure of the policy interventions in the last two decades, mistrust between the Roma and the Hungarian population has been growing, which also reinforces the exclusion of members of the Roma community.

According to the interviewees and policy documents, the integration¹¹ of this group is an important aim for Budapest. For example, as the Local Action Plan called 'Integration of the Roma population in Budapest' states:

'One of the greatest challenges for the Hungarian society is how social groups affected by exclusion and extreme poverty can catch up and given opportunity. The majority of the people and families with Roma identity have very poor living conditions, also in Budapest. The drifting of children and young people on this slope to the periphery of the society is almost unstoppable. This downward spiral generates more and more, and less manageable social and economic tensions' (p. 4).

The Action Plan was accepted by the City Council of Budapest and accomplished under the URBACT II urban network. It focuses on the following priority areas: housing, education, health, employment and culture. The Action Plan integrates the *area- and people based approach*. In order to achieve people-based, problem-orientated intervention in deprived residential areas, it established a Local (metropolitan) Support Group. All the interventions focus exclusively on the Roma community. The LSG includes non-profit organisations setup by the metropolitan government, the Metropolitan Gypsy Minority Self-Government, and a number of civil non-profit organizations working on local (district), city-wide, and national level. Despite the existence of the Local Action Plan, a city-wide general strategy for the Roma is still missing.

Policies targeting *migrants* are linked to the topic of welfare tensions in several ways. The city of Budapest – the most important economic centre of Hungary – is a traditional destination for domestic migration. This is particularly true for those arriving from the economically less developed North-Eastern regions. A large proportion of these migrants are unskilled, and they have a marginal position on the labour market of Budapest, particularly since the beginning of the global economic recession (2008). Those who lose family support and other social ties often become homeless as well.

The government of Budapest aims to attract and retain skilled labour while – according to an interviewee from an opposition party (and other, non-governmental participants) – its attitude is rather dismissive towards low-skilled groups. Since poverty is a major social problem in Hungary affecting a large part of its territory, and Budapest has long been receiving settlers from all over the country, the municipality leaders think that policy measures at the national level could provide the only real solution. According to the city administration, Budapest alone cannot tackle this problem.

A further challenge for Budapest is the population movement between the core city and its agglomeration. After 1991 Budapest had population losses in favour of the neighbouring municipalities (Tosics, 2005; Dövényi and Kovács, 2006) but that trend changed in 2007, and since then the city has had positive balance of migration. One of the respondents noted that the

¹¹ The Local Action Plan for the integration of the Roma population and the Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy emphasise that labour market integration plays a key role in the social integration of the Roma population. Moreover, in both of the documents, the viewpoint of Brussels was adopted: the labour market integration of the Roma can bring significant economic benefits for the society and as a consequence it contributes to the elimination of discrimination on the ground of racial or ethnic origin, enhancing social cohesion.

group of ‘returnees’ (i.e. people moving back from the agglomeration) is quite heterogeneous regarding for instance their age, income etc. and consequently their needs are very diverse as well. This has been acknowledged by Budapest and now specific elements are appearing in the city-wide planning, like improving the housing mobility of different age groups.

Besides domestic migrants, Budapest is the primary entry point and settling area for those arriving from other countries. However, policies have not been trying to cover this issue until the 2010s. According to the interviews the marginal role of immigrant issues is caused by the relatively low ratio of immigrants in the total population (appr. 60.000 people out of 1.7 million) as well as by the fact that the social status and income level of immigrant communities is generally higher than in the case of mainstream society. Additionally, most of the immigrant communities are well-organized (regarding education, economy, culture, etc.). One of the most important features of immigrant communities on the one hand is the high spatial concentration of economic activities (8th and 10th Districts), and on the other hand, the residential fragmentation and dispersion based on social status, which is similar to the socio-spatial segregation of the mainstream society.

As several interviewees and documents expressed, international migration is not such a hot issue in Budapest as in the case of different Western European cities/countries.

“Recommendations of the Union are rather focusing on immigrants instead of national ethnic minorities or the Roma because that is bigger problem there. But during EU programs in which we dealt with immigrants we experienced ... that in other countries of the Union the situation of the immigrants is more or less similar to that of the Roma at us. And in our country the life circumstances of the immigrants are better than this. At least from particular aspects, regarding their employment, for example. Or their demographic composition is a bit better than in [other countries of] the EU or that of the Roma in Hungary. Therefore, we are Roma-centric in policy making, in contrast to EU recommendations. And since here the religion-based differences and diversity – in part these are immigration-connected stuff – are perhaps a little bit less important questions than in the Union. As a consequence, this [topic] was also absent [from previous policy documents]” [the head of the Equal Opportunity Office of the Municipality of Budapest, 12 November 2013].

In recent years, however, the importance of this topic has steadily increased in policy-making at the city level. This is well reflected, for example, by the activity of the Capital City Migration Roundtable. The establishment of this body in 2012 can be perceived as a milestone or turning-point in the history of the Budapest-level diversity policies because the basic objective of the project was that an organised, official, city-wide discussion on migration issues should be started with the participation of the municipal administration. As several respondents noted, it is a significant step on behalf of Budapest which seems to be committed to greater policy intervention in this field and to active, continuous communication with different social organisations. Moreover, the everyday work experience of some of the interviewees showed that some kind of consensus has been reached in Budapest between political actors regarding the importance of this topic in general and the continuation of the work. Due to the well-organized city-wide cooperation the issues attached to migration will be considered in the revision of the Urban Equal Opportunity Programme in 2014 which has been missing until now.

From the different problems related to international migration, policy-makers focus rather on welfare and (re)distribution issues than on the cultural or racial ones. Their attitude is influenced by the fact that, according to official data, the weight of foreigners is very low in Budapest. In addition, the relative standard of living of this group is higher than their Western European

counterparts because many of them are economic migrants (e.g. South-East Asian entrepreneurs) with stable income and family/social networks, and they are relatively well integrated into the local society. Some of the interviewees noted that the social stratification of the Chinese community and the spatial distribution of the different income groups are very similar to the Hungarians. Their most serious problems are the lack of information regarding public services and their limited access to them.

Analysing the interviews and several core documents, other distinct social groups as subjects of different policies can be identified. These are the young generations (especially of marginalised groups), women in general and those returning to work from maternity/paternity leave, the elderly, the Jewish community of Budapest, people living with disabilities and autism. The (re)distributive/welfare policies of Budapest apply therefore a broad definition of the term 'diversity'. However, as one of the interviewees stated, some topics (e.g. sexual identity/orientation) are still treated as 'taboos' in policy discourse.

Regarding the general character of the second category of diversity-related policies – *policies for diversity/recognition of multiple voices* –, the universal approach to the topic is influenced by national policies (see Chapter 2.2). Therefore, similarly to the latter, the official rhetoric of the Budapest administration includes pluralist and integrationist/intercultural features as well. According to these policies diversity is a positive value in itself which is one of the most important reasons to support it. In addition, this is closely connected to the above-mentioned viewpoint, according to which diversity can be perceived as a resource for the economy. Based on the evaluation of strategies and concepts, the interventions can be divided into two types. One group of measures intends to increase the spectrum of diversity, while the other group of interventions wants to diminish the role of anti-diversity factors.

Policy-makers in Budapest seem to share the opinion that diversity should be fostered and/or preserved. However, in most cases they understand under the term 'diversity' mainly cultural diversity. Interviewees and some of the analysed documents state that Budapest has an extremely diverse and lively social and cultural life. For instance, according to its Integrated Urban Development Strategy (2009), Budapest can be described as a city with a '*dynamic social life...vibrant underground culture, creative and inclusive (treating ethno-cultural diversity as an asset) cultural elite*' (p. 54). National and regional development plans (e.g. National Spatial Development Concept [2005]; National Development 2020 [2012]) aim to strengthen Budapest as an international hub and national cultural centre. As it is suggested by these documents the 'spirited, youthful, culturally diverse and lively' attitude of Budapest should expand on its hinterland (National Development 2020 [2012], p. 204).

Linked to this objective in the current long-term urban development concept of Budapest the issue of diversity plays an outstanding role among the social goals, on the one hand, in order to preserve and develop the cultural diversity of the city, and in order to create an inclusive and active society, on the other. The latter appears as a new challenge in this policy document. Similarly to policy documents on the national level the topic of diversity is interpreted as a very complex and broad phenomenon in the urban development concept of Budapest which considers for example the building stock of the World Heritage Site as an element of cultural diversity: it interprets the versatile land use, functional, and tenure structure as part of 'urban diversity'. Related to creating a diverse, multi-cultural urban environment as well as a modern, metropolitan cultural setting the concept considers not only the multicultural nature, which slowly becomes traditional urban standard, and not only the 'co-existence' of different social and ethnic groups as well as subcultures as an important aspect, but also emphasises the role of various cultural and art activities including the involvement and interactions of various social

groups. Budapest has an attractive cultural environment, which provides valuable information, inspiration, connections and favourable conditions for representatives of arts.

The Urban Equal Opportunity Programme also understands diversity as an absolutely positive feature of society since it states that social diversity is equally important as biodiversity in the natural environment.

'We are all different. ... The majority is the sum of minorities. When we travel abroad, we are those belonging to a minority. Diversity is as important for humankind as for the natural environment. This diversity is what makes us valuable' (p. 3).

According to the programme, tolerance and intercultural communication strengthen social ties, improve the quality of urban life and decrease the risk of marginalisation. Diversity can also contribute to a balanced and sustainable urban development because inclusion of different cultures and various ethnic and social groups make Budapest more attractive. However, exclusionary attitude of the majority may lead to fragmentation and isolation within the urban community¹². To sum up, the programme establishes a connection between the concepts of diversity and equal opportunity and provides implications for other programmes aiming to foster social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance.

Specific objectives focus on the need to improve the circulation of positive information, experiences related to diversity and social cohesion as well as to disseminate the negative effects of prejudice. The programme identifies five specific packages of interventions on the metropolitan level. It contains a package of proposals focusing on the Roma minority (subculture) and activities aimed at integrating the Roma culture and community into the general image of Budapest. In this respect, special emphasis is placed on the possible role of Gypsy music.

For the sake of diversity, the municipal government rejects and condemns any form of discrimination. Although even national law places great emphasis on the promotion of equal treatment and opportunities (see Chapter 2.2), some groups are severely affected by the above mentioned phenomena. The city municipality pays special attention to terminate discrimination of women, people with disabilities, Roma minority, the elderly, young people, the homeless and immigrants. According to the interviewees, however, institutional discrimination still exists in the city administration system and it forms a barrier for disadvantaged groups to get access to particular public services. Nevertheless, the government of Budapest is well aware of the problem and initiates actions against it by arrangements like mainstreaming antidiscrimination and cross-cultural elements in its programmes or training its employees.

With respect to the third category, it could be added that in Budapest there are several policies which aim to *create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation* between groups. Some of them are area-based and their establishment is in accordance with national-level principles. According to the recommendation of the Urban Development Handbook (2009), for example, the creation and implementation of Action Area Plans should increase the level of diversity.

In a general sense, a principal requirement against urban development in Europe is that, as a result of the process, the new or renewed urban fabric should be as diverse as possible,

¹² Although the extreme right wing party (Jobbik) is present in Hungarian parliamentary politics, their influence in Budapest is very much limited.

taking into consideration all circumstances. Another objective is that the local society, of which life is framed and served by this fabric, is being as mixed as possible' (p. 65).

The Action Area Plan is based on the ideas defined by municipalities in the Integrated Urban Development Strategies and it contains concrete arrangements for the development of a particular urban area. As the Handbook suggests, in each case it is expected that as a result of the development activities the urban functions in the area and the local society should become as mixed as possible. It also emphasises that during the renewal of public spaces it is important to take into consideration the diverse needs and demands of the different social groups (e.g. the elderly and the youth). This approach is particularly useful in the development of large housing estates where often a heterogeneous population lives in a relatively small area.

One of the most remarkable people-based policies from this category is the Capital City Migration Roundtable project of Budapest. The Roundtable is a special space of encounter for those governmental and non-governmental actors concerned about migration issues, like the Ministry of Interior, the Office of Immigration and Nationality or the national and local organisations of the immigrants themselves. Although the Roundtable focuses primarily on third country immigrants, representatives of the Hungarian diaspora are also welcome to join the discussions. The Budapest Chance Nonprofit Ltd. also builds social networks to support disadvantaged groups. It involves a wide range of participants: disadvantaged persons and/or organisations representing these people, political decision-makers, institutions and agencies of the city and its districts, non-profit and for-profit companies. Furthermore, the Budapest Chance develops guidelines and organises trainings for employers, state officials and professionals from health-care and welfare sectors, so it contributes to the creation of more tolerant and receptive workplaces and institutional spaces.

However, politicians from the opposition and civil organisations often criticise the Budapest administration because of its approach towards public spaces and the groups using these spaces (see e.g. the local government's solution to the homeless question, discussed above). In the opinion of these actors, the socio-cultural diversity of the city is being eroded by such arrangements. As some of the interviewees pointed out, there is a demand on the part of the local society for public spaces which encourage interactions between individuals and groups but the leaders of Budapest do not utilise the available areas appropriately. A number of places were mentioned which serve or served as nodes of contact for different people. However, it is a problem – they expressed – that some of these places have recently been closed or changed. Such places are for example the flea market in the 16th District (Zugló), the Chinese market in the 8th District (Józsefváros). As a representative from an opposition party commented on these arrangements:

“And it is a question what such a market will be done with, where, at last, the very poor could sell some goods [earning a little money] and other people went there to have a look at. Thus, I do not think decision-makers are very tolerant. Therefore, this contradicts with the politics of diversity and tolerance”.

Another example is the case of the 'Gödör' in the 5th District (Lipótváros). Latter is in a relatively large square in the city centre and it is functioning as a public and cultural centre. Some respondents think that this place was accessible for a wide range of social groups but recently it has become more exclusive due to commercialisation (e.g. there are elegant bars but hanging around and sitting in the grass for the homeless is not tolerated).

During the interviews several problems were mentioned in connection with the *government structure and administrative practices* of Budapest and its agglomeration. These problems have significant influence on diversity-related urban policies. One of them stems from the two-tier self-government system of the city (see Chapter 2.1). After the transition the political competences, control, and also the implementation of policies were divided between the city and local (district) levels, which is a source of conflicts related to the operation and development of the city. As a consequence, there is a permanent tension between the city-wide administration and the local governments of the districts on the one hand, and between the different (legally equal but competing) districts, on the other. Tensions are also arising between Budapest and the surrounding agglomeration municipalities. Several interviewees are missed the cooperation and coordination between Budapest and other municipalities in the agglomeration, in issues like maintaining public utility services or commuting. Regarding the functioning of the Budapest municipality, one of the respondents (representative from an opposition party) suggested that opposition politicians had very limited opportunities to affect policy-making. This situation is caused by factors like ineligible communication with the governing party and the scarce resources of some of the opposition parties. Furthermore, in several cases meetings are too formalised, and there is no substantive discussion on the different issues. As the other side noted, the government of Budapest is open for cooperation and networking and it is trying to build partnerships with as many actors as possible.

The recent re-centralisation of tasks (e.g. education, health care, public administration) and resources also causes problems and not only for the opposition side. This phenomenon can be observed in everyday decision-making and it determines the relationship between Budapest and its districts as well as between Budapest and the national government. As a consequence, the municipal competence of Budapest city hall is being reduced and Budapest has lost some part of its institutions providing public services (e.g. hospitals, schools). In spite of this, Budapest seeks cooperation with appointed bodies of the central government. Moreover, in contrast to the re-centralisation tendencies, some interviewees emphasised the potential role of local communities (including NGOs) in the integration of marginal social groups (e.g. homeless people).

In the case of the Municipality of Budapest *scarce resources* hamper the fulfilment of its tasks. These resources include legal-institutional as well as financial ones that are largely determined by national-level policies. On the *national level* there is a lack of a coherent urban policy considering the strategy documents and the institutional as well as financial background. Policies on urban issues are formulated by local municipalities in Hungary establishing own institutions and using mainly own financial resources since 1990. The municipalities (including the Municipality of Budapest) have been responsible for elaborating and implementing local area-based Integrated Urban Development Strategies focusing on the improvements of the social, economic and environmental conditions of neighbourhoods since 2007, their work had been regulated by a planning guide (Urban Development Handbook, 2007, 2009) without any national legislation until 2012. The Handbook contains recommendations for local municipalities related to urban planning and urban renewal activities.

A new legislation of urban planning came into existence in 2012 which incorporates the socio-spatial aspects into the planning process what can be interpreted as a positive step. However, an overall nation-wide urban strategy does not exist up to now. According to the former Urban Development Handbook and the new legislation as well, local municipalities – in Budapest the City Hall and the districts – have to set up a so-called Anti-segregation Plan which contains area-based complex community-orientated interventions. The Anti-segregation Roundtable as a consultation board was established by the Ministry of Human Resources in 2013 including representatives of educational institutions and charities. The board has a very limited influence

focusing mainly on the issue of educational segregation; furthermore there is not any relationship between the local Anti-segregation Plans and the national Anti-segregation Roundtable. The Anti-segregation Plan itself is a very positive step for developing local communities but according to the seven-year experience there is a conflict because of the weak connection between the realisation of local plans (area- and people-based approach) and the operation of municipalities (sectoral approach).

Based on the interviews the integrated social regeneration programmes can be mentioned as positive examples. In the case of these local public initiatives the area- and people-based approach is clearly visible. However, the realisation of these social regeneration programmes is highly dependent on European Union subsidies and as a consequence the project approach comes to the fore as against long-term aspects. The projects are problem-oriented and focus on deprived urban areas that are mostly inhabited by Roma population.

Regarding the diversity-focused *legal and institutional resources* at the *national level*, the Fundamental Law of Hungary (i.e. Constitution) was changed in 2011; however, both the old and new versions of the law emphasize the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities¹³. According to the previous version of the Fundamental Law of Hungary three parliamentary commissioners (Commissioner for citizens' rights, Commissioner for the rights of nationalities, Commissioner for future generation) were responsible to protect the fundamental rights. Based on the new Fundamental Law of Hungary one parliamentary commissioner – the Commissioner for fundamental rights – is the only appointed body including a deputy who is responsible for the rights of nationalities. The Commissioner for fundamental rights pays special attention to the protection of the rights of children, the rights of nationalities living in Hungary, the rights of the most vulnerable social groups, the values determined as the interests of future generations. The Commissioner for fundamental rights gives an opinion on the draft versions of laws; on long-term development and land management plans and concepts, and on plans and concepts otherwise directly affecting the policy-making process.

Analysing the national level *financial resource* allocation, it can be stated that the proportion of the expenditures devoted to urban policy and diversity is 2.9 percent in the Hungarian Budget (including expenditure devoted to social cohesion, integration and solidarity, ethnic minorities, support for NGOs and EU funds for social and urban developments). It contains interdepartmental integration programmes for social cohesion, subsidies of social, civil and non-profit organisations, subsidies of nationalities, social inclusion programmes as well as National Cultural Fund (NCF) which are financed by Hungarian resources. The NCF is a special central fund raised from national gambling tax.

The Solidarity programmes, the initiatives of New Széchenyi Plan including the Social Renewal Operational Programme and the Regional Development Operational Programme are also co-financed by the European Union. Altogether, 93 percent of the resources targeted to urban policy and diversity come from European funds. Similar result was published by the Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy of the European Commission that analysed the proportion of cohesion funding (EU and national) in total public expenditures in Hungary between 2009 and 2011.¹⁴ The EU resources of the New Széchenyi Plan are handled by the

¹³ Other important legal documents on diversity (see also Chapter 2.2.): Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and Promotion of Equal Opportunities; Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Minorities; Government Decree for urban development concept, the integrated local development strategy and the means of urban regulation (314/2012.).

¹⁴ Panorama Inforegio, No. 45., European Commission, 2013

National Development Agency on national level. Intermediate bodies allocate the financial resources on regional level. Budapest and Pest County form together the Central Hungary Region. The Hungarian resources are handled by the ministries which are responsible for managing urban issues, these are first of all the Ministry of Human Resources and Ministry of Interior.

Within the *budget of Budapest* approximately 3.9 percent of financial resources are targeted to urban policy and diversity. The Urban Renewal Fund of Budapest was founded in 1996 as a special financial mean in order to redistribute the resources between the Municipality of Budapest and the district municipalities. The income of this fund comes from the privatisation of public housing units owned by the local governments (Kovács, 1994). The Urban Renewal Fund is handled by the City of Budapest and there are applications annually in order to reallocate the financial resources among the district municipalities.

The Municipality of Budapest co-finances area-based urban renewal projects managed by district municipalities. Most of the local municipalities established local urban development companies in order to coordinate comprehensive regeneration activities including social and physical interventions on the neighbourhood level. In the case of the local municipality-led integrated urban renewal programmes as well as the intercultural trainings provided by non-governmental organisations the range of activities highly depends on EU subsidies; e.g. Migration Roundtable of Budapest (Municipality of Budapest, European Integration Fund, 2012-2013), Learning cities for migrants inclusion (Budapest Chance Non-profit Ltd., MetropolisNet, 2010-2011), Intercultural trainings for social specialist (Artemisszió Foundation, European Integration Fund 2009-2010, Horizon, European Refugee Found 2013), Budapest-Józsefváros, Magdolna Quarter Programme integrated urban renewal programme (Municipality of 8th District of Budapest, European Regional Development Fund, 2005-2015).

The mobilisation of financial (e.g. involvement of private sector) and human (e.g. involvement of volunteers) resources is one of the most important tasks of the respected institutions (urban development companies, non-profit organisations) on the local level. These institutions can significantly increase their efficiency by cooperating with different actors. For instance, with NGOs who accomplish several micro-scale interventions and play an important role in the field of cultural interactions. The number as well as the spectrum of activities of NGOs engaged in strengthening social cohesion, supervising minority groups, and improving cultural relationships has significantly grown during the last two decades. This can be interpreted as a result of the growing awareness of people about social and cultural issues as well as increasing EU support for civic movements.

The activities of these civil organisations are important in improving the access to public services (e.g. trainings in order to develop the competence, intercultural communication courses, translation services, trainings for public servants), diversity management (knowledge transfer, developing skills for employers), youth and educational integration programmes. The Artemisszió Foundation is a good example for NGOs having an impact on urban diversity. This NGO plays an ad-hoc consultant role regarding city-wide strategies focusing on social policies, and it is aimed to represent the intercultural aspects. In 2012 the Edictum Foundation was established which represents the interests of the Asian immigrant communities first of all the Chinese, Vietnamese people. Other relevant NGOs in the field are the African-Hungarian Association, the Asian-Hungarian Society as well as the Hungarian-Vietnamese Friendship Association. The Menedék Hungarian Association for Migrants is a nation-wide non-governmental organisation which was established in 1995. They have a broad field of activities in order to represent the interests and rights of migrants towards the political, administrative, governmental and municipal bodies and

in the media as well as to promote their social and cultural integration. Most of their activities are concentrated in Budapest and at major refugee centres in the countryside. The headquarters of these relevant non-governmental organisations are predominantly located in the 8th District of Budapest (Józsefváros).

The growing activity of special civic movements is a relatively new phenomenon in Budapest. These movements implement problem-oriented and people-based programmes in the city. One of the most important among them is ‘The City is for All’. Their activists focus on issues like poverty, housing and homelessness at the overall city level. According to their opinion, socio-spatial fragmentation is even more influenced by socio-economic differences than cultural (language, religious) ones.

3.2. Non-governmental views on diversity policy

In Budapest the number of non-governmental organisations addressing social diversity or particular aspects of the phenomenon is relatively high. The Register of Civil Organisations of Hungary¹⁵, for example, has 19819 records of Budapest-based NGOs of which 4486 officially deal with cultural, international or social activities or legal aid provision. However, even this subgroup is very diverse according to the profiles of NGOs. During the interviews we gathered information from 11 actors with Budapest- or nation-wide scope on urban social issues. In order to understand the differences between their attitudes towards social diversity, it is worthwhile to analyse the types of organisations involved in the research. Among them there are charity organisations that are interested in the support of disadvantaged (in a wider sense of this term) people. Another group comprises those with a more specific aim, concerning issues like immigration or homelessness. Finally, there were actors who integrated different topics of urban social life and urban planning in their profiles. Although at the beginning of the research we planned to recruit a diverse group of actors, it was not possible to involve all kinds of organisations that have an influence on urban policy-making. Nevertheless, we managed to collect those topics, questions and problems which are the most relevant for the non-governmental actors in Budapest.

Based on the interviews it can be concluded that the positive-negative dichotomy is also important in the thinking of non-governmental actors. However, this is more the case with the idea of difference than that of diversity. Generally interpreting the terms ‘diversity’ and ‘multiculturalism’, respondents had more or less the same opinion: they considered both of them as inherently positive and worth to protect or develop. Despite this positive attitude, they always took into consideration some negative aspects while thinking on diversity. These negative facets were usually connected to disadvantaged groups or areas with which the interviewees had a close relationship. Therefore, they often noted that their organisation was most likely to be related to social diversity if the content of this term is broad enough (i.e. if the term ‘diversity’ covers also the ‘negative’ side of difference, like poverty and homelessness).

Another common element of the interviews was that, similarly to the government side, the non-governmental actors have not developed coherent concepts or definitions for diversity either. During the conversations the question of conceptualisation often emerged as it was not clear for respondents how the activities of their institutions – although dealing with certain dimensions of difference – are related to diversity. How they capture the essence of the phenomenon very much

¹⁵ <http://www.birosag.hu/allampolgaroknak/tarsadalmi-szervezetek-es-alapitvanyok-nevjegyzeke>

depends on the profile of their organisation and on their own tasks. In the interviews several dimensions of social difference emerged: age, marital/family status, employment, standard of living/income/welfare, housing, ethnicity, migration, health status/disability. The charity and urban planning organisations have the widest target group according to their principles.

“I believe that we are the ones who work on this principle [diversity], so everyone can come to us. Also those, and they really do, who do not fall into the scope of other support organisations. I think that the ideology of the [the name of the organisation] is absolutely similar and correspond to that of yours [the DIVERCITIES research team]” [head of a charity organisation, 21 October 2013].

However, as the interviewees suggested each organisation involved – also the above mentioned ‘universal’ ones – paid more attention to particular groups than to others. Regarding special organisations like immigrant advocacy groups this fact is a result of their profile (their basic principles, goals and activities), of course, but the main target groups of the above mentioned ‘universal’ organisations bear significant similarity to those of the municipality. Therefore, in the opinion of the non-governmental side the issues of the homeless, the elderly, the (disadvantaged¹⁶) young persons, the Roma and the people living with disability are the most important in Budapest.

Regarding the policy-making activities of the municipality of Budapest, the non-governmental interviewees agreed that, in general, fostering diversity is not a priority of the local government.

“In the operation of a [local] government there are several more important problems that all have to be addressed: transport, legislative acts, education, institutions...and at the end you also want to be re-elected. So among these factors diversity and equal opportunity question are at the bottom of the list” [policy expert of an NGO, 21 October 2013].

According to its slogans and official rhetoric, the municipality of Budapest supports the idea of multiculturalism. However, as some of the interviewees suggested, this supportive attitude of the local government is quite ‘elitist’. The main focus is on the development of tourism and on the propagation of other ‘low-risk and trouble-free’ – politically safe and preferably, profitable – types of diversity (e.g. the ‘ruin bars’ in the 6th and 7th Districts¹⁷ or the so called ‘escape games’¹⁸). Such findings suggest that in Budapest there is a consensual understanding of (cultural) diversity among policy-makers but this understanding is quite narrow and the city-leaders do not have a clear idea about the wide-range of possibilities what such a diverse city can offer for urban development.

Among the broader diversity issues the local government focuses mainly on (re)distribution/welfare and public security issues. According to the everyday work experience of respondents, the positive aspects of diversity and related opportunities are rarely discovered by municipal policy-makers. Instead, the local government struggles with the problems of the disadvantaged groups and the integration of their members to the mainstream society. Furthermore, employing strict legislative instruments it seeks to control how these groups use public urban spaces. Most of the interviewees criticised the local government’s attitude regarding this question as well. They lacked the proactive approach and the long-term strategic thinking of the municipal leaders were also heavily criticised.

¹⁶ E.g.: those children who live in poverty.

¹⁷ Lugosi, P. et al. (2010).

¹⁸ Williams, P. (2014).

Similarly to the governmental actors, the non-governmental ones also pay significant attention to the issue of homelessness. They adopt integrative approach but their instruments are very different from those of the municipality. Some perceived homelessness principally as a housing issue and urged for changes in the municipal housing policy. Others advised more complex solutions and rejected the viewpoint according to which homelessness can be relegated to public safety, sanitation or housing issue. This approach determines the non-governmental actors' opinion about the initiatives of the municipal government.

The respondents were concerned with the attitude of the Budapest government towards homelessness. As they explained, the city leaders intend to criminalise and police this group and try to 'hide' them by employing administrative-legal tools (i.e. to remove them from public spaces to institutions or from the area of the municipality). They also stated that the government often chooses the public safety/sanitation approach since it is easier to implement and to achieve short-term results in a governance cycle (i.e. 4 years). In addition, according to the interviewees' experiences, such programmes are also supported by the majority of the population, and the public attitude has a significant effect on the policy- and decision-makers' activity. Such solutions, however, were unanimously opposed by our interviewees who called for complex integration programmes.

"...to be a homeless person in Budapest nowadays and walk around in public space, that is in the street, mean that you are 1500 times more exposed to get stopped by a police officer, asked for your ID, inspected, asked what you are doing while there is nothing [wrong with you], just looking poor. And for instance I never get stopped by the police because I look like a hippie of Western cities and therefore I am a part of diversity..." [activist of a homeless advocacy group and consultant of a civil organisation, 21 October 2013].

The respondents – except for the representative of the immigrant advocacy organisation – do not regard migration as an extremely important issue. They argue that the problems of the immigrant communities are not so serious in Budapest and in Hungary as in Western Europe because of the relatively low share of these people. There are differences regarding the situation of the different immigrant communities. Some interviewees mentioned that certain groups form quite closed communities (e.g. the Chinese). Moreover, one of the respondents said that some migrants (e.g. some African immigrants) did not even really seek to fully integrate into the Hungarian society; nevertheless, there are other immigrant or ethnic groups that are well integrated into the mainstream society (e.g. ethnic Hungarians coming from the neighbouring countries or the "historical" minorities mentioned above).

Although the organisations involved in the research – similarly to the governmental actors – rarely deal specifically with domestic migrants, the interviewees highlighted some important points in this regard. For instance, Budapest can be considered as a major destination and concentration of the poor since a lot of people move to the city from other parts – particularly from the peripheral regions – of the country in the hope of employment and a higher standard of living.

Ethnicity was one of the dimensions of social difference most often mentioned by the interviewees when talking about diversity. In many cases, the ethnic composition of the population was first mentioned as one of the key factors of diversity. However, some stated that the proportion of ethnic minorities is very low in the Hungarian society. In fact there are communities (e.g. Arabs, Chinese) that are culturally quite different from the Hungarian majority, and they increase the diversity of the society of Budapest but their presence and their interactions

with other ethnic groups do not generate remarkable conflicts. The most populous community is the Roma and this is the reason why the question of ethnic diversity in Budapest is mostly connected to this ethnic group in the thinking of non-governmental actors. For example, they emphasised that the society of the 8th District (Józsefváros) is one of the most diverse in Budapest, mainly because of the high proportion of the Roma living in that area (besides this group they mentioned most often the Arabs, the Chinese and the Vietnamese).

Attitude towards Roma people is highly determined by the fact that several members of this group belong to that part of the Hungarian population which lives in poverty or extreme poverty. Moreover, there are several Roma families among the domestic migrants who move to Budapest due to economic reasons (e.g. unemployment). As one of our interviewees mentioned, it had absolutely not been typical of the Roma to become homeless because of cultural characteristics (e.g. they usually have big families with strong kinship ties, preventing them from social isolation and deprivation). However, Roma people had also appeared among the homeless recently. This situation influences the character of policy initiatives connected to the Roma population. For example, several programmes carried out by the organisations of our interviewees deal with the Roma not because of cultural/ethnic issues (e.g. language problems, racism) but because Roma people are overrepresented in the target group of the charity/welfare programs – on the basis of their standard of living.

The non-governmental actors had quite different experiences with regards the cooperation with local government and the participation in the municipal policy making. Each respondent has worked or is working currently with some of the municipal institutions. Some of them mentioned very positive examples, like the Budapest Migration Roundtable. In fact, the local government of Budapest usually involves a lot of consultants (e.g. experts, organisations) in the preparation of policy documents. However, some respondents felt that the consultation process is quite formal and they rarely see the results of their feedback in the final, official version of the documents.

According to the interviewees, the communication between the local government and other actors varies by quality in the different topics. Regarding homelessness for example, one of the participants suggested that the city hall is not willing to discuss the problems of that group, probably with those civil organisations rejecting the methods of the city leaders. In migrant politics the foundation of the Budapest Migration Roundtable is perceived as a key body, mainly because the idea came from the municipal government first: it sought partnership with the civil sphere, invited different actors and created a possibility for city-wide talk about the issues of migration for the first time in the post-socialist history of Budapest. The local self-governments of ethnic minorities could also be important actors in urban policy-making but as the interviewees suggested the cooperation with them is sometimes difficult. One of the problems the respondents mentioned in connection with these organisations is that many of them in fact represent the interests of a small circle of people. Moreover, a large part of their resources is mobilised in everyday (party) political struggles and they cannot be easily involved in policy making.

Just like the governmental side, the non-governmental also mentioned the importance of re-centralisation. Some of the interviewees think that the current governance structure complicates the partnership- and inclusion-based policy making. However, there were also some respondents who missed the organised, concept-based consultations in particular topics at the city-level. This opinion was underpinned by those who reported that the communication with city officials was often problematic: 'there is no comprehensive framework in which cooperation with the different actors could take place'. It is also noteworthy that there was an organisation among our respondents whose primary aim was to develop techniques for participatory democracy and

community-based planning in Budapest. As a consequence, one of their main principles is that the group they involve in their activities should be as wide and diverse as possible. According to their experiences, however, the participants of their programs do not form a diverse group.

The non-governmental organisations in Budapest are quite heterogeneous regarding their resources. It should also be noted that in general the civil society sector in Hungary is relatively weak. This weakness is resulted by the low participation rates of the population on the one hand. On the other hand, the majority of the members have financial difficulties, especially since 2008. Some of the respondents reported similar experiences, but the position of particular organisations can be regarded relatively good. Some of them, for example, can receive significant support from the central government (e.g. to perform charity interventions). However, these organisations are strongly dependent on central state funding and as a consequence they often have to make compromises. For example, if requested they have to participate in governmental programs even if they do not agree with their approach. There are also civil organisations where the cost of activities is financed mainly by their members but their number is relatively low and in most cases the different organisations are often competitors with each other in the struggle for resources, for example during the applications for EU and national funds. Tenders (e.g. for EU funds) have a very important role in the financing of the basic functioning and the development of non-governmental organisations. However, as some interviewees mentioned, in most cases the own risk required for the tender put a heavy burden on the applicant organisation.

The interviewees mentioned other types of resources besides the financial ones. For example, some of them reported on shrinking institutional structure and capacity of their organisations (because of e.g. financial difficulties). As a consequence in several cases institutional restructuring is needed, often resulting in a parallel spatial restructuring. On the one hand, sometimes the organisation has to stop its activity in a given administrative spatial unit (e.g. in a district of Budapest). On the other hand, its resources are not always sufficient to maintain institutions at lower territorial level, instead it has to concentrate on higher ones (e.g. it has to close municipal- or district-level offices and open regional ones). The institutional structure of an organisation is closely connected to its property (e.g. buildings, offices). As some of the interviewees mentioned, losing tasks and institutional capacity means that they also lose several parts of their property. Moreover, their currently owned buildings have been heavily deteriorated.

The human resource supply of the interviewees' organisations can be perceived favourable but not in every respect. As the respondents stated they often used the help of volunteers, sometimes a large number of these workers. However, one of them drew attention to the 'infrastructural' needs of the volunteers. These include such elements like clothing (e.g. special uniforms or winter clothes), office stationery items and electronic devices, or transportation, what have to be covered by the scarce financial resources of the organisations.

In conclusion, non-governmental actors' connection with the topic of urban diversity is similar in many respects to the governmental side's. For example, they do not have a clear concept of diversity but they are basically problem-orientated and focus on the 'negative' aspects of diversity. Furthermore, those social groups and issues they consider the most important are almost the same as the local government's. However, they think that the city administration does not pay enough attention to the topic of diversity and in particular questions (e.g. homelessness) it employs definitely inadequate methods. Most of them are on the opinion that a close relationship with the Budapest government is important to solve the problems but the cooperation is not often satisfactory (though there are exceptions in some subjects). Finally, in many cases scarce resources make their work difficult.

4. Conclusions

In this report policy discourses on and governance structures related to ‘diversity’ in Budapest were analysed. First and foremost the most important specificity of Budapest is that (similarly to Tallinn and Warsaw) this is a post-socialist city. During state socialism any kind of difference (class, religion, language etc.) was denied, equality and assimilation were forced as part of the official state ideology on the road towards a classless society. This was changed abruptly by the collapse of communism in 1989-90. Since then Hungary has gone through tremendous changes from an egalitarian state-socialist society with a centrally planned economy to a democratic, pluralist society with a highly globalised market economy. Yet, state socialism has left many legacies that need to be taken into account if we speak about policies on diversity or multiculturalism. These legacies include, among others, the general lack of trust among people toward politics, the low level of participation in public affairs, a relatively immature NGO sector, oversized bureaucracy (providing good opportunities for corruption), strong hospitality but general mistrust towards foreigners with xenophobic impediments etc.

National discourses on and policy approaches to migration and diversity are influenced by several factors, among them the historical context, the relative homogeneity of Hungarian society (low proportion of ethnic minorities and immigrants) and the high ratio of ethnic Hungarians among immigrants. Consequently, a clear definition or concept of social diversity or multiculturalism does not yet exist in Hungary. As a result of the political transition of 1989-1993 (change of regime) the former assimilationist approach towards diversity issues came to an end and since the early 1990s pluralist and integrationist/intercultural policies are the dominant. In the official political rhetoric diversity is acknowledged as an inherently valuable feature of the society and as a resource for economic development. Institutional and legal frameworks have been established to support diversity and to provide wide-ranging rights and equal opportunities for minority groups. Two groups receive special attention in national politics: ethnic Hungarians living abroad (especially in the neighbouring countries) and the Roma.

As far as current policy approaches towards diversity and urban governance are concerned, it can be concluded that the political structure and the institutional and legal frameworks in Hungary generally promote diversity, but in everyday policy-making practices and in resource allocation anti-diversity factors can also be identified. At the national level the general policy making takes place in the framework of a central legislation (parliament) supplemented by the state administration including eight ministries. Considering urban policy and social diversity the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Human Resources are the key players defining the directives, the regulations and comprehensive policy strategies. Being a unitary state Hungary has a multi-level political system and governance structure including territorial bodies (county, settlement, capital, minority assemblies with elected members) and decentralized administration offices.

Another specificity of Budapest is that as capital city, it has a two-tier self-government system including the Municipality of Budapest (i.e. City Hall) and the 23 district municipalities with special legal status. The decision making power of district municipalities is highly independent from the Municipality of Budapest. As it was pointed out, the structure of governance seems to work against diversity in Budapest. First of all, the division of power and competence between the central government and the Municipality of Budapest, secondly the rivalry between Budapest City Hall and the city districts hamper the effective decision making mechanisms regarding diversity. Despite the existing city-wide policy documents (e.g. Integrated Urban Development Strategy of Budapest; Urban Equal Opportunity Programme; Local Action Plan - “Integration of the Roma population in Budapest”; Concept of Homeless Affairs), there are only weak links

between the guidelines of the City Hall and local (district) policies. Recent re-centralisation efforts in both relations (central government vs. Budapest, central government vs. districts) also limit the chances of a more efficient and comprehensive city-wide policy-making in connection with diversity. A typical contradiction is, for instance, that while ethnic minorities could elect their self governments at the municipal level as early as 1994, their representation in the parliament has not yet been solved.

At the level of Budapest – similarly to the national level – there is a lack of an explicit diversity policy. Nevertheless, we think that the concept of ‘hyper-diversity’ (at least its definition put forward in Report 1A) has much relevance in the city. Even though the ethnic composition here is less diverse compared to other Western European cities, as Budapest was hermetically cut off from international migration waves during state socialism, the city is very diverse as far as its urban functions, its built environment, the socio-economic composition of its society, the lifestyle and attitude of its residents are concerned. Moreover, city-wide policies, mid- and long-term strategies and concept documents addressing various issues of urban development have been increasingly focusing on different aspects of diversity. Multiculturalism for instance has been integral part of national policies since the early 1990s, and local strategies and policies in Budapest have been especially strongly built upon it. Inter-cultural dialogue is also in the heart of local policy-making (e.g. Migration Roundtable).

Although there are several ways how diversity is understood by Budapest-level policies, analysing the interviews and core documents, we argue that governmental actors’ thinking on the phenomenon is shaped by a positive-negative dichotomy. On the one hand, they often interpret diversity from a post-political, consensual perspective and equate it with some kind of non-specified ‘cultural diversity’, something what is inherently positive and the city can profit from it. Since it is perceived as a positive phenomenon, there is a consensus on the importance of it, and its fostering – as highlighted by different documents – but in everyday politics the city’s top governmental actors almost completely ignore the topic. For instance, economic opportunities provided by diversity are mostly disregarded during every day practices. On the other hand, the term ‘social diversity’ is strongly connected with the idea of social inequalities and welfare tensions in the thinking of governmental actors. This dichotomy is mirrored in the focus of city-level policies. Consequently, their most significant engagements with diversity are manifested in this sphere.

As a consequence, among the different policy-categories set up by Fincher and Iveson (2008), those for equity and redistribution are given the greatest emphasis in the case of Budapest. From an area-based approach, urban renewal and rehabilitation programmes are the most significant ones, concentrating on neighbourhoods mostly with deprived population. Among people-based policies the greatest emphasis is paid on those focusing on disadvantaged groups, especially the homeless and Roma. Within the category of recognition the city officially follows a pluralist/multiculturalist approach in accordance with the national-level policies and strongly concentrates on antidiscrimination issues and the protection of the legal rights of different minorities. Regarding the policies for encounter, the Budapest government pays remarkable attention to networking and cooperation. However, it seems that criminalisation and the use of legal instruments and police force are also parts of policy-making (e.g. against homeless people).

The number of non-governmental organisations addressing social diversity or particular aspects of the phenomenon is relatively high in Budapest. It can be concluded, that the positive-negative dichotomy is also important in the thinking of these actors and their engagements in diversity is similar in many respects to the governmental side. For example, redistribution and the support of marginal groups are significant in the spectrum of activities of the examined organisations.

However, respondents formulated several critiques of the attitude of municipal leaders. Firstly, they felt that the local government did not pay enough attention to urban diversity, especially to the opportunities provided by the diverse milieu of Budapest. Moreover, they suggested that some of the governmental actors' arrangements were destructive of this diversity. Secondly, the non-governmental actors had quite different experiences with regards to the cooperation with local government and the participation in the municipal policy making process. Some of them missed the organised, thematic consultations on particular topics at the city-level. In addition, limited resources often complicate the operation of civil organisations. Nevertheless, their innovative and creative thinking resulted in a notable group of diversity-related initiatives that we should keep in sight.

According to our findings it can be concluded that – similarly to the national level – promoting diversity is not among the top priorities of decision-makers in Budapest. However, the governmental interviewees suggested that they are open for changes in order to put greater emphasis on this topic in future urban policy-making. Non-governmental actors seem to be committed to the enhancement of social diversity in the city and to its more intense utilisation as well. The variety of grassroots movements and initiatives taking place in Budapest also underpins the hypothesis that civil society has remarkable potential. Nevertheless, it should be taken into consideration that the resources and instruments of these groups should be improved in the future. Therefore, this research should be continued with a deeper analysis of lower-level (district, neighbourhood) initiatives, good practices as well as unsuccessful attempts.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Division of tasks and responsibilities between the Municipality of Budapest and district municipalities

	Municipality of Budapest	Both	District Municipalities
Urban design	city-wide spatial regulation (Urban Structure Plan)		district-wide urban design and regulation (District Regulation Plan and Building Regulation)
Urban planning	city-wide urban development concepts and strategies (Budapest 2030 - Long-term Urban Development Concept, Budapest 2020 - Mid-term Urban Development Strategy)		district-wide urban development concept and strategies
Urban development	coordinating the priority as well as city-wide developments crossing the district borders (e.g. Metro line 4, sewage work)		managing the local urban development activities
Economy	organizing city-wide economy developments, tourism		regulation of local economic activities (industrial, business, trade, retail, etc.)
Housing		operating public housing system	
Public transportation	operating public transportation system		
Public spaces	maintenance of main road network and public spaces		maintenance of local road network, public spaces, parking
Public utilities	providing public utilities (district heating, public lightening, water, garbage collection, etc.)		
Taxation	collecting local business tax		collection of building and building site taxes, personal communal tax, tourist tax
Social services	provision of city-wide services (homelessness, unemployment, equal opportunity, sport, etc.)		provision of district-wide services (family care, child welfare, homelessness, youth affairs)
Education			providing basic education services
Health			providing basic health services
Culture	providing national and city-wide cultural services and operating institutions	protecting cultural heritages	providing local cultural services and operating institutions, ethnic affairs
Public safety			contributing to public safety

Appendix 2: A typology of national- and Budapest-level diversity-related policies

Category of policies	Area-based policies	People-based policies	General policies
Policies for equity/ (re)distribution of resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> urban renewal programmes Urban Renewal Fund of Budapest [1996]: from the privatisation of the public housing units owned by local governments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Migration Strategy (2013): attraction of high-skilled migrants ‘silver economy’ initiatives Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy: Extreme Poverty, Child Poverty, The Roma (2011): employment, education, health-care, housing Homeless Concept of Budapest (2011) Concept of Disability (2011) Social Service Organisation Concept (2011) Act II of 2012 (Misdemeanour Act): statutory provisions against homeless people URBACT II/Roma-Net: ‘Integration of Roma population in Budapest’ European Integration Fund/Round table for migration the Roma question as welfare issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> diversity as a basis of economic performance and competitiveness Spatial Development Concept of Pest County (2012); National Spatial Development Concept (2005) National Development 2020 (2012) Budapest 2030 (2013) the idea of ‘unified Budapest’ (to decrease social inequalities) Urban Equal Opportunity Programme (2011)
Policies for diversity / recognition of multiple voices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Budapest 2030 (2013): land use, functional, and tenure structure as part of ‘urban diversity’ (e.g. the building stock of the World Heritage Site) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> equal opportunities: special attention to women, people with disabilities, Roma minority, the elderly, young people, the homeless and immigrants Urban Equal Opportunity Programme (2011): to integrate the Roma culture and community into the general image of Budapest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> general approach: pluralist and integrationist/intercultural diversity is a positive feature of the society National Spatial Development Concept (2005); National Development 2020 (2012): strengthening Budapest as an international hub and national cultural centre Budapest 2030 (2013): preserving and developing the cultural diversity of the city; creating an inclusive and active society rejecting any form of discrimination or oppression
Policies to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation <i>between</i> groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban Development Handbook (2009): Action Area Plans should increase the level of diversity special attention to housing estates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capital City Migration Roundtable: network for actors concerning migration activities of Budapest Chance Nonprofit Ltd.: creating inclusive workplaces, institutional spaces, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the municipality of Budapest pays attention to policy and social network as special spaces of encounter and discussion critiques from the opposition: the municipal government’s ‘elitist stance’ towards public spaces erodes social diversity

Appendix 3: List of the interviewees

Central Government

1. Deputy State Secretary – Ministry of Interior
2. Deputy head of department – State Secretariat for Social Inclusion, Ministry of Human Resources
3. Chief Planner – Office for National Economic Planning

City Government

1. Deputy chair – Urban Development and Environmental Protection Committee, Municipality of Budapest
2. Senior official (responsible for equal opportunity affairs) – Budapest Mayor Office
3. Managing director – REG-INFO Ltd. (consultant of the Municipal Government)
4. Architect, chief advisor – Budapest District 8 (Józsefváros) Mayor Office
5. Head of office – Equal Opportunity Office of the Municipality of Budapest

Non-governmental organisations

1. Head of department – Department of Social Statistics, Hungarian Central Statistical Office
2. Project assistant – Hungarian Maltese Charity Service
3. Managing director, architect – Hungarian Society for Urban Planning/Hungarian Urban Knowledge Centre
4. Consultant (intercultural education, urban anthropology), activist – Artemisszió Foundation, "The City is for All" group
5. Policy expert – Habitat for Humanity International Hungary Nonprofit Ltd.
6. Director – Hungarian Red Cross Budapest
7. Head designer – Újirány Group (Office for Architecture, Landscape architecture, Form, Media)
8. Humanitarian specialist – African-Hungarian Association
9. Director – Vietnamese-Hungarian Friendship Society
10. Director – Menedék Hungarian Association for Migrants
11. Economist, sociologist – Metropolitan Research Institute