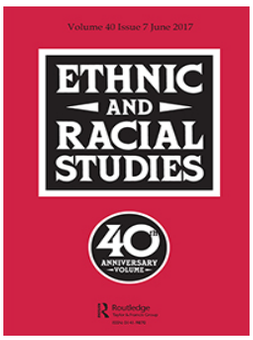

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Roma communities, urban development and social bordering in the inner city of Budapest

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ABSTRACT

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

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Introduction

The "bordering" concept now in wide academic use suggests that the making of borders is a highly political and reflexive process, both as a formal and a socio-cultural exercise of power and authority, but also as a very basic social practice in terms of the construction of sense of identity and place (Scott 2012). van Houtum, Kramsch, and Zierhofer (2005) refer to everyday "bordering and ordering" practices that create and recreate new social-cultural boundaries and divisions which are also spatial in nature. Everyday lived experiences include intersections, differentiations and similarities. As Rhodes (2012) has argued, cognitive boundary-making can also contribute

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to geographies of difference through the stigmatization of specific places – places where danger, deviance and degradation are to be found.

Consequently, borders are essential to place-making while place-making is itself about the appropriations of space by different actors and for different purposes. Here, we investigate processes of everyday bordering as a form of place-making and how they both involve and impact Roma communities of inner-city Budapest. At one level we investigate the reimaging of an inner-city neighbourhood of Budapest through policies of urban development and regeneration as well as through bottom-up appropriations of neighbourhood spaces. At the same time, we are equally interested in the impacts of these place-making exercises which are informed not only by explicit economic and design agendas but also by implicit socio-ethnic objectives. The local Roma population is particularly vulnerable to the vicissitudes of urban renewal and we will hence consider links between socio-cultural borderings of urban spaces and the top-down, often punitive regulation of access to those spaces.

The specific case that will be developed here involves a traditionally multi-ethnic and multicultural area of Budapest, the VIII District or Józsefváros. Within this larger administrative area, our study reconstructs developments in the Magdolna neighbourhood which during the early 2000s became the focus of Budapest's – and East-Central Europe's – first socially integrative urban renewal programme. Urban redevelopment is of course not simply a policy; in addition to its economic rationalities, political motivations and physical impacts it has concrete socio-spatial consequences for neighbourhoods and specific groups. Recreating place image and identity can and does often involve the sorting out of groups that disturb or do not conform to a politically desired sense of well-organized neighbourhoods and public spaces. And yet, the situation is generally more complex than a simple narrative of middle-class "revanchism" (Smith 1996) in which the rich retake inner cities from the poor and homeless. Neighbourhoods are seldom surfaces that are wiped clean of their pasts and place identities by gentrification. Furthermore, the process of re-appropriating neighbourhood spaces is often about socio-ethnic and cultural "re-borderings" and not simply, to paraphrase Mitchell (2003) the crossing of "neo-liberal lines".

This case study will develop bordering perspectives that shed light on the rationales behind appropriating and demarcating social spaces within cities as means to promote political, ethno-territorial and economic agendas. Clearly, bordering does not take place in a cognitive vacuum but reflects a constant interaction with social, political and economic environments and concrete physical spaces. In following the general approach outlined by Yuval-Davis (2011, 2015), namely that of situated intersectionality and everyday bordering, our methodology indicates how different appropriations and representations of neighbourhood spaces reflect the social positionality of social actors. We

therefore assume that politics of place-making and belonging – and not exclusively socio-economic processes such as gentrification – are conditioning neighbourhood change in post-socialist Budapest; they reflect agency, for example, in specific choices regarding housing, public spaces and other uses of public funds. In terms of the information gathered, we have addressed three specific issues: (1) the general situation, policies and actions regarding the exclusion/cohesion of the Roma minority in Hungary and in Budapest, (2) the specific situation of the VIII District of Budapest and its social urban regeneration policies and (3) the general social, spatial and political consequences of bordering processes.

In reflecting the main insights of our research, we develop two major analytical perspectives. With the first we are concerned with bordering as reflected in representations of neighbourhood in the VIII District and socio-ethnic issues that have been framed in conjunction with urban development issues. This includes the selective ways Roma-specific issues are made visible, or in fact masked, through ostensibly "colour-blind" policies. Secondly, we will relate these representations to the concrete impacts of local urban renewal policies with regard to challenges of multi-ethnicity but also to often exclusionary practices of border-making. As we will indicate in our discussion, social segregation is not an official policy but is eagerly pursued in practice. However, this is only part of the story as we can clearly identify attempts to create a sense of Roma belonging and pride.

Our case study is not intended to be representative of the totality of Roma communities in Hungary. While Józsefváros' experience is not unique in terms of marginalization it is, nevertheless, quite distinct in terms of the strategies, trajectories and social impacts of urban development. Following Yin (2003) we adhere to the notion that one important purpose of singular case studies is to speak to a specific theoretical and conceptual argument in ways that have not been widely developed. We take up a single case design in order to develop an approach that, among others, links public policies, bordering processes and Roma marginalization. Our work indicates that the visible effects of urban regeneration programmes in the Magdolna neighbourhood of Józsefváros, such as the renewal of housing, streets and public spaces and the creation of a community centre, cannot hide local government intentions to change the neighbourhood's character and the composition of the present population. One aim is clearly to gradually push out visibly "problematic" social groups, poor Roma families in particular, by redrawing social and spatial borders between the different ethnic and social groups that live in Józsefváros. This is coupled with selective social policies that tend to criminalize and racialize of poverty. The impacts of such practices can only be assessed in the long term. However, such re-bordering attempts could undermine any sense of solidarity with poor and particular Roma and open the way for gentrification to transform the area.

Everyday bordering and place-making

Within the context of this discussion, bordering can be defined as a situational process of negotiating social contexts that at the same time involves spatial bounding (see Kolossov and Scott 2013). Borders are an attempt to suggest edges and limits and to construct a degree of order within "unordered" situations. At the same time these limits often remain fuzzy and indeterminate and thus contentious. Borders involve differentiation, filtering and control practices, but also hybridization and border-crossing inventiveness (Brambilla 2014). As Kramsch (2002) argues, borders do not necessarily support an exclusive use or meaning of space and place, they can also sustain interdependence, negotiation and adaptation. These tension-laden qualities of borders are intrinsic to the social production of space and it is therefore crucial to revisit them in terms of a deeper understanding of place-making processes and their social and political consequences.

Following our constructivist lines of interpretation ethnicity is not an objective, permanent category, conceived as a matter of relations between predefined, fixed groups, but rather a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining boundaries between them. Ethnicity and hence socio-ethnic borders may encompass different meanings in various contexts that change over time, often due to overarching socio-economic or political contexts (Brubaker 2004). Ethnic boundaries are also an outcome of the classificatory struggles and negotiations between actors situated in social fields characterized by institutional orders, distributions of power and political networks (Lamont and Molnár 2002; Wimmer 2008). In Hungary and other Central European countries Roma are extremely heterogeneous with regard to language, traditions, subsistence strategies and levels of social inclusion (Havas 1989; Tremlett 2014). Nevertheless, dominant representations of Roma in Hungary reduce this social complexity, maintaining notions of "gypsyness" that reflect the perceptions and imaginaries of mainstream (non-Roma) society. In this way, symbolic and physical boundaries serve to perpetuate unequal social and power relations and different forms of exclusion (McGarry 2014; Váradi and Virág 2014).

Urban settings are laboratories that offer insights into how borders are created within society in different social, ethnic, cultural and political circumstances. Cities are themselves much more than materializations of economic relations, they can be more generally understood as products of border-making processes, composed of a mosaic of interlinked yet differentiated spaces that give a particular city its social, economic, cultural and political character. Our theorizations of bordering involve a potentially wide field of social practices that directly relate to urban place-making. In studying the condition of Roma communities in Budapest we will largely focus on the local-level and on social bordering processes as part of the "practice of everyday

life". Inspired by de Certeau's (1980) now classic analytical vision, everyday bordering describes specific ways of maintaining, controlling but also transforming social space through material and discursive means. On this view, strategies designed to organize space and to impose a specific narrative and image of place are confronted by tactics that subvert and re-appropriate place identities. de Certeau's perspective has been applied quite productively in discussions of formal state or state-like borders (Nugent 2011; Ward, Silberman, and Till 2012). However, despite some important exceptions (Kokalanova 2009; Breitung 2011; Iossifova 2015) the urban context of de Certeau's actual field of study has been somewhat neglected. Following de Certeau's perspective and understanding borders as open-ended *bordering* processes rather than finalizable institutions (Scott 2012), social borders emerge as narratives, as stories that develop through interactions in space that give meaning to urban place (Egger 2012). The borders of places, such as neighbourhoods, are therefore constructed and communicated by different representations of places and uses of physical space. As a result, borders create place images and identities while the city is itself intimately tied to the politics of representation (Smith 2005) which can involve the construction of alternative images and boundaries of urban space.

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

Consequently, representations of places within a given urban context reflect shifting relationships between decision-makers, the majority population, the poor and questions of belonging and ethnicity that surface in local practice, discourse and policies. Our study of socio-ethnic dynamics of urban regeneration and its impacts on Roma communities will relate everyday social bordering to place-making and *the politics of representation* that these processes reflect. And indeed, boundary-making processes are

central to interpretations of Roma discrimination in Budapest because they link localized place-making with the more global contextual framing of Hungary's Roma communities. The boundary-making process is itself highly political, both from a formal and an informal point of view as it involves a spatialized politics that conditions the social visibility of Roma communities. However, it is also a manifestation of local appropriations of space and of belonging and makes apparent the vicissitudes of top-down intervention in urban regeneration. In terms of methodology, we have pursued a strategy of targeting actors and positions that reflect the intersectional complexity of Józsefváros. In terms of interviews, we have thus interacted with social workers, activists, representatives of various Roma organizations and other informed social agents who confront poverty, Roma community concerns and problems of socio-ethnic marginalization. In addition, we have contrasted these positions with those of the official face of regeneration in the VIII District. Stakeholder interaction required us to actively follow social media and the activities of local citizens' groups. Our analysis was also based on a review of relevant literature, interviews with informed researchers and participant observation of different public events in the neighbourhood. These events included public forums and hearings for local inhabitants, conferences, participatory planning meetings, as well as protests against evictions.

As Yin (2003, 10) has stated: "case studies […] are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes". Following this understanding we elaborate here a single revelatory case in terms of linking public policies, bordering processes and Roma marginalization. The area we have studied has been subject since the early 2000s to a long-term regeneration strategy. Its value as a case study is enhanced by the fact that it has been showcased as a new paradigm in Central and East European urban regeneration policies which, in contrast to outright demolition and more heavy-handed approaches to the treatment of poorer residents, Roma families in particular, has (at least theoretically) strived for cohesion and social sustainability. In the following we will portray the development of Józsefváros since 1990 in terms of a contested politics of representation, emphasizing interconnections between narratives representing the neighbourhood, the place-making actions and policies undertaken by different actors and stakeholders, reactions to these narratives and the results they have achieved. Ultimately, politics of representation are about visibility and the making (in)visible of specific socio-ethnic contexts. As we will demonstrate, political, economic, social, cultural actors have been reshaping the neighbourhood's image by addressing popular narratives of poverty and Roma "ghettoization" – either by emphasizing them, turning them into positive messages or by trying to change them according to specific interests and perspectives.

The Magdolna Quarter: a site of urban regeneration and place-making

Before 1945 living in Józsefváros meant a kind of "decent poverty" (Gyáni 1992). Local society was heterogeneous and despite spatial separation in terms of employment, ethnicity and religion, there was no real social segregation. In the written history of the district, Roma do not appear as an independent social group and a Roma presence in Józsefváros can only be reconstructed from individual recollections, such as this passage from Péliné's (1996, 69) autobiographical novel:

> Józsefváros is unique, and it is where most of Roma live. […] This house was inhabited by rather shabby people. There were peasants, Roma, and Jews living there, but we lived in complete harmony. […] Somehow poverty kept the people together. […] Being Roma, Jewish or Hungarian was never subject to discussion, and it never even emerged as an idea.

Starting in the 1960s the social composition and status of Józsefváros radically changed and the district began to be associated both with poverty and with Roma communities. On the one hand, due to the social and ethnic policy of State Socialism, best summarized as a forced emancipation, Roma inclusion was effectively tied to an obligation to work. However, the economic role of Roma was primarily limited to unskilled labour which assured continued discrimination and segregation, linking Roma ethnicity to urban poverty and second-rate citizenship (Szalai 2000). On the other hand, state socialist policies also prompted the migration of rural Roma to the rapidly developing capital city and, ultimately, to run-down central districts. The highly centralized and bureaucratic housing allocation system reserved substandard public housing of Józsefváros for large low-income families, assuming their inability to cover the costs of newer flats in this district (Ladányi 1989, 1992; Zolnay 1993). At the same time, higher status inhabitants began to leave Józsefváros.

By the political transition of the 1990s, Józsefváros had become a neighbourhood sharply different from those surrounding it, characterized by both spatial and social segregation. Particularly affected was the area of Józsefváros situated outside the inner-city ring which came to be seen by majority society as the "Harlem of Pest", an urban imaginary based on racialized stereotypes and popular images of a Roma ghetto despite the fact that the majority population was and remains mostly non-Roma. The relative isolation and stigmatization of these neighbourhoods has been the result of a complex and long-term process, a cumulative product of political and social transformation that began during state socialism and that has continued to the present day (Kovács 2009). Moreover, these neighbourhoods have become obstacles to further development of the district in that they represent strong visual and perceptual boundaries, contrasting starkly with adjacent

inner-city areas of renovation and gentrification. Józsefváros' decline has elicited policy responses and consciousness-raising on the part of local decision-makers and civil society actors. Since the turn of millennium, the need to counter the stigmatization of the district and thus break down physical, cultural and mental borders between these areas and the other parts of the city have become an objective shared by different stakeholders. Various initiatives reflect the common purpose of re-bordering Józsefváros' deprived neighbourhoods – that is, integrating them within the overall development of the city but also providing them a sense of positive distinction. Nevertheless, the place-making actions undertaken during the last ten to fifteen years have reflected very different policies and positions and as such have led to the formulation of very diverse narratives and images of the area.

Because of its paradigmatic nature, the so-called Magdolna Quarter deserves particular attention. This area has been developed since the early 2000s as part of a long-term regeneration strategy in contrast to outright demolition and more heavy-handed approaches to the treatment of poorer residents (Fayman, Keresztély, and Tomay 2008; RESPECT 2010). With much of the housing stock of substandard quality, Magdolna was designated as a pilot project of social urban renewal in Budapest and in 2005 the government of the VIII District launched the first phase of the Magdolna Neighbourhood Urban Renewal Programme (MNP), co-financed by the district and the city of Budapest and European Union support. The basic concept of MNP has followed several Western European examples of socially integrative urban regeneration initiatives, such as the case of Birmingham, or the Soziale Stadt programme in Germany (Fayman, Keresztély, and Tomay 2008). In line with these examples, the goal of MNP has been to develop an integrated and socially mixed neighbourhood, and to encourage local people to participate in the development of the local community. In doing this, MNP aims to improve the quality of life in the area as well as promote small-scale private investment (Keresztély and Scott 2012).

Although never openly emphasized, one main goal of MNP has always been the eradication of the neighbourhood's image as a Roma ethnic ghetto. The official place-making strategies of the VIII District have, despite different ideological positions and understandings of integration, all strived for a "normalization" of the Magdolna's image and a reconfiguration of the local population in order to create a more mainstream, "socially compatible" neighbourhood environment. However, implementation to this goal has reflected different ideological and social approaches. For instance, the ruling political elites have always promoted the image of a regenerated neighbourhood – although this regeneration has been conceived in different forms, according to the political leanings of local government. Parallel to this, Roma activists have attempted to transcend received notions of "ghetto" and recast their neighbourhoods as places where Roma culture and belonging can be

expressed and experienced. Indeed, there has also been a conversion of sorts of the negative image of ghetto into a space of urban coolness, partly through the actions of local Roma youth but also by outsiders who have discovered Magdolna and other areas of the VIII District (György 2009; Imre 2009). All of this indicates that the question of transforming public perceptions of the District's neighbourhoods has involved several contesting representations that oscillate between a zone of multicultural integration (and a pioneer project of citizen participation), a performative space for the promotion of Roma pride and belonging, and a highly normative vision of social order targeted at the endorsement of "mainstream" society.

Politics of representation – framing the multicultural neighbourhood

A major regeneration narrative of Józsefváros and the Magdolna Quarter is one of transformation from an isolated Roma ghetto to an attractive multi-ethnic neighbourhood. In this place-making vision, a lively and multicultural urban environment is emerging that despite its social problems and tensions is a source of strength, reinforcing the cosmopolitan character of the capital city. This image is reinforced by major redevelopment and improvement projects bordering the Magdolna: the entertainment, retailing and housing complex of the Corvin Promenade, the elegant Palace Quarter and the faculty of Kandó Kálmán University. At the same time, the Magdolna Quarter itself is represented as the socially sensitive face of Józsefváros' transformation, an example of comprehensive community regeneration that emulates European best practices (Tosics 2015). One Roma rights activist and social worker stated in an interview that:

> Working in the VIIIth district had always meant for me crossing the street and entering to the Syrian hairdresser to agree with him on my new hairstyle; then going out for lunch at the Chinese; than saying hello to the Arab baker and exchanging a few words with him about the weather. I had the feeling of being in a small provincial town. It was very interesting to see that Chinese families took Roma nurses to their children, that Roma women made the housework for them.

Within the context of these "multiculturalist" urban regeneration policies, representations of Józsefváros, and the Magdolna neighbourhood in particular, have reflected the presence of Roma in rather ambiguous ways. One the one hand, the treatment of their everyday material problems has been reduced, once again, to a question of poverty and social inequalities rather than related to identity issues. In this sense, the Magdolna programme has been officially framed as "colour-blind" and place-based, downplaying Roma ethnicity as a neighbourhood-defining element. On the other hand, cultural and educational aspects of MNP have highlighted the significance of Roma culture within a vision of a special multi-ethnic neighbourhood,

following similar examples from all over Europe. This development can be clearly perceived through the transformations which have occurred in the functioning and leadership of the Neighbourhood Community Centre, one of the main tools realized within the MNP in order to enhance social integration. The Centre was created by the conversion of a former Gloves Factory situated in Mátyás square. The refurbishment of the building was realized during MNP1, while the cultural concept and the realization of the programmes were organized during MNP2. Between 2008 and 2011, the centre enjoyed considerable financial and operational autonomy. During the first phase, the work of the Community Centre was informed by a vision of multicultural local community and was aimed at facilitating the integration of Roma through different cultural, educational and social programmes. The method was to involve local NGOs in order to respond to real local needs and create a wide variety of programmes that would attract and bring together both Roma and non-Roma residents.

Unsurprisingly, integration, at least as originally conceived, has been elusive. For example, Roma and non-Roma inhabitants rarely attended the same community-oriented programmes. The only real occasions for interaction have been those of street festivals and concerts, organized in cooperation with local NGOs. While these events were not really local ones and or socially representative – they attracted a large number of young people, artistes etc. from all parts of Budapest – they greatly increased the general visibility of the neighbourhood and its multicultural nature. Still, social and ethnic barriers and hence segregation between the different groups in the neighbourhood have remained the rule. The externally applied, that is, "European", place narrative of multiculturalism has been rather employed as a place-making slogan and the appropriation of Roma cultures and identities used rather as an expedient that has skirted messy issues of everyday stigmatization of poorer Roma families and youth. This interpretation of gentrified multiculturalism contrasts starkly with a notion of neighbourhood oriented towards satisfying basic needs. As one Roma rights activist exclaimed in an interview:

> […] in case of discriminatory policies, political power can easily find the Gypsies, but in the case of policies needed to allocate equal rights for the Roma, political power often argues that it is legally impossible to define who is Roma and who is not.

Roma belonging, Roma pride

This multicultural bordering and place narrative has coexisted, often uncomfortably, with an alternative strategy of Roma visibility representing the Magdolna Quarter and other areas of Józsefváros, as a locus of belonging, community development and improvement. Beginning in the early 1990s,

Roma groups consisting mainly of trained musicians embarked on an attempt to improve the status of the neighbourhood. They were among the instigators in establishing and operating numerous Roma educational and cultural institutions and civil rights movements. In the early years of the political transition, Józsefváros, and especially the area that later became the Magdolna neighbourhood, developed as the centre of national level institutions representing Roma culture and Roma society. In the 1990s, national Roma policy was closely linked to the most powerful Roma NGO known as the "Roma Parliament" which enjoyed solid political ties with the liberal leadership of the district, and as such reinforced the political position of the Roma minority in Józsefváros. The Parliament operated as an umbrella organization and besides provided active political representation regularly offered musical and theatrical events too, as well as the first, and only, permanent exhibition of contemporary Roma art and a Roma cultural periodical Amaro Drom. It also operated a social and legal protection service offering assistance primarily, though not exclusively, to the Roma inhabitants of the district.

Thanks to its Roma and non-Roma cultural programmes, the Roma Parliament grew not only into a major institution of Roma representation, but into an important cultural centre for other intellectuals as well. It maintained close ties to other associations and initiatives such as the Roma community centre, the primary school Roma clubs, the Józsefváros theatre which staged regular talk shows with Roma artists, and the Roma Civil Rights Foundation (Roma Polgárjogi Alapítvány) created in 1995 primarily for preventing evictions of Roma people all over in the country. Radio C, a Roma community channel covering all Budapest, also started operations in the same area in 2000. All these institutions, mutually reinforcing each another, helped produce the image of a large Roma presence in the VIII District. These appropriations of neighbourhood as a space of Roma belonging have not always meshed with the multicultural narrative of "new" Józsefváros. The MNP has had difficulty in reconciling its mission of social equity and sustainability with highly negative perceptions of everyday Roma culture. While Roma institutions and organizations have relieved some of the isolation of families living here and helped them in solving their problems, they also have contributed to the high visibility of Roma in Józsefváros and in this way, ironically if not cruelly, reinforced popular perceptions of the District as an "ethnic ghetto".

Contingent integration and a punitive turn

In 2010 a right-wing political majority within city government took power. This change meant the reinforcing of place-making strategies seeking to de-emphasize multiculturalism and neighbourhood ethnic identities and instead focus on showcase projects of redevelopment on the one hand (e.g. under the slogan of "Józsefváros rebuilds") and social welfare and

public order on the other. At the same time, the goal of supporting gentrification tendencies already present in the area became more apparent. As part of this shift the new local government also reduced the power and autonomy of the MNP's leadership and the public company (RÉV8) responsible for implementation. Project management was directly incorporated into municipal governance structures and the number of employees considerably reduced. As for the Community Centre its leadership was relieved of management tasks within RÉV8 and everyday running of the Centre became part of local government.

The Community Centre's new leadership duly adopted the new approach to social cohesion in the Magdolna area with a place-making narrative that was decisively traditionalist, based on a top-down and prescriptive integration of the Roma community into majority society. Through the new administrative structures, the Community Centre began to function as a municipal institution for services such as job-seeking assistance and training for the unemployed, but programmes that targeted cultural issues, for example through neighbourhood events, were eliminated. In an interview conducted by the authors, the Centre's director stated that: "we are not a centre for Roma cultural integration" and "we are definitely not a place for organizing parties". In this way, the period of experimenting with local and decentralized cultural projects of social integration ended after 2011.

A racial turn

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

The case of the Roma Parliament highlights another important issue: as in political and public discourse where racism has greatly increased since the mid-2000s, solidarity with vulnerable social and ethnic groups has weakened. From the mid-2000s there has been a racial turn in mainstream discourses and in certain policy areas (social protection, welfare, labour and later education policies) (Vidra and Fox 2014). The rise of radical racist discourses, coupled with the political successes of the radical right, have set the political and media agenda by again raising the "Roma question" in which Roma appear as annoying beggars, welfare dependents, prostitutes and thieves. The flip side of this representation is the figure of the Roma musician serving and born to entertain the majority society as an accessory of the latter (Kóczé and Trehan 2009). The representation of the romantic figure of the Roma musician reinforces the romantic image of an era long gone – a representation accurately fitting the current government's nostalgic interpretation of the pre-Second World War period – and neglects the linguistic, cultural and social diversity of the Roma society and the emancipatory endeavours of the past decades. With a considerable degree of resignation, one interviewed Roma sociologist and local activist exclaimed that

> there are two accepted Roma roles [for integrating into majority society]: one of them is managing otherwise non-efficient social programmes, the other one is being a Roma musician and playing at representative events. Politicians and public discourse take advantage of both of them.

This new image is promoted specifically by the VIII District's local government and a freshly created Roma cultural centre closely cooperates with it. In addition, a "Park of Roma Musicians" was inaugurated – albeit on a rather hidden street. The cultural centre sustains a musical group, the Józsefváros Roma Band, mostly as part of a public employment scheme, and organizes an annual Roma Music Festival that features "traditional" Roma music at various public places of the district.

Penal populism

This paradigm shift in representing the neighbourhood has also been accompanied by a punitive turn – a penalization of poverty (Wacquant 2009) and a criminalization of homelessness. These policies are signs of a deep structural and political crisis in Hungary. The assertion of power through *penal populism* has gained ground and resulted in increased social tensions. While the current punitive surge has its antecedents in the neo-liberal policies of past governments (Misetics 2013), the criminalization of homelessness and drug abuse treatment (!) has now become systematic and volunteer movements that assist marginalized groups are facing increasing pressure. These new policies have also fed into a popular narrative of Gypsy crime and have thus targeted poor Roma families and homeless as

well. Criminalization and an increase in the number of local police has forced drug use, homelessness and prostitution into dilapidated buildings of former industrial areas. This increasingly concentrates neighbourhood problems in a relatively restricted geographical space (Ráczet al. 2010). At the same time, however, a significant part of the District has been "cleansed" of persons seen as deviant or socially undesirable.

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

At the same time, the policy of eviction contradicts the main objectives of the MNP which is financed by the European Union as a programme enhancing social integration and urban regeneration without displacement. The contradiction has become particularly evident during the third phase of MNP, when after the launching of the financing period an extra element was added to the programme by the municipality, the complete renovation of ten "crisis buildings". According to municipal decision, these buildings have been selected according to the following criteria: (1) tenants are characterized by typical problems of anti-social behaviour and incapacity to live within the community; (2) the buildings and their environment are particularly affected by the possibility of crime; (3) tenants with rent arrears are overrepresented (4) the number of illegal occupants is higher than the average. Crisis buildings are thus spaces where "problematic groups", including many Roma families, are concentrated – in fact forcibly moved to – before the start of construction work. Very probably these persons will never be able to resettle to newly renovated flats due to higher rental and energy costs.

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

Conclusions

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

What appears clear is that multicultural and normative-contingent approaches to integration and neighbourhood development have favoured, first of all, gentrification processes that inherently serve to divide the Roma community and marginalize the poorest neighbourhood residents. These bordering processes have generated several new forms of exclusion in the area, clearly contradicting the EU's goals of promoting social cohesion and cultural tolerance and suggesting a rather cynical implementation of EU structural and other public funds. These place-making strategies have also contributed to the generation of new borders in the area. Physical borders have emerged

between the streets, facades and the inner courtyards, between the rehabilitated streets and the dilapidated ones, between the rehabilitated areas and the steadily shrinking slum and "ghetto" area. Social borders have been accentuated between old and new inhabitants, Roma and non-Roma, and, ultimately between "good" and "undesirable" Roma and thus also within Roma society itself.

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

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