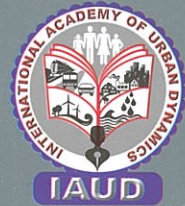# Local Government Quarterly

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IAUD

* Poverty and participation in a Hungarian rural municipality: a networked understanding of exclusion and methods for reducing it

* An Assessment of the Impact of Local Government on Rural Development

* Non adoption of family planning methods among women of Khasi Tribe in India

* Revitalizing Rain-fed Agriculture in India

Contents

Poverty and participation in a Hungarian rural municipality: a networked understanding of exclusion and methods for reducing it[1]

Ildikó Asztalos Morell

A) Introduction

This paper is based on a case study carried out in municipality located in North-Western Hungary in a region that has been the most severely hit by closing down of industries and mines and has the highest proportion of unemployed as well as a concentration of Roma with disproportionately high unemployment rate, particularly in marginalized rural settlements. Municipalities are charged with the responsibility to handle the social consequences of marginalization. Public work became the major instrument for municipalities to deal with poverty. Public work projects, as well as local developmental projects assume the active agency of municipal leaders. Access to these employments are based on judgment of deservingness and therefore depend on the "benevolence" of the power holders. NGOs might have an intervening role to promote democratic participation through civil society involvement in local developmental concerns and in projectification.

This paper explores through the case study of a municipality with high proportion of long-term unemployed Roma the role of the municipal leadership and civil society in the management of poverty by focusing on the following questions: What are the perceptions of key stakeholders of the municipal welfare state on the causes of poverty and the ways to reduce it? What are the municipal strategies to include Roma in the welfare state policies? Furthermore, the paper explores how local and national NGOs complement the services of the local welfare state and how they try to exercise influence on the institutional practices of the local welfare state? How is the interplay between local welfare state and civil society formative of the potentials for change and what are the potential future synergies between municipal and civil society collaboration for local development?

This paper is based on a case study. Firstly, public work was explored, where multiple stakeholders including

public work employees were involved using mixed methods including interviews, focus groups and participant observations. Secondly, the author participated in a local roundtable initiative on local developmental strategies that included a mapping of the socio-economic conditions of the settlement. The results were evaluated in a working report, which constitutes part of the analysis. The interviews with municipal leaders were conducted during 2013-2014, while the roundtable workshop was conducted during 5 months starting 2013 November.

B) Ethnified social displacement during post-socialism

One of the adverse outcomes of the transition to capitalism of CEE countries (Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic) has been the formation of an ethnified underclass. The precariat (Standing 2011) and its underprivileged underclass emerged as joint outcome of globalisation and neo-liberal governance. An underclass is also conceived to be constituted of members which are "socially, economically, and geographically isolated from the rest of the society" (Tarkowska 2001). Post-socialist societies are especially exposed due to the dynamics between structural features of rapid transition symptomatic of the postsocialist hinterlands of global economies (Standing, 2011) and the retrenchment of the welfare state, where

Roma[2] emerged as a specifically disadvantaged group due to the identification of poverty with Roma who are over represented among the socially disadvantaged (Ladányi and Szelényi 2004).

C) Roma marginalization

C.1) Poverty rate

In Hungary, according to TÁRKI's longitudinal survey the proportion of measured poverty rate[3] was 10% among non-Roma heads of households while it was 68% among Roma in 2000. This figure increased to 12% among non-Roma heads of households while it increased to 76% of Roma heads of households by 2012. (Gábos et.al., 2012, p 53).

C.2) Poor Housing and lack of access to basic services

· Displaced groups, with a large proportion of Roma found themselves in geographically increasingly segregated so called rural "rost pockets" (Ladányi and Szelényi 2004). The living conditions of Roma are substantially worse in Hungary than the average. One aspect of social exclusion is housing segregation. Roma settlements are often in peripheral areas and concentrated often contain housing with uncertain legal conditions (Bernáth and Kis 2014). According to the UNDP regional study (2011) 8% of Roma live in very bad quality housing,

one third has no running water and sewer. There were 300000 people living in Hungary's 1600 segregatum[4] (Domokos 2010). Although even Hungarians live in segregatum, 40-50% of the Roma can be estimated to live in such areas (Bernáth and Kis 2014). Spatial segregation is often combined with worse access to services and discrimination. Out of Hungary's 3200 municipalities more than 800 contain a segregatum. 70% of these are in Hungary's most disadvantaged areas and 60% of them are in small size settlements (Gábos et.al. 2013 p 53), such as the one this study is focusing on. The existence of segregatum is often associated with local communities split along social and ethnic cleavages burdened with conflict.

C.3) Food Poverty

Conspicuously, food poverty is substantially higher in rural settings, where potentials for self-production are better than in the urban areas. This is indicated by the comparative UNDP survey from 2002 food poverty among Roma. On the question "Were there periods during the last year when your family did not have enough to eat?" 51% of urban and 43% of rural households answered 'No' in five CEE countries. Meanwhile, 12% of urban and 19% of rural respondents answered 'Yes' on the statement "We are constantly starving". Highest was the proportion of those answering so in

Bulgaria (close to 40%) and Romania (over 30%), while in Hungary around 3% answered 'Yes' on this question (p.42).

C.4) High debts from moneylenders

Cutting down on food leading to malnutrition is the second most common strategy after informal money borrowing in most countries for coping with poverty (close to 60 % of households in Bulgaria and 50% in Romania resort to this). Thus, starvation seems the last resort before turning to moneylenders. Dysfunctional societies emerge, where money lenders often supply food in return for usurer utilising the poverty of resource less (Béres and Lukács 2008), a dependency that can take diverse forms from being obliged to carry out duties for the usurer, voting behaviour and even being drawn into criminality (UNDP 2002 p. 50).

D) Theories explaining causes of Roma poverty

Critical perspectives on the ethnification of precarisation put emphasis on different aspects explored below. Part of the research emphasizes the multifaceted structural roots of today's rural precarisation and marginalisation. Some emphasized the importance of transition effects while others bring forward the prevalence of new type of structural constraints today, such as the emergent global inequalities and the retrenchment of the welfare

elementary (8 grades) education and do not have regular employment based incomes (Bernáth and Kis 2014).

state and the weak development of civil society. Others argue that these structural causes are not satisfactory to understand why Roma are the most marginalised. They bring forward the importance of discrimination (Schwartz 2012) as contributing factor. It is highlighted how the post-socialist period turned to emphasize poverty as a Roma issue. Others view emergent classificatory struggles (Szelényi and Ladányi 2004) in the context of intersecting inequalities.

D.1) Transition effects to capitalism: Loss of employment, poverty and marginalization of Roma

With the resource limited development model of state socialist economies (Kornai 1985) a constant lack of labour prevailed, which has created employment opportunities for all labour reserves. Even if Roma occupied the lower segments of the labour market due to lower educational and skill levels, their employment rate was similar to the majority population (Majtényi et al 2012). In the process of devolution of the state socialist production apparatus, Roma lost disproportionately higher degree of employment while they had marginal chances to obtain employment in the emerging new work opportunities that required higher skills. Marginalisation and poverty is an outcome of long-term unemployment, exclusion from the primary labour market combined with

welfare dependency on insufficient welfare means, a marginality that is reproduced by coming generations (Ladányi and Szelényi 2004).

D.2) Neo-liberal workfare state and municipal space of action in poverty reduction

The debt-regime (McMichael 2015 p 276) under which post-socialist transition emerged, assumed the swift adaptation to neo-liberal austerity measures in Hungary. Neo-liberal welfare state solutions to poverty embrace austerity measures combined with a preference to market rather than collective solutions to poverty reduction. These disregard the structural causes for marginalisation and focus on individual responsibility of the unemployed for their fate and for their own employability (Shierup 2005). Workfare policies, in contrast to welfare policies, put forward the responsibility of the long-term unemployed to engage oneself and contribute usefully to society by forwarding their own employability as precondition for qualifying for the aid of the state.

Public work in Hungarian workfare policies

In Hungary, paternalistic workfare solutions emerged gradually in the form of so called "Road to work" (socialist-liberal coalition government) and

"Start" (conservative populist coalition) programs (Asztalos Morell 2015). Public work projects, employing long-term unemployed in underpaid municipal projects, have been implemented as the major means to handle social concerns connected to long-term unemployed to work (Asztalos Morell 2015).

Social Security: Welfare Policies

The social security of citizens is delegated to municipalities in Hungary. This "municipalization of welfare" led to a double society according to Szalai (2007) where resource poor municipalities became burdened with the social responsibilities without adequate resources. Poverty becomes a small community issue, "the conflict between poor and not poor appears as the malfunction of the local communities (Szalai 2001, p 39). This prompted the description of the country as divided into two (Szalai 2007), into a high and low-speed segment (Ferge 2002).

Decentralized Governance and Resource Distribution

New models of EU inspired decentralized governance adopted by Hungary in 1996 (Kovách, 2010) led to a model of resource distribution where the active agency of local stake-holders including beyond the local state, private enterprises and civil society, is assumed in order to access developmental means, replacing former models of more or less automatic transfers based on standardized normative. The principle form of access to EU developmental funds is also facilitated by the model of participatory governance (Asztalos Morell 2015 in Granberg 2015). However, project-based distribution of resources was criticized, arguing that these lead to short-termism, elitist models of ideation and increased differentiation between municipalities (Kovách 2010). To what degree models of participatory governance can ensure the participation of the most marginalized is contested.

D.3) Discrimination and classificatory struggles

Meanwhile, discriminatory practices of the majority society contribute to the reproduction of marginal positions (Schwartz 2012). Most of these settlements are in the rural peripheries. For the inhabitants of these disadvantaged settlements the only livelihood is provided by various forms of social assistance. The abilities of marginal groups to access social rights are dependent upon the judgement of the "moral communities" of local power holders (Kay, 2011) that are formed based on shared norms by the local agents of the state in a hegemonic position towards marginalised groups. These negotiations lead (Thelen 2012) to differentiation among deserving and

undeserving poor, which often becomes ethnically contextualized (Schwartz 2012, Hamar 2010). State socialist legacies, such as seeing work as a moral obligation, still prevail and form layers with neoliberal and conservative understandings of unemployment (Schwartz, 2012). While normative expectations of work societies are reinforced (such as restricting eligibility to certain social benefits to the ("deserving poor"), "undeservingness" implying self-inflicted unemployment, becomes associated with Roma. This is enforced even on national level, since Roma integration policies focus on the social problems of post-socialist transition societies as a "Roma issue" (Szalai 2007).

E) The role of pro-Roma and Roma civil society as a countervailing force

In Hungary a special institution, the so-called Minority Self-government was established to secure the local and national representation of minority interests. As critiques argue these lack sizeable resources as well as ability to influence local development (Schafft and Molnár 2003). There are examples, where the leadership of these self-government positions is captured by local usurers and/or are occupied by persons lacking resources to participate actively in applications for resources (Bernáth and Kis 2014). In contrast some research (Csongor and Lukács 2003) indicates that, at least until 2002, while the overwhelming majority of financing for pro-Romani projects originated from diverse state sources, civil organisations as well as the Romani Minority Self-governments played an active part in facilitating project applications that allow the utilisation of these funds.

It is important to highlight that Roma civil society development emerged aside of the structures of minority self-governments promoted by legislation. Alike civil society development at large in CEE countries, Roma civil organisations during the early NGO-isation phase were promoted by global actors which pursued Roma marginalization as human rights issue, often ignoring the social aspects of marginalization related to globalization and neo-liberal turn in welfare (Kóczé 2011). On a national level, European resources directed to Roma development have been typically captured by non-Roma. On the local level, many of the most marginalised communities typically lack elites (Vajda 2008) or if there are such elites they may distinguish themselves from the poor, and projects aiming to empower communities do not reach those in need (Molnár 2008). Similar to experiences from other EU countries (Shortall and Shucksmith 1998, Shucksmith 2000) rural notables tend to capture resources for development even in Hungary (Asztalos Morell 2015).

Nonetheless, the capabilities of Roma civil organisations are increasing (Asztalos Morell 2016 Szinesgyöngyök) with support of international foundations contributing to the dissemination of Western-type, local empowerment-oriented development methods (Csongor and Lukács, 2003; Asztalos Morell 2017).

These deficiencies and new born advances have partly roots in how Soviet-type systems aggravated the condition for bottom-up, empowering civil organizing (Rose 1998), yet are also an outcome of the fazes post-socialist civil society development. Jakobsson & and Saxonberg (2015) argued that after the first phase of post-socialist civil society development characterized by NGO-isation, promoted by international donations and ideation, ripened towards grassroot mobilisation. (In Hungary we find a continued symbiosis between NGOs of a national range often collaborating with or acting as filial of international NGOs and local grassroot based NGOs, which often have grown up under the wings of these established NGOs (Asztalos Morell 2018)).

The role of civil society as a balancing source is especially important in marginalized settlements where the local municipal elite's power is not mediated by other agents and where community is split along ethnic boundaries or municipalities dominated by underprivileged Romani. These communities lack resources assumed by participatory models and/or internal conflicts might hinder those most needy to enter processes of negotiation concerning the governance of resources.

F) A theoretical framework for the analysis

As the above research review indicates, ethnified marginalization emerges in the complex interplay between micro and macro level structural as well as classificatory processes. Placing the analysis in this broader theoretical focus, this paper is to focus primarily on processes at the community level. Acknowledging the importance of structural and institutional limitations for processes of marginalization (Bhattacharya 2009), this community focus is argued for by emphasizing that state regulations are enacted on the local welfare state level, and are dependent on the local welfare mix, and how resources and capabilities are present. Theoretical approach to three interconnected aspects of the local welfare state is of importance for this study: the local state and civil society interplay, networked communities, and an agency perspective on change.

F.1) The interplay between civil society and municipal governance

Especially in communities with week civil society organizing and split

communities, the interplay between municipality and civil society plays an important role for development. Skocpol (2008) is critical about the one-sided focus on the role of civil society for local development and argues that the quality of the relations between the local state and civil organisations is crucial for the development of local communities. The author argues, following Skocpol, that due to the hegemonic position of the local agents of the state, the state-civil society interplay is of great importance not only for the well-being of Roma, but also for the community at large. Meanwhile, local democratization can be hindered by the weak development of the local civil society, especially in disadvantaged rural settings, a phenomenon symptomatic of postsocialism.

The relation between civil society and the local state is of importance for understanding the workings of "moral communities" of local powerholders of the local state and how civil society organizing is incorporated in alternatively countervailed by the hegemonic position of the local power holders. As argued earlier, "moral communities" are formed along norms held about "deservingness". Therefore, this paper is to bring forward the role of negotiated norms as organizing principles behind social relations of exclusion and incorporation.

F.2) Networked communities

As was argued earlier, the neo-liberal governance of development is based on the model of participatory redistribution, which assumes that those engaged with developmental processes have both social and cultural capabilities to manage and work for the definition of development targets and their realisation (Shucksmith 2000; Shortall and Shucksmith 1998). However, the resources and capabilities to influence are not equally distributed within the communities; hence, the ability of marginalised groups cannot be taken for granted. Furthermore, as Marsden (2008) argues, the strength of networks within communities is intertwined with the potential of communities to grow. Tight social contacts promote trust in societies and civil organising contributes to development (Svendsen 2014, Krishna 2010). Thus, communities split along social, symbolic and cultural ruptures, such as the municipality under the scrutiny of this paper, form a hindrance for the improvement of the conditions of those on the periphery.

A networked understanding of community departs from a use of place as proxy to community. Rather, along Bhattacharya (2009), the author observes identification and solidarity to be the essence of the term community: "any social configuration that possesses shared identity and norms is a

community" (p 12). This prompts a multi-layered analysis of networks. For the one, departing from Putnam's (2000) conception of social capital theory the author differentiates between "bonding" capital, such as horizontal bonds among socially close kinship and neighborhood based communities, and "bridging" capital, which refers to vertical bonds between socially distinct groups. Furthermore, "linking" capital is introduced to express contacts to strategically important agents to socially distant groups. Disadvantaged groups are seen as those lacking bridging and linking capital. This motivates Swain to argue along Bourdieu, that strong bonding capital of disadvantaged groups is a draw-back factor and cannot be converted into advancement in social life.

F.3) An agency perspective on change

As mentioned earlier, this paper explores the potentials of the perspective of networked communities to understand local development for the benefit of marginalized groups. By this it connects to perspectives viewing poverty as constructed in the interplay between the poor as the "other" and those not defined as the poor (Lister 2004) through participation or exclusion in "moral communities" (Shubin 2007). Along Bourdieu (1986) and Wrigth (2003) the author sees social inequalities as results of exclusionary processes, where material inequalities emerge in interface with differential acquisition of immaterial and material assets. Thus, we need to lift the importance of **agency** in the formation of abilities to turn material and immaterial resources into viable assets on the labor market and for the survival of the household (Sen, 1984). Meanwhile, we need to place individual agency into a community context by deliberating a networked understanding of poverty emphasizing the role of collective agency in the reproduction of poverty and as potential vehicle of empowerment.

One aspect of how state socialist legacies fill a function even in today's society, is how NGOs as well as state initiatives assisting the poor are most often formed top-down rather than bottom-up, and rather than working for empowerment stand for "helping with doles" (Sätre 2012). In contrast, empowerment perspective on development emphasizes bottom up participation (Granberg 2015). Especially critical is to reflect on approaches to poverty reduction in case of ethnified marginalized groups and take into consideration racialized/ethnified aspects of marginalities. **While individual mobility is possible without collective efforts, sustainable social transformation leading to poverty elimination of marginalized, stigmatized, ethnified groups assumes collective action based on**

identity struggles. In these identity struggles it is of key importance to gain the active participation of marginalized groups throughout the various phases of a development project. ABCD (asset based community development) is proposed as such an instrument and is to work for solidarity and agency (Bhattacharya 2009). ABCD should use methods of self-help (utilizing agency, mobilizing people's assets), be based on felt needs resisting developmental imposition, and should facilitate participation (i.e. taking part in the production of collective meanings in opposite to the exclusionary practices of the production of collective meanings in modern societies).

Working with disadvantaged groups prompts the importance of participation in order to enable these groups to have "the capacity to create, reproduce, change, and live according to their own meaning systems, to have the powers **to define themselves** as opposed to being defined by others" (Giddens 1984 in Bhattacharya 2009 p 12). Therefore: "...empowerment, capacity building ... are not ends in themselves but means for the higher end of agency." (p13). **Development agenda without agency acts for the poor as "clients" rather than with them.** Therefore agency based community development is to generate critical consciousness and is "addressing problems that the affected people "own" and define, and take

active measures to solve." (p13) An inter-subjective perspective on reason is dialogical and communitarian. **Agency assumes cognitive participation: "agency-generating powers of defining the problems, explaining their causes and proposing remedies"** (Berger 1974 in Bhattacharya 2009p. 20) by subjects of development.

G) Primary Research

G.1) Situation analysis

This paper is based on a case study carried out in a North-Eastern Hungarian municipality with 2000 inhabitants. This settlement was a former mining settlement with 95% employment rate. Around 20% of inhabitants during the state socialist period were Roma. Roma were well integrated into the labor force. Following the closing down of the mines in 1994 this area lost employment opportunities. The settlement today is divided by a regional highway into a Northern area almost exclusively inhabited by Roma (with the exception of 5 Hungarian families) living in four so-called segregatum, with a high proportion of marginalized population. Out of the 2000 inhabitants of the municipality 830 people live here. They took over this older part of a village when in the eighties one of the former Roma settlements were turned down. Half of the houses have low comfort level. Although municipality developed

water and sewer service throughout the area in 2012, none of the families could afford to connect to the communal facilities. The most commonly discontinued service due to unpaid bills has been electricity. Many have discontinued water supply which families have to obtain water from public water cranes. The average size of the families is 4,5 persons. Half of those families with children are married and half live in coHOMEion. Drug abuse and distribution is a rising problem as well as the presence of usurers. According to the survey in the area, respondents complained on the incapacity of the police to push back drug distributors and usurers.

During the seventies primarily Hungarian families started to move over to the Southern part and develop a new settlement on the Southern part of the village on the other side of the regional road. Although, there are some Roma families (30) living even here, they are a minority in the part of the settlement. Many of the active age Hungarian families move away from the settlement the demographic composition of the Hungarians left in the village is dominated by pensioners. The ethnic change of the settlement evolved in close relation to its socio-economic downturn.

G.2) Research methods

The author has initiated her research in 2013 since she was interested in the public work projects which were based on agricultural production including ecological principles and incorporation of the households of those employed as public workers. At this time roundtable discussion was initiated by the project "Roma Empowerment and housing policy dialogue" funded by the International V. Fund and administered by Home. External and local civil society participants and local stake holders were invited for 7 full-day workshops. In this research the author followed these sessions lasting for 5 months. The sessions covered a wide variety of issues related to the social issues of the municipality, such as debt consolidation, energy saving heat technologies, local social policies and regulations, local services and development opportunities. ... The author interviewed the municipal mayor, public workers, social welfare workers (including social workers engaged with family issues, health care workers, teachers, leaders and educators of public worker groups) as well as the leader of the local Roma Minority Self-government [Roma Kisebbségi Önkormányzat], a Roma member of the deputy in the local deputy board, also leader of the religious order and a priest in the local catholic monastery. The author made several participant observations with public work groups, conducted two focus groups with public workers.

The following analysis focuses on the ideas of the power elite, local welfare providing professionals representing the local welfare state, representatives of Roma and Hungarian civil organisations as representatives of civil society and the evaluation of the HOME based community development report.

G.3) The political elite of the municipal welfare state and the undeserving poverty of Roma

Local welfare state is composed of a diverse group of agents working for different institutions. Most central for the community is the office of the mayor, who is elected, the municipal attorney collaborating with the mayor, those working within different functions under municipal jurisdiction, such as public work organization, family and social welfare, elderly care and daycare, as well as those partly elected partly nominated holders of posts in different social and political functions. Beyond the municipal welfare state several state institutions work in collaboration with the municipality, such as the school, the child protection agency and healthcare services.

Personality improvement and municipal public work projects from the perspective of municipal leadership

The mayor drew attention to several structural aspects of the current situation of the village. Prior to laying down the mines in 1994 there was 95% employment with 3000 employees in the mines. No new workplaces were created since then. The work opportunities are at distance either in Hatvan (40 km) or in Budapest (100 km). While under state socialism the employers offered cheap subsidized accommodation for workers in hostels, these have been closed. Workers' wages are low and they cannot afford the travel expenses. As part of her understanding of the current situation, she also mentions that those from the village are discriminated due to their skin color as well as due to the bad reputation of the village as having high criminality rate:

> M has a very bad name in the region, since they know that there are many cigány". Many live from criminality, and especially, if we talk about Roma, then, as soon as they see his/her skin color, they are not going to be employed.

Despite of these structural hinders, she brings forward the personality traits that emerged as a result of these structural circumstances:

> We cannot export these people from here... They say they want to work. But when they face the strict work conditions than they no longer want to work. ... If one has not worked for many years, that person gets out of the habit to meet serious requirements

Instead of the heavy work requirements criminality offers an easier way to make money. While a public worker earns 49000 Ft net a month, a young kid can make this money, according to the mayor, on a day and imprisonment is not a deterrent:

> ...they borrow the money from the shark for that day.... They cannot put into prison people direct after the court decision, because there is often not enough place in the prison. When they know when they have to move in, they organize an imprisonment party

She is formulating another common culturifying view, according to which the poverty of the Roma has its roots in basing their life strategies on the utilization of social benefit system. Such benefits named are the family allowance 17000 Ft a month per child, and the regular child educational benefit, 6-7 thousand Ft twice a year. Several studies show that the child support subsidies that the parents can obtain are not sufficient to live upon or to be the motive to obtain children (Durst 2006), still this explanation is forwarded as the reason for high fertility:

> In the Hungarian family support system there is regular child support educational aid... only family where the parents do not have passed the 8 grades of the primary school can get

(one can apply if you have gymnasium education but are poor, but do not get it as a right). The Roma parents are not interested in encouraging their children to pursue gymnasium education. 8 grade primary school is enough, and then they can let a child be born.

To this is added a system of "loose cohabitations", which is also explained by a conscious strategy of benefit abuse based on the loopholes of the benefit system: "they do not get married since if the parent is raising the child alone the support is higher". Another support they allegedly maximize is a supplementary housing benefit to complement housing expenses:

> by this, that they do not have such bonds between a man and woman as is supposed to be... everybody lives topsy-turvy, they do not stay there they are registered, since they receive housing support, if they have low income. But by living separately the father and the mother receives the support separately: the father on some kind of housing and the mother on another. This is also impossible to control, who is living where. Physical impossibility since they live topsy-turvy

Another example, through which the mayor perceives that the Roma poor are undeserving of the state's gratitude is associated to their neglect of the school system.

The state is the responsible for the school but the municipality for the food. The children get free of charge food. But the state provides only 30% of the expenses. The children also get free of charge books. But children are not interested in studying and engage in lawful activities.

The image of a school gang of children rampaging in the village is corroborated by other sources, including a school teacher, public workers located in the neighborhood of the school. Teachers notified that school children identified pickpocketing as their desired means of subsistence. One parent to two school pupils also agreed partially with this image. She tried for several years to move her children to the school in the neighboring village, where majority children study. However, her children were refused. She interpreted that this denial was due to her Roma origin and the bad image of M in the region. Meanwhile, she identified 5-6 families in the village, whose children are the cause of anarchy and deterioration of discipline in the school. These families with heavy criminal background live in the Roma enclaves of the municipality on the other side of the highway. Their bad behavior destroys the environment for the other children. Thus, according to this parent, the cause of the dysfunction of the school is not the features of Roma et large in the village.

In contrast to the view of the above parent, identifying specific families as the causes of disturbance, the mayor's account pinpoints Roma parents at large to bear responsibility for this situation. She finds that many children smoke already from the age of six. The mothers pack cigarettes in the school bag, because:

The child would not be able to manage the day without the cigarette. When I say something they escape from the school during the break to smoke. The mother packs in the four cigarettes, for otherwise the kid would not manage.

The mayor underscores the perception of the motherhood with an example of a mother whose child died in brain emboli from narcotics and who let her other child take over the drug dealing from the deceased brother. Thus, as the mayor argues, so long as such attitudes prevail among the parents, it is not possible to bring forward changes. Therefore, as she posits, one major cause of the marginalization of Roma is in their personality, which she finds to be a major drawback for change. Meanwhile, she does acknowledge that not all Roma are "hopeless":

20% of the people's personality is hopeless, they are negative personalities to such a grade that

they would go in the wrong direction irrespective of any effort... 20% would very much like to move forward, they have ambitions, and 60% just exists.

Having explored the ways how the perception of "undeservingness" of Roma is associated with their attitudes of benefit maximizing and "unthankfulness" to the state the author turns to explore how the public work system is thought of as a means of poverty reduction and how undeservingness is constructed in this respect.

Public work projects as municipal task: an additional burden on their capacity

In 2014 there were 120 people employed in eight public work projects. This has been the outcome of the mayor's personal engagement to create meaningful engagement for public workers. Each project is based on specific project design and fit into the priorities to forward sustainability issues and ecological development. Most of the projects were based on the promotion of local agricultural production. There was a horticultural project including bio-cultivation, herb drying, conserving of rosehips and picked fruit jam; an animal raising project, including poultry raising, small animal keeping, diverse animal raising (such as keeping a dozen goats where the workers learned to make goat

cheese); gardening in public spaces; basket weaving; mushroom growing; ceramic; reparation and construction. Most of these projects included an educational component.

While she saw public work as positive instrument for consolidating the situation of long term unemployed, she was also critical on the burdens the creation and management of such projects implies for small municipalities. Since most of the long term unemployed are just in such small municipalities, who do not have the resources to organize employment to all those without work, it is a great problem for these small municipalities to find the managerial resources required to design, manage and administer such projects:

> *We have small offices with 5 clerks plus an attorney who is the head of the office and at the moment we have 120 public employees. The municipality has to arrange the matters for these above the duties that the municipality has, since the task of a municipality is not to organise employment for public workers. ... The burden of public workers is placed on the shoulders of the municipalities. Imagine what an enormous paper work to administer 120 public workers*

Another problem is the lack of experts who would be needed to design and lead projects:

we have no experts in the village, we have no university educated people, who would help these people either for reward or on voluntary basis to learn something... those who could only flip: "it is hopeless. We do not do anything with these people"...

Perception of Roma people's "undeserving" poverty

Another hurdle for small municipalities is the lack of adequate skills of long term unemployed and need for education. However, the mayor saw as even larger problem the work evasive attitude of long term unemployed as the major problem. Therefore, beyond the promotion of the knowhow of local agricultural production through public work projects the mayor considered public work as a positive instrument to break the marginality of long term unemployed and deter them "to turn to criminality". Therefore, one key aspect for change is to transform the behavioral personality features of Roma:

Our goal is to train those 20% who have ambitions, on such a level, that he/she should not depend on me, or from us giving him/her duties for every day, but should achieve that he/she can give duties independently to those in her/his group.

The public work system promoted by the Fidesz-KNDP government provides the means for changing the

attitudes of marginalized groups. She finds that the public work system is good providing "8 hours employment and opportunity for education". She identifies the benefits of the system reaching beyond education by improving the personality of participants, countervailing idleness and the attraction of criminality:

We took this task on top of our duties, because we saw that if we let these people to stay at home then there is possibility of their move towards criminality. That is why we manage public work beyond our resources.... Public work solves their problems temporarily, if we educate them, their personality improves also.

The arduous task of the municipality, the provider of public work, is to contribute to this personality change: "we know that this does not happen from one day to the other". She finds that many show resistances:

"When they get tired they are frustrated and want to know why do they have to do this?... they have small tricks...". imagine how popular is that I have to fire people who come to work drunk, or has such activities, I who am an elected leader. As an elected leader it would not be advisable to do such things.... I am not an employer, but I have to make him take the blow pipe, to prevent him from falling down the tractor.

Thus, the pedagogical task is to make people work from own initiative without constant control and governance: "one has to make them get accustomed to it, that they are responsible for themselves. They do not work for me." One example was the introduction of a public work project in which the 30 participants were to work 6 hours in the municipal land and 2 hours in their own garden. They were to receive plants and seeds and equipment to brake soil that has not been cultivated for decades than saw vegetables for own use. However, to start with many participants were dissatisfied. Even here, the mayor indicates how the participants were not thankful for the project to start with:

> *First, they were dissatisfied and wanted to work in the municipality's garden and not in their own. I did not really understand. ... Many conceived it as a punishment. They would rather sit in the municipality's garden with their friends and not doing anything. They did not appreciate that they received the seed, the plants, and knowhow from the education, and you are to get potatoes, tomatoes or whatever in your own garden.*

Thus, the task for the public work project leaders was to change the values of participants, to turn those for whom "the garden was not a value, since they never saw that someone would have used that garden" to "realize that this is good". According to the mayor the key of the final acceptance of the benefits of the program were that they had a modest goal of cultivating 100 m2 in each garden, a goal people were able to carry out.

This view of passive working morality has been corroborated by the two educators of ecological production. Among others there were two retired educators who took the responsibility on close-to voluntary basis, since the payment they received was minimal. One of them had experience with poverty reduction projects from India. The big difference was that families in India appeared extremely happy for all education offered, in opposite to those participating in the education in M. Public workers obstructed participating in education, came late or did not appear and experienced it as a punishment. Disciplinary issues took time from learning.

Personality development of Roma: a municipal perspective

As mentioned earlier, the development of the personality of Roma is one key source for change according to the mayor. One of her projects included a right brain half training based on a drawing course. Participants started the course with drawing a portrait. After the completion of the course, they were to draw again the same portrait. After a

one day course all participants improved greatly to the degree that their partners could not believe that they had the capacity to draw such advanced picture. The very purpose of the course was multiple. Partly, this included the development of creativity for which the right brain half is responsible. But, the mayor argued that:

> *"the right brain half is also responsible for passion and for the criminal line... therefore, if you engage these people, who otherwise are receptive to the bad and to passion, to something good, that you can gain from this. Even if he or she cannot effectively make money out of this but you have contributed to change his or her personality".*

The mayor would like to get larger publicity and expansion to this idea. Partly, the mayor would like to introduce it in such parts of the country which are considered hopeless, and they cannot find new solutions: "This kind of events would be needed that bring people to fast fulfillment and feeling of success".

The mayor has invited the manager of the regional prison, who found the method of interest and invited the course leader to perform the training for the interns.

The mayor has taken on the task to create a model which would "solve" the Roma problem. In her view there is only one party in Hungary today who aims to achieve this, the Jobbik: "they want to press back by force". The mayor argues that Jobbik's methods based on inciting change by threat, as in Gyöngyöspata, where the racist guards marched and threatened local Roma. Such methods do not fit to a settlement with a larger Roma population. Roma come to defend their fellowmen if they feel threatened, like in Olaszliszka. When traditional education does not work, we need to find other methods that can engage the interest and develop the creativity of people. Thus, the mayor would like to develop a none-violent method since "one cannot press back by force in 2000 settlements". This is necessitated since "the traditional education does not work". The mayor sees the urgency of such a program due to the fear of a civil war:

> *The Roma children are not wanted abroad, he is going to stay here, she is going to give birth at 14... this can turn into civil war situation, since one-tow provocations at a few places, there will be reply from the Roma. I am afraid of this, that is why I want to nuance the picture by the Roma and about the Roma.*

G.4) Perspectives of the clients of the welfare state

During research the author made two participant observations with a public worker group, made a focus group discussion with a public work

brigade, interviewed two groups leaders of public work and had personal discussions with a couple of public workers. The discussions revealed the challenges faced by them in conducting and organising the tasks. One challenge concerned the strict control over participation. Each brigade had a responsible person chosen from the workers in the group who had to hold the record over working times. It placed these public workers in a very pressing situation with conflicting loyalties between their fellow public workers and their own situation in relation to the municipality leadership deciding on who gets jobs. They resented the demand to be at the work place 8 hours a day 5 days of week while wages were low. There was a kind resistance and some tried to miss work and pressurize the public worker in charge not to report.

In another working group workers were pressurising the group leader blaming her for not being on the public workers' side, refusing to go where they were ordered to go and do the tasks they were demanded to do. They were blaming the group leader, who was a public worker herself with no means of influence and herself in a dependent situation, why she does not stand up for the interests of the group. They claimed the raw materials delivered did not make possible to carry out the work tasks, they demanded proper protection clothing, shoes, and gloves, which they

have not received. Thus, group leaders were placed under very pressurising conditions. Meanwhile, they were pressurized from above to carry out the "personality transformation" project of the municipality leadership. They were to convince the other public workers about the beauty and benefits of work, control working times and morality, that tasks are performed as expected, the streets were cleaned....etc.

One of the group leaders narrated the pressure she faced. She accounted for some kind of confirmation of her efforts.

"I had to send five public worker women to a new task. They were placed to the cemetery before and now they were to go and hoe to prepare land for cultivation. One of the women started to complain: "What do you think of yourself? I do not go there? Why do we need to go there? Why do we have to this?" And then the four other women told her: "Do not quarrel! We go out there and do our job!" And then instead of starting to quarrel, these four women stood up and started to head towards the fields. Finally the fifth women gathered also her things and followed the others."

This event made the group leader very proud of herself, that this little bit her own achievement also, that these women have changed their attitude to

work. Seen in the context of the views expressed by the municipality leadership, this achievement falls suit with the value systems of the leadership, which emphasizes the lack of working morality and the need of discipline for changing the opportunity structures for the long-term unemployed. Meanwhile, one needs to add that this disciplining process has to be placed into the context of the work and employment conditions of public work: the low wages, often not comprehensive work tasks, challenging working and employment conditions and lacking perspective to be able to find better opportunities. In this context, it is not surprising that public workers have low motivation and are resisting the conditions.

G.5) Hegenomic "moral communities" and local welfare state workers' perspective

While the mayor of a municipality is an elected post, where political visions determine the profile of leadership, civil servants occupy a more long-term engagement, based on professional grounds. My interviews concerning child welfare issues indicate that professionals engaged with child welfare issues negotiate their points of departure in their daily practice in between interprofessional, professional, personal and norm-critical frameworks. On the one hand they follow a professional code. As a nurse expressed, if a child has been taken in to a hospital

with dehydration, it is the professional duty of the hospital to take contact with local health and childcare services, beyond the provision of necessary medical care. This professional duty of reporting creates interprofessional circles of responsibilities. Has the child been referred to local health- and child-welfare, the local organizations have to initiate a child welfare case:

"I received a notice from the hospital that his child was taken to the hospital dehydrated. Than I have to look after if there is some problem. For me this child is considered "endangered" at once, since I have received a warning that we need to look after this child. Then it is possible that I pay a visit and I see that everything is all right and then this child is no longer considered to be "endangered". But since I received a notice from the hospital, the child-welfare agency received a note from the hospital, the machinery has been started. I have to act."

Different professions have different criteria to report. According to the account of the daycare nurse, she has to report if children are not attending daycare or if she finds warning signs of child neglect. Even if professional decisions are taken in account of the own professional normative, these become negotiated between the agents of different institutions.

As one of the nurses interviewed accounted, it is often a difficult balancing act to draw the line between personal norms of good enough parenting and those of professionally justified since the professional guidelines leave space of action for interpretation. What are "normal" conditions for a child depend on expectations and norms, which can be very different for a nurse and a poor mother:

"it is possible that she gives food to the child, and that the child has clothing, and they have the minimum furniture, but I say that this would not be enough for my children, but she [the poor mother] considers that this is enough. From this there is a lot of argument and disagreement, that I consider that one cannot give birth to a child within circumstances alike, while she thinks that one can". (nurse)

IN such cases, it is difficult to make a judgement, and the nurse argues that she at times have to back and not pursue a child endangerment case since:

"if the mother considers the circumstances satisfactory and the child is not in de facto danger, then I do not need to get involved by all means, at least according to me." (nurse)

Child welfare cases, which are moved to a higher level leading to taking the children from parents to custody are decided in a consultation with agents of key concerned institutions. Therefore, the queries if individual welfare workers are by necessity negotiated on a higher community level, involving power holders with hegemonic rights over local citizens. The interviews indicate an ongoing negotiation where positions by different institutions not by necessity confirm with each-other. The majority of complains to family care services arrive from the school through the Child welfare bureau (Gyámhivatal). The most of these complaints concern the child not attending school or misbehaving in school. However, there seem to be some disagreement on the issue of responsibility. While teachers claim parents do not look after their children, family services find even the school responsible. As a family services officer argues:

"In my reading it is not purely the parent who is responsible for why the child is not attending school. This means, that it is not the parent who encourages the child not to go to school. It is the child him/herself.... And the reason for it is often the school or the teacher. And this is something that neither the school or the teacher is ready to acknowledge." (family care officer)

According to the officer of family services, parents are interested in the

child's attendance. Since according to laws from 2012, the families lose their school support subsidy [iskoláztatásisegély] (the former family allowance) if the child has missed school 50 hours during the school term without certificate: "In principle the employer, that is the municipality, should fire the parent who is on public work. On top of it the parent can be charged with fines." To keep parents in the public work system has grown to be an important means to stabilize the economy of families with children during the past years. Therefore, family services are in tight contact with the municipalities public work officers pressurizing for public work employment for parents in need.

Child and family services are involved in negotiations even with the municipality. Those whose children have not attended school not only lose their school support subsidy, but loose even public work employment.

Even if there seem to be ongoing negotiation on the degree of personal responsibility of clients, it is often argued for even if constraining structural circumstances are taken into account. In an ongoing custody case a young girl, has been taken into custody from her mother. Both the mother and the father had a previous history of alcoholism and troubled couple relation. The removal of the child was prompted by the mother leaving her husband, without having been able to secure a residence. The mother and the daughter were found hiding without permission in the stable of a house. Since, she has lost her public work position due to abuse of alcohol, her personal responsibility for the situation was emphasized. While it is known that the municipality has no security accommodation to offer, there has been no option to find shelter in the closest urban maternity houses and the municipality has not offered a public work opportunity, and by this, institutional conditions have contributed to her situation, she was offered only two alternatives. Either she was to apply for taking her child into custody voluntarily or otherwise being objected to the authorities filing for taking into custody her child.

Taking into custody is a final resort, according to the family services officer, and the office first of all tries to intervene on the level of primary services, involving family visits and care plans. The child's conditions are seen as severely endangered, where parents are imprisoned or are fallen into deep alcohol and drug abuse to the degree that they cannot take care of their children. The primary solution they work for is to find someone among the relatives, grandparents or aunts/uncles to take over the care over the child. These type of solutions seem to work in case of most Roma child welfare cases.

Still 5 children were lifted out of their families the past year from a population of about 80 children in the child welfare system out of total population of 200 school children in the settlement.

Considering the issue of ethnicity, among the 5 children taken into custody 4 were of Roma origin. The school identified implicitly Roma families as the source of problem. Teachers reported children playing crime games on pick-pocketing, and robbing trucks parked along the highway on goods, one parent who has beaten up a teacher, the parents' lacking engagement with the children's future, as reasons. In contrast, family service officer considered the over representation of Roma children among child custody cases to be related first of all to the fact that the overwhelming majority of children in the settlement are of Roma origin and to the social marginality of the families. Hungarian families in the vicinity have similar problems to Roma.

G.6) Role of Civil society

Majority society civil organisations

There are very few functioning civil organisations in the community. The most active group is an association of elderly founded in 1990. Most of the members belong to families who worked in the local mines and has two sections: one for women and one for men. Both groups meet once a week at separate dates. Beyond weekly gatherings they celebrate key red days together, such as women's day, national day, farsang [carnival], Saint Nicolaus day (fifth of December). One key activity of the group is singing in a choir local folk songs. The choir participates in regional and local festivities. In the women's section all but one of the members were Hungarian. They phrased the Roma woman member as "the most proper person in the whole village. Many peasant women could envy her". According to the elderly women, there is a great difference between Roma in the village. They differentiated between "tözsgyökeres" [original with roots] and newer families, "proper" Roma and those engaged with thefts. They felt resentful especially about those who rob elderly in the village:

> *"I remember B... She drags around the things her children have robbed... And I told her: "You B. Why do you rob from these poor local people, when we all are so poor. Why do not go to the Plains, where people have more." They took from these poor elderly women, the hens"*

The association's meetings were held in the Culture House, where, after 2011 even the IT point ran by a GYEP, Roma Child Support program, became located. This has led to conflicts, since the youth has been disturbing the

elderly's activities, who perceived the youth as acting disrespectful. They refer to different experiences of difficulties concerning everyday co-existence in the overall village HOME:

> *"If I am on the street, I put even a little paper the sweets are packed in into my pocket and through it in the dustbin when I get home. But they [Roma youth], eat chips and just throw away the whole package. "*

One of the elderly women's child has been a teacher, who referred to her work situation as unbearable, since the [Roma] youth "cannot be learned to behave". They disturb general discipline in the school. This image corroborates with accounts by interviewed teachers as well as by Roma parents. Nonetheless, the latter see it as an issue troubling even ambitious Roma families, and rather see it as an issue related to a given number of families and their children in the village making the life of the others impossible.

The other registered clubs include a civil guard association, modeling association and a chess club.

Roma civil organizing

The local Roma community seems to be divided. On the one hand there is that part of community which is under the influence of usurers.

There is an informal and a formal leadership of the local Roma community. One is ignored by the local power, while it collaborates with the other. One is overwhelming in the local public life, while the other is as if it has not been.

The author's own interviews complement this sensitive aspect. There are two Roma leaders engaged in the local political life. One is the head of the Roma Minority Self-government. The other has been elected to the local city council. Both of these leaders have business establishments in the settlement and there has been allegations made on their role in usury to needy members. Contrary to these allegations both have presented themselves as helping those who cannot pay for food in diverse ways. Most visionary and multifaceted has been the Roma leader who was elected as local representative in the city council. He has been supportive of the elected mayor in his campaign. While member of the council, he/she received the sole right to sell tobacco in the municipality, an obviously lucrative opportunity. While politically active, he is also a spiritual leader in the Roma community as member of the local religious order, which is a Roma pastorate within the catholic church with roots in Spain. This religious order is combining religious practice offering prayer room, with social aid to needy, such as shovel and washing facilities to the needy with economic activities through a

denominational limited company. The company is developed by the Roma leader and is based on reviving traditional Roma trades, such as collecting wild mushrooms, barriers and herbs and marketing products from this. He is currently engaged with expanding these activities through Roma catholic pastoring networks. Engaged with Roma Minority Self-government networks on the national level, including alleged contacts high up at the government level. He/she has good insight into funding possibilities for enterprising as well as local developmental activities. These activities open for work opportunities for his/her family members. He/she has been in close collaboration with the mayor of the time, helped her campaign and has been supportive of the mayor's reprofiling of public work after having won the election. He/she described the attitude to public work during the previous mayor's period as "loose", "they did not attend work, not even signed the work sheet". Rather than playing hard, the Roma leader described his/her methods as based on persuasion:

"we have a new leader M., we have four years to smarten up our act. If we do not create something, we miss our chance. We won the elections. Those who want to stand behind me, stand up right on. But do not look back. We just should do it! ... This mayor is surely going to reward it to us!"

He/she identifies as the major difference in the new mayor's attitude, that the mayor wants to give back the "pride" to Roma people. While the previous mayor "made Roma lose the custom of working, from self-conscious existence, by leaving people alone and not demanding anything" they by setting up criteria and demand have given back the "pride" to work. He/she argues that we see "beautiful cleanness and order, no paper through away". "We see happy poor people", "they use their right brain halves, are drawing, they create, recite poems" (referring to one of the mayor's developmental projects). There is an apparent duality in his political vision. On the one hand, he/she wants to work for building bridges between Roma and none-Roma. On the other hand, he/she is promoting the religious order to work only for Roma. To some degree he formulates assimilationist ideas: aiming for Roma to be Hungarians, but all an all he has been promoting Roma consciousness:

"it is important that we ourselves should be able to prove, or rather, we do not need to prove, but we need to provide an example that we can stand up to moral values."

He/she presents himself and his grown influence as the outcome of some kind of divine power:

"since, how should I say, this potency is in me, Roma began to feel

that I am changing, I have changed.
... priests come to me, I spend time
with my priest friends, I am in
television, I talk about God, about
love, and they are inquiring, they
are asking my opinion.... And one
morning I awake on that 30-40
young people, children, lady, Roma
sit around me, and I talk there, and
the others in dead silence, and listen
on what I say. Crazy! I got awake,
that, who am I, that I talk to them
about God?"

He/she found him/herself helping
people: "we were there at Christmas, I
cooked for them, I fixed wine, and what
more, if someone had no clothes, they
can wash it there, if he has no facility for
cleaning, he can take a bath...".

Meanwhile, the formal
representation of Roma issues is placed
by the constitution into the office of the
Minority Self-government. The holder
of the post was elected at the same time
as the new mayor and the one Roma
representative in the main Body of
Representatives [Képviselőtestület].
The chair of the Minority Self-
government should be invited to
participate in all meetings of the Body
of Representatives. During former
periods they had a say in who were
chosen to participate in public work.

There is an underlying conflict of
interests between the two Roma leaders
in the community. While the Roma

leader chosen to the MBR [Municipal
Body of Representatives] made
allegations that the RMSG [Roma
Minority Self-Government] leader has
been taking usury, the RMSG leader is
making allegations that the other is
sabotaging the working of the RMSG in
order to make personal advantages. The
MBR is not supportive of providing the
RMSG an office to work from, inviting
the representative to negotiate who
should obtain public work, and or
participate in applications for external
funding. Thus, the Roma leader in the
MBR, the main body of the municipal
power is actively blocking the
opportunities of the office and leader of
the RMSG. While the MBR is gaining
control to the management of public
resources, such as disposition over
public work assignments and
acknowledgment, the letter is
marginalized and excluded from
channels constitutionally secured for
the leader of the minority self-
government office.

On the one hand the RMSG leader
views this as an outcome of personal
rivalry (they both run shops in the
village with small resources). On the
other hand it is motivated by the other
Roma leader's conviction about the
incompetency of the office of the
RMSG. As the MBR revealed in my
interview he thinks that these are
typically occupied by local usurers, deal
with simply organizing one Roma
cultural event a year and distribute

biscuits to the children at Christmas, i.e. they have no political importance. The record of the office for the past period accounted by the leader of the office supports this assessment. However, the RMSG leader argues, this record is the consequence of the countervailing efforts of the other Roma leader. From the 214000 Hungarian Forint support no other activities could be financed. Meanwhile, she/he does find organizing the Roma cultural event is an important contribution to the local community.

As other interviews also corroborate, the Roma leader in the MBR was elected to his office thanks his/her collaboration with the current mayor, who became elected to large degree thanks her collaboration with the Roma leader, since the ran their campaign jointly.

> *"They went to K. with M. [mayor candidate] and they went together everywhere. And the ones who M. won, then they even voted on the MBR, that they should even vote on him/her."*

However, according to the leader of the RMSG, his influence in the village rests upon the power he obtain through his position to distribute public work and social subsidies: "he/she has influence in the MBR, and it is rather through this, how should I know, that: "I am to get subsidy, it depends on him... at the final end he organizes [public

work], I have not say in it. They do not ask my opinion."

After the mayor gained office, many new public work opportunities opened, that many in the village attribute to her success. According to the opinion of the leader of the RMSG, this change is not to do with the mayor's personal success, but it has to do with the new governments policy and increased resources to public work. There opportunities have markedly increased through the whole country:

> *"People say, since M has come there is so much work. We work all the time. This is true. But this is not thanks M…. it is the same everywhere."*

The RMSG named even an opportunity to participate in a regional Roma adult training program for according to her account sizeable (400) number of adults where participants could have received a financial support. However, the application assumed the support by the municipality in providing space and administrative help. This was denied by the mayor, who said according to the account:

> *"I cannot take on me plus work. They cannot place the administrator there [to the municipality building], they cannot provide a table with the computer, so the administrator would sit there and handle · the duties. Since they would have had to*

have an accounting, transfer wages. And the. mayor said, the municipal financial accountant has too much work.... But if it is true that they will really pursue the development of the municipality? And they are helpful? Why do they not let even me to get forward?"

The conflict of interest in the local political arena is conflated with the economic interests even in the level of business interests. As the RMSG leader implied, she had to finally close her shop due to the loss of customers. Beside others, she lost 10 former customers after the elections. She/he heard from her former customers that the Roma representative in the MBR has approached them and told them to shop in his shop if they would like to obtain public work. Combined with the impact of the aftermath of the economic crises she is having financial troubles including disability to pay bills time to time. Running a shop in a poverty-stricken village implies that the customers typically cannot pay.

"they only come, that, can you give, I have nothing to give to the child, have nothing to cook... this continued for a while, since one will help, since you know them... on an everyday level, everybody... and this led the shop to a bankruptcy"

While the leader of the RMSG claimed supplying the poor with loans

led her shop to bankruptcy, the member of the MBR implied that she is running a usury activity. Religion seem to be a channel for social differentiation. While the other Roma leader is allied with the catholic church, the dominant church in the settlement, the leader of the RMSG is a member of Hitgyülekezet [Pentecostal free church] with center in the nearby middle size town, which church has also a politically different, more liberal oriented political association in public life.

It appears that beyond these two Roma leaders there seem to be additional power groups formed. The richest Roma inhabitant has a metal-scrap business with international connections. Beyond business within the white sector, there several members of the community involved with drug sales and criminal activities.

Regionally anchored Roma civil organisations

Beyond the local Roma elite with intertwined political and economic interests, there is also an alternative, intellectual new Roma elite growing in collaboration with different regional and national NGO activities, with growing strength in co-operating and applying for EU and other funding for local development. They attempt to find collaboration with the prevailing political and administrative elite primarily composed of Hungarian

professionals. The roundtable discussions can be interpreted as a step in that direction.

Beyond the local Roma civil representation, regionally active Roma organisations, such as the "County Majority Roma Association" has been active. This organization has a past in community development activities, is anchored in the contemporary context of support financing with proper skills for formulating successful applications and skills to promote community relevant projects with internationally compatible developmental methods. They have been the facilitators of the local Tanoda [Learning place] and involved with the local GYEP Gyerekesély Program [Child Opportunity Program]. Tanoda provides after school activities in order to support disadvantaged youth's ability to improve their educational skills and abilities. One motivation for this organization is that teachers in the local school are not familiar with pedagogic methods developed to teach with disadvantaged communities. There is great fluctuation among teachers and several subjects do not have certified teachers. The author's observation, visiting the Tanoda, was that this institution promotes the education of children of engaged Roma families, who experience that their needs are not satisfied in the state run school.

GYEP offered between 2011 and 2013 adequate responses to local deficiencies in education to disadvantaged youth. Among others it contained activities, such as pedagogical workshop, assistant helping the pedagogical work in the school, social work in the schools, IT-point, daycare play and book lending service. However, resources were not utilized according to the original ideas (social assistant in the school was utilized as watch dog for children not coming to school rather than for active workshops with parents).

Both programs have been financed by EU means as part of "kistérségi" [small-regional] projects. However, after the end of the project time Tanoda has been kept going with donations with great difficulties, while GYEP had to be laid down. Both projects have been replacing tasks that state welfare institutions could not deliver, i.e. a functioning educational system.

Pro-Roma civil organisations

There are several pro-Roma organisations, which function on a national and/or international level with or without international support beyond EU funding. Freedom, internationally founded NGO has been supporting pro-Roma activities in decades. Among their activities they engage with competency development for local civil organizing and promote financing for

activity focused projects. One such promoted project based on the internationally approved CAF [Communidades Autofinanciadas – Önfinanszírozó Csoport]. As the author's interviews with the leader of this local group indicate, there were 15 women members of the group. The leader of the group finds the activity promoting even if its financial scope is small.

HOME has been an initiator and founder of the Roundtable discussions, introducing new, bottom up methods for community development. They are collaborating with the alternative Roma intellectual forces active in the region and in the village. They are also sponsoring a project for housing reconstruction for 17 houses with participatory methods.

G.7) Roundtable discussions: involvement of external NGOs and a "blur" between state and civil sphere

As the examples of GYEP and Tanoda indicate, it evolves as part of the local welfare mix to which degree the local state and civil organisations engage in supplying functions. Actvities, which during state socialism and in well-functioning welfare states, are provided by the state, such as education, need support from civil organisation. An interplay between the local state institutions and civil society is apparent even in how some of the EU

run projects are applied for and administered. Documentation of such collaboration is assumed by EU's local developmental funds. As shown earlier, the lack of support by the municipality has hindered bringing support to the village by the local RMSG. Meanwhile, the municipality has been successful in attracting developmental funds financed by TÀMOP-5.3.6. for local development during the period of the mayor between 2010-2014. The application for this project funding was carried out by an external professional expert bureau, with key external consortium members, not involved in the community's life, such as a national range educational company. However, along the realization the external consortium members drew back and instead a regional NGO took over the management of the project.

Along this TÀMOP-5.3.6. EU financed community development project emerged an independent initiative of the international non-profit organisation HOME to run a parallel project involving roundtable discussions and an exploratory survey on local social relations. This roundtable was configured with the EU financed project, since it was to offer a method and resources, in form of external experts and knowhow, that the municipality did not have. Since HOME financed roundtable involved external experts it was injecting ideas and resources that the municipality

leadership offering their collaboration were not anticipating. As the facilitator they have appointed a Roma expert, also leader of a regional Roma developmental NGO with previous engagement in the local Tanoda. The main goal of the roundtable discussions was to initiate negotiations for the mapping of local resources and needs, formulating feasible short-term and long-term goals, identifying resources for their achievement with so broad social participation as possible. Participation was thought of to include both the local political and administrative elite, professionals and representatives of civil organizations including the church and RMSG. In addition to these round-table discussions a survey was carried out and an evaluation of local developmental efforts including the results of the roundtable discussions was composed.

Local ordinances and institutional context

Furthermore, the HOME founded evaluation emphasized the institutional aspects of governance: the work of municipal agents should rely on legal ordnances and developmental strategies. Among these the Social Ordnance [Szociálisrendelet] is to regulate the access to social benefits on the local municipal level. Surprisingly the local ordnance was modified in 2011 incorporating the principles of the so called "Èrpataki model" introduced some months earlier as the far-right "solution to the Roma issue". Due to its hard-core disciplinary measures the ordnances of Èrpatak were annulated by the Governmental office and the Kuria as standing against the constitution. Shockingly, the NGO report unravels that neither the mayor or the municipal governing members were familiar with the formulations. The mayor attributed the text to a former notary, who seemed to have introduced the changes without previous consultations. This indicates not only how volatile the institutional framework is to individual misuse of power but also the lack of governing documents and how these are anchored in the local community.

It indicates how the activity of any of the prevailing power elite can make volatile the ideas governing the programs that the settlement intends to realize on the long term. One can consider the above case an outcome of intentional subversive activity.

It is also indicative of the lack of viable governing ordnances that could serve as base for expert vocational practice, since members of the local Social Council [Szociális Bizottság] were not referring to such ordnance in their professional praxis.

The external NGO participants of the roundtable forum set focus on exploring local ordinances and the institutional

context as one critical perspective in screening the local poverty elevation strategies. The Local Equal Opportunity Program accepted 2013 could have been a leading document at this end. This program is not based on expert analysis of the causes of marginalities. Furthermore, it was based on the one-sided representation of local municipal leaders, and has not incorporated civil organization and the minority governing organizations, representatives of those living in the segregatum, or the leaders of institutions on the settlement. Rather, it identifies socialization problems as the main explanation for the prevailing social marginalization processes, among those low educational performance and material impoverishment. Meanwhile, it does not present or evaluate previous attempts to tackle housing and infrastructural problems. Most of all, it lacks a systematic review of the research base for the ordinance, and how the segregatum was defined and how the concerns were identified.

> *It lacks presentation of the educational, labour market position of those living there. Housing and population density, quality of living. .... Lacking the basic characteristics of the settlement it is totally unfit as a strategic document.*

Another ordinance screened had been the Communal Intervention Plan [Közösségi Beavatkozási Terv].

Although this has been based on a survey, only parts of two of the four segmentums were incorporated. Even this document emphasised the importance of individual consultation and programs offered by the national institute, a national educational institution approved by the government, targeting self-organisation and self-helping, in a top down fashion.

Local anchoring [társadalmasítás] of development projects

The ability of municipalities to obtain extra developmental resources is to apply for EU or regional funds. One important deficiency is the lack of capacity to write applications. This means that often applications to calls are written by external hired professionals, who do a professional job, yet are not familiar with the local conditions and therefore include standarised solutions without local bottom-up development of ideas. Such was the case with the application leading to the funds realized for the roundtable discussions. Therefore, the report lifts up the weakness of the project to obtain local anchoring. First of all there was not broad enough representation of the different stake holders in the community. Taken the social segregation in the community and prevailing splits even within the Roma community, local representatives should have been involved beyond those three, out of whom only one

participated throughout the sessions. There were no representatives for civilian Hungarian population or for the local pensioner club dominated by elderly Hungarian women. The lack of representation of local civil society had to do with the low activity level and number of civil organisations. The few civil initiatives that ran in the municipality, such as the Tanoda [after school educational aid for youth], were ran by organisations in neighbouring settlements. Important local institutions were not represented, such as the Social Committee [Szociális Bizottság], the notary, district nurse [védönö], head of the local school or the head of public work projects. Opposition politicians were not invited either. Those participating have not been informed or come to an understanding of the purpose and potentials of the roundtable consultations. Many of the participants expected to obtain help from outsiders, i.e. of HOME Hungary and the experts they engaged and did not see themselves as the sources for initiating change.

Another weakness named had been the lack of openness towards the surrounding society about the event, a phenomenon common even in other aspects of local governance. Openness towards the public guarantees trust for developmental projects and is the opportunity to initiate public engagement.

H) Discussion

The mayor placed repeated focus on two interrelated issues. On the one hand she referred to poverty as a Roma problem in need for a solution, designating Roma as responsible and points to the need of their personality change as the key to poverty reduction. On the other hand, she emphasized the importance of personality traits as the major hinderance for change.

One of the key aspects of the NGO report criticism lifted up just this one sided focus on personality traits and personality development. In contrast the personality focus of the mayor's approach to poverty reduction, the NGO report puts forward an institutional approach, that is critical of the municipal leadership's need to reform. The unprofessionally ran institutions cannot stand up as trustworthy and are volatile to misuse of power. The lack of institutional guarantees, in form of publicly anchored ordnances opens for arbitrary decisions, leaving up to the "benevolence" of the ruler how one interprets it.

Furthermore, it is critical of the lack of expert knowledge on pedagogic models previously successfully used in communities with marginalized enclaves. In this respect lack of public and institutional resources were identified as contributing to the

prevailing situation where there is a lack of qualified teaching staff.

Another aspect lifted by the NGO report has been the lack of community anchoring of previous development projects. These were not based on public consultation and have not invited the different interest groups in the settlement. Thinking on the strong social cleavages within the local community, a multilayered participation seems to be the precondition for sustainable developmental strategies.

The focus on poverty as a Roma issue ignores the multilayered composition of the Roma community. On top of this the verbal association of the Roma issue with criminality is further aggravating to bring forward the social roots of criminality. Criminality is concentrated in one segment of the population, the activity of which minority group is adversely impacting not only the Hungarians but even more the conforming Roma. Thus, the report elaborates the internal schisms of the municipality, notwithstanding the schisms among Roma.

While, the author's analysis follows suit in many aspects with the NGO report, there a some aspects where I am critical of it. Although, the report is acknowledging the positive evaluation of the mayor's effort to introduce bio cultivation, they remain rather skeptical towards public work projects at large.

Food security is a crucial issue for marginalized rural populations which surprisingly lack the knowhow or motivation to utilize the earth available in a rural context. Even if subsistence production cannot be the exclusive means to elevate a population out of poverty, poverty reduction proceeds often in stages. Reduce starvation is not the final goal, yet a stage towards further improvements. Sustainable household based production skills are used not the least in Hungary for poverty reduction and community building in marginalized ethnically segmented communities (Asztalos Morell 2015). Meanwhile, the methods forwarded by the mayor did neither address the issues of community building or promote it. As the author's fieldwork indicated, products from the public work projects could be purchased at reduced rate, however, these were often not utilized, people saw how produce that were not purchased rotted away. Produce of public work commonly is used in public institutions (daycare, schools, elderly care) or distributed to the needy (Asztalos Morell 2015, 2016). At any rate, without transferring the positive use of the products, it is difficult to postulate those producing the goods as persons contributing to valuable alternatives.

Aspects that are not developed to larger extent by the NGO report concern the evaluation of public work aversion as a cultural trait of Roma that need to

be disciplined. The author's participatory experience from a public work unit opened for an alternative interpretation. At the occasion of my visit the one Hungarian member of the work group received a warning since she had not attended work. The Roma leader of the group did not agree to signed her as present in the work log book referring to her responsibility to report attendance as it is. The reprimanded woman was outraged arguing that public work is unjust and appealed for the group members solidarity in covering up this kind of "sabotage". Working for 8 hours a day 7 days a week for the meagre wage is not just. On the top of it, most of the time is seen as wasteful, since the eight hours cannot be filled with meaningful activities. This observation brought forward an insight that corroborates with some of the critique mentioned earlier of public work as an institution and employment form that is economically not viable. It also puts the work evasive attitude of public workers in another light, showing its subversive, resilient features. Thus work evasion can be seen as act of resilience rather than cultural feature of Roma.

Finally, the author believes that aspects of ability training and personality development might be justly criticized by the NGO report, one has to acknowledge that these abilities have suffered greatly due to long term unemployment. Even if the author disagrees with seeing these as cultural traits, I believe that training these abilities combined with integrated social networking and a participatory bottom-up model is a necessary component of ability development. However, such training can only bring fruit if it is integrated with networked community building. ·

I) Conclusion

The theoretical models proposed for community developed emphasized that individual mobilities are possible, however sustainable social transformation assumes collective efforts. Networked understanding of poverty (Sen 1984, Marsden 2008) emphasizes the collective context of individual agency. Thus, the improvement of individual personality traits is not sufficient for sustainable reduction of poverty. The latter requires a multilayered mobilization of the members of communities segmented along conflict of interests and unequal distribution of resources. Models of participatory redistribution assume that those whose conditions are to be improved have the abilities (cultural and social) (Sen 1984) to act in a participatory fashion. Social inequalities hinder this ideal condition to be realized (Shortall and Shucksmith 1998). The NGO report is critical of municipal developmental strategies for not anchoring it in the local community, they are thinking primarily in

multilayered models of representation of diverse segments of the municipality. They promote the rise of a civil society with local roots. The five occasions for roundtable discussions could just saw the seed of alternative community development. The survey conducted could be a ground for shaping multilayered community development. Nonetheless, other community developmental strategies indicate the potentials of multifaceted capability development, where cultural and social capabilities are developed in an interrelated fashion. Acquired knowhow, such as knowhow of bio cultivation, contributes in a socially embedded context, to personal as well as collective pride, increasing the prestige of those participating within the community. The combination of such models with strengthening the governance of institutions and people's trust in institutions could provide synergies for development.

A move in that direction assumes trusting relation between civil society and local government. At the time of my study, local civil society had been none-representative of the different segments of the community, and the institutions of those segments that were established were either not invited to collaborate with the local government (pensioner club) or were not active (local guards). As the municipality elite is elected, the elites based their positions on selected segments of the population. This kind of

political clientele making further aggravates the schisms of the community. From this perspective the NGO report's promotion of a broad societal representation in developmental projects corroborates with the reflections of research pointing to the developmental hinder posed by communities divided by societal conflicts (Marsden 2008).

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