

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

0. BACKGROUND INFORMATION	
PROJECT TITLE	Magdolna Quarter Programme (second phase)
Duration of project	August 2008 – May 2011; 33 months
Member State	Hungary, Central Hungarian Region, Budapest, 8 th District
Funding:	Total budget: 2 billion HUF (€7.3 million), ERDF funding: 1.6 billion HUF (€5.8 million), ESF funding: 176 million HUF (€0.64 million), national funding 92 million HUF (€0.345 million), private funding 148 million HUF (€0.538 million)
Cohesion Policy Objective:	Competitiveness and Employment (phasing in)
Main reason for highlighting this case	In the Magdolna programme housing interventions are implemented mostly in favour of marginalised and disadvantaged groups. The programme is integrated, and supports the physical interventions with many social and community development programmes. The housing interventions are based on the active involvement of the inhabitants. The case study shows what kinds of conflict emerge in such rehabilitation projects and how these conflicts were overcome.
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1. PROJECT DESCRIPTION	
Overall objective / goals	<p>The Magdolna quarter is one of the most deprived areas in Budapest, and is situated in the central part of the city where social segregation is an ongoing process fed by the continuous influx of low income and disadvantaged people. The quarter is also inhabited by a high number of Roma, amounting to an estimated 30% of the total population of 12,000. The main problems include high unemployment, low education, the poor condition of the local housing stock and living environment, low public safety conditions and high criminality, including drug abuse and trafficking. Despite local efforts the public services are unable to cope with the accumulated difficulties, which also appear in the severe segregation of Roma children in the local education system and the overloaded social services.</p> <p>The overall objective of the project is to make the quarter socially, economically and environmentally sustainable, to foster the coexistence of the different social groups and generations, and to create a multicultural environment.</p> <p>The most important social goals are to stop and reverse the process of segregation that is under way in the neighbourhood and to create a community with strong social relations and a high level of solidarity. As for the economic goals, the main objectives are to decrease unemployment and to increase economic activities including local trade. There is also a firm intention to improve the living environment and the critical housing conditions.</p>
Description of activities	<p>The Magdolna Quarter Programme has been implemented in two phases so far. The first phase lasted from 2005-2008, and was financed by the district council with the support of the Budapest City municipality. The project served as one of two pilot projects within the new initiative of the Budapest Rehabilitation Fund aiming to introduce 'socially sensitive regeneration' targeting the socially most deprived areas of the city. The first phase cost 821 million HUF (€2.7 million) and included:</p> <p>Social programmes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - establishment and construction of a community centre; - establishment of a local tenants' association; - supporting civic activities in the quarter: the municipality provided local offices at a reduced rent to 6 NGOs in order to establish their activities in the quarter; - education programmes in the local school (segregated); - public safety programme: establishment of a local working group and elaboration of a strategy.

Economic programme:

- pilot employment programme for marginalised people.

Environmental programmes:

- rehabilitation of 4 municipally owned social housing buildings with the active involvement of the tenants;
- GreenKeys project: renewal of local square with the help of community planning.

Phase two was implemented from 2009-2011 (33 months) as part of the Central-Hungarian Regional Operational Programme, which is mostly financed by ERDF. This phase of the Magdolna programme applied a highly integrated approach by using a complex toolkit in which the different measures aimed to build on each other's effects.

The following physical activities were implemented:

- Housing measures included the renewal of municipal social housing blocks and condominiums. Tenants' active participation was generated during the renewal activities and thus participation was realised at the end of the project (contrary to the first phase of the project where it was implemented from the beginning);
- Renewal of the local school including changing windows to save energy, making the building barrier-free for disabled people, and creating new sports facilities by building a community room in the basement;
- Various kinds of community space were created by finishing the renewal of the local square, establishing pedestrian streets around the renewed square and creating two community playing fields in empty plots;
- Public safety programmes: CCTV cameras were installed in the renovated municipal housing blocks.

The soft programmes consisted of a wide range of activities:

- Training and employment programme:
 - Unemployed people were trained according to their personal needs;
 - A job-seekers' club to help unemployed people was held weekly and several job-market events were organised with the participation of job-seekers and a number of employers. The training and employment programmes were organised with the close cooperation of the local Employment Office.
- Strengthening of local social and education services:
 - A special intensive family care programme was introduced to manage the problem of families in crisis and to avoid having to take children into foster care;
 - Regular low-threshold service for young alcohol and drug users that offers an easy access service;
 - Special training for teachers and group-work for students with restorative conflict solving techniques in four elementary schools concerned with segregation and deviant behaviour problems;
 - A wide range of regular and occasional free-time programmes for children and teenagers in the local school and in the community centre.
- Public safety programmes:
 - Safe public spaces programme, including the surveillance of streets with the highest crime rate by social workers;
 - Neighbourhood police patrol programme;
 - Public employment programme (street cleaning) with the homeless people using the quarter's hostel facilities;
 - Crime prevention lectures and interactive lessons for local schools held by NGOs and public players;
 - Evening table tennis.

Economic programme:

- Renting out five empty municipally-owned shops to new local enterprises.

The second phase of the programme was largely built on the results of the first

	<p>phase:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The community centre created an important facility for the community development programmes, and most of the soft programmes were implemented there; - The renewed park created a central location for several soft programmes, public actions that were implemented in the second phase; - The first phase has strengthened those NGOs and civil organisations that were able to play a partner role in designing and implementing the second phase.
Beneficiaries	<p>The ERDF programme was implemented by a consortium with the local government and the participating condominiums as the main project promoters; thus the primary beneficiaries were these two entities.</p> <p>However a number of other players benefitted from the project:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The local school which was renewed and received a number of projects; - NGOs (many of them local) that implemented the majority of the soft projects; - Different subgroups of local residents depending on the type of the interventions they were targeted by. The most important indirect beneficiaries (end-users) of the programmes were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o tenants living in the renewed social housing blocks; o inhabitants/owners of the renewed condominiums; o unemployed people participating in the employment programmes; o children and young people attending the local school and participating in the programmes of the community centre; o teachers and students participating in conflict resolution programmes; o a wider circle of local residents using the renewed public spaces and enjoying greater public safety.
Main results	<p>The results (outputs) of the first phase of the programme:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - partial renewal of four social housing buildings; - establishment of tenants' association in the renewed blocks; - construction of the community centre; - renewal of the local park with involvement of the residents. <p>The results of the second (ERDF-funded) phase of the programme are the following:</p> <p>Improvement of housing conditions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - renewal of 16 municipally owned social housing blocks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o full renewal of 2 blocks; o partial renewal of 10 blocks ; o facade renovation of 4 blocks (these 4 blocks were partially renewed in the first phase of the programme); <p>Thus the rate of substandard units decreased from 56% to 12% in the blocks concerned, which meant that 430 units were affected by the renovation: inside bathrooms were built or the possibility to install bathroom facilities was created.</p> - partial renewal of 7 condominiums. <p>A living environment with higher quality and diverse functions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - creating a pedestrian zone and thus a better link to the district centre and a higher quality of public space for pedestrian and economic activities; - creating more free-time facilities and community spaces for the residents (2 playing fields, pedestrian streets with more green areas). <p>More intensive social and community services:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - intensive social care service for 11 families with small children; - regular social care for 20 drug users, drop-in service for 123 people and street social service which reached out to 523 people; - 276 young people visited night table tennis;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - programmes for children, young people and adults in the community centre; - several community events (Neighbourhoods Days, Health Day etc.). <p>A more diverse education service:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - better facilities in the school building: gym and community room; - a number of afternoon and free-time programmes and summer camps; - 400-hour conflict resolution service for groups, 100 hours of individual treatment and 90 hours of consultation for teachers in 4 schools attended by children living in the quarter (including local school). <p>More intensive and personally tailored employment programmes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 93 unemployed people were trained (shop assistants, computer assistants, web-designers, electricians, housekeepers); - employment programme for 22 homeless people; - 5 municipally owned shops were rented out on favourable terms to meet needs defined by a local assessment (hairdresser, family counselling, social discount shop, café, tailor's shop). <p>Public safety programmes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CCTV in 16 social housing blocks; - neighbourhood patrol for 12 hours per day; - 79 occasions of interactive public safety class for school.
Expected impact	<p>The second phase of the programme was completed in the summer of 2011, but no evaluation has been carried out so far.</p> <p>The intended impacts were defined as follows in the planning documents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to enhance the possibilities to improve their lives for those disadvantaged people who are willing to take part actively; - to strengthen the connection/cohesion between the residents of the quarter; - to enhance the chance of the young generation for studying, social inclusion and for overcoming their disadvantaged situation; - to help the employment of disadvantaged groups and to create a more entrepreneur-friendly environment; - to decrease the number of substandard housing units and to improve housing conditions (with regard to health and energy efficiency as well as architectural value); - to improve the condition of public spaces and increase green areas.
Gender equality and non-discrimination	<p>The programme did not have a strong emphasis on gender equality and non-discrimination issues.</p> <p>Regarding gender equality, many women participated in the adult education and training programmes though they were not designed purposely for them. However from the adult education programme another programme developed that deals only with women in disadvantaged situations.</p> <p>No specific anti-discrimination programmes or measures were developed, though a high number of Roma people, who generally suffer various kinds of discrimination in Hungary, live in the quarter. The programme used an area-based approach and the measures were targeted mainly at disadvantaged people. Thus most of the end-users were people of Roma origin even without special measures, and the community programmes aimed to strengthen the local cohesion between Roma and non-Roma.</p>
2. POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC CONTEXT	
	<p>In Hungary, to use the ERDF for housing purposes is possible in the framework of socially sensitive urban regeneration programmes. The National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013 defines territorial cohesion as a priority which also embraces urban rehabilitation measures in the framework of regional operational programmes including measures for deprived urban neighbourhoods. Such regeneration programmes aim to handle physical and social deprivation through an area-based and integrated approach, and only those neighbourhoods</p>

	<p>that can prove their deprivation using a defined set of indicators are eligible for such programmes. The action areas can be of two types: (1) housing estates which are threatened by deprivation and (2) traditional urban areas (including Roma neighbourhoods/settlements) which are already in a state of deprivation.</p> <p>Cities that want to implement socially sensitive regeneration programmes have to elaborate an Integrated Urban Development Strategy (IUDS) which designates the target area for regeneration among other development areas. The evaluation of the IUDS, which contains a problem and need assessment as well as a desegregation/integration plan for spatially concentrated marginalised groups, is part of the of the application process. The evaluation of the project application is implemented in two phases: after the evaluation of the of the preliminary project plan, the second phase consists of a project development phase supported by the managing authority (and its regional development agencies).</p> <p>The project itself has to be of an integrated nature, which means that it has to include different kinds of physical and soft interventions. Among physical interventions, housing improving measures are compulsory (except for areas of privately-owned family/single houses) but can be accompanied by the development of public spaces, public institutions and infrastructure (with some restrictions). The soft measures at least have to react to those social indicators that entitled the area for the programme. In order to implement a mix of interventions the share of the costs of specific measures is determined in the total project budget. For example the share of the costs of soft programmes has to be between 8% and 20%.</p> <p>The regulations for regeneration programmes in the six ROPs are very similar; the Magdolna Quarter Programme phase II was funded from the Central Hungarian Operational Programme.</p> <p>Nevertheless these socially sensitive regeneration programmes were not totally new in Hungary. Budapest Municipality has operated a Rehabilitation Fund since 1994, to which districts can apply with rehabilitation programmes. The operation of the fund was transformed several times in the direction of more complex interventions. Finally, in 2005, socially sensitive regeneration was also introduced with two pilot projects, one of which was the Magdolna Quarter Programme. However after the two pilot projects no further projects have been launched because of the lack of funds.</p>
<p>The planning context</p>	<p>The Central Hungarian Operational Programme priority axis for ‘Development of settlement areas’ includes measures for urban development. The intervention areas of the priority are ‘integrated, social-type rehabilitation and urban centre developments’. The aim of the intervention is defined as ‘To find remedies for the economic, social and environmental problems concentrated in certain urban crisis areas or in districts threatened by decay, new economic, cultural, social and community functions must be created and existing ones strengthened. ... Integrated social-type rehabilitation is appropriate for urban districts suffering from adverse demographic trends, low levels of education among the population, low economic activity rates, a high rate of long-term unemployment, high levels of poverty and segregation, a high crime rate and a degraded environment.’</p> <p>The Integrated Urban Development Plan of the 8th District states that during the 90s the district was without any prospects. Since then substantial developments have been carried out. One crucial result is that the crime rate has decreased and public safety conditions have improved significantly. The rehabilitation process started with several area-based projects in the districts. However the social problems have been concentrated in two areas: the Magdolna and Orczy quarters. The developments aim to increase the competitiveness of the districts (by developing their central areas) and to continue the fight against their spatial and social division.</p>
<p>3. IMPLEMENTATION</p>	
<p>3.1. PROJECT DESIGN AND PLANNING</p>	<p>The cooperation between Budapest Municipality and the Council of the 8th District started as early as the mid-90s in order to speed up the district’s rehabilitation. The 8th District is one of the largest deprived areas in Budapest with dilapidated housing and it was one of the few districts in Budapest which had not privatised a large housing stock that had been designated for rehabilitation even in the 80s. The Budapest and the district municipalities established a joint publicly-owned</p>

rehabilitation company, RÉV8, in 1997 with the aim of developing a rehabilitation strategy for the district. However because of the large scale of the problem and the strict regulation of the Rehabilitation Fund (it financed only the full renewal of social housing blocks) only limited interventions could be implemented during the 90s. So from the beginning of the 2000s RÉV8 started to develop a new 15-year District Development Strategy, taking the innovative approach of splitting the district into 10 quarters and defining different development strategies for each quarter. In the strategy the Magdolna quarter was designated as one of three priority areas meriting a more URBAN-type approach, which also took into account the need for the social improvement of the area. The original idea for this new approach came from existing western European practice which the leaders of RÉV8 had seen on a study tour in Sandwell, United Kingdom, funded by the Know-How Fund (a former UK international development fund which helped Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union).

Budapest Municipality supported the district's new initiative and, on the base of a feasibility study, listed the socially sensitive regeneration programme for support by the Budapest Rehabilitation Fund in 2005. Initially, two pilot projects were launched, but no others followed, partly because Budapest and all the districts focused on the EU-funded development projects, and also because of budget constraints.

The design and planning of both phases of the Magdolna programme relied on a number of surveys and research studies but no needs assessment was implemented in the strict methodological sense. Two representative surveys were implemented in 2005 and in 2007, in order to examine the living and housing conditions of residents, their problems and their opinions on the quarter. Additionally the conditions of local trade were examined (number of empty shops, profile of the shops). A smaller needs assessment was implemented, relating only to the local economic programme to decide what kind of commercial services were needed by the local residents.

The Magdolna Quarter Programme phase II funded by the ERDF was selected as a key project in 2007-2008, which meant that it could receive a higher amount of support from the Regional Operational Programme than the normal maximum level for such interventions. In exchange it served as a model programme for other cities and districts which wanted to implement such an approach. The first selection of the key projects took place in 2007 when the National Development Agency issued a call for proposals on any theme. It was a two-round process, in which the first round only required an expression of interest in which a project idea had to be submitted, and if the government approved it went into the project development period. The managing authority did not see any risk in the planning phases as it was working through an experienced management organisation, which had long experience of planning and implementing integrated projects, working with NGOs, tenants and marginalised groups. But the exact requirements were not always clear to the district as they were the first municipality with this status for the new urban development process. For example it only became clear during the application process that they also have to elaborate an Integrated Urban Development Plan with an anti-segregation plan. This was because the long-term District Development Strategy was not accepted without this element.

During the design of the project the risk factors differed according to the type of the interventions. In terms of housing, the main risk lay in the negotiations with the owners of the condominiums on the exact nature of the renewal actions: the owners had to agree on these actions or the improvements would not take place. This requirement arose because since the buildings were in their ownership they had a right to veto any actions that were proposed. Another difficulty was that the condominiums had to be in a solid financial situation, meaning that could not have any external financial debts (e.g. toward public utility companies, or overdue loan payments). As the condominiums were consortium partners they had to satisfy all the requirements for the project application in which the management of the condominium had a substantial role. However it proved difficult to work not only with the owners but with the management/common representatives as well. The real level of this risk manifested itself in the application process for the third phase of the Magdolna Quarter Programme, also in the framework of the ROP in 2011, when their application was rejected because of the lack of official documents from some

	<p>of the condominiums. In the third phase there were almost 30 condominiums involved and it was very difficult to coordinate such a high number of consortium partners and ensure that all the relevant paperwork was complete.</p> <p>Another risk was that the technical problems of the buildings could not be assessed properly in the planning phase. Many of the properties are very old and some hidden problems appear only once renewal is under way. The cost of doing a thorough assessment survey is high and many of the condominiums could not pay in advance. This cost is not refunded if the application is not approved so the condominium owners bear the risk.</p> <p>Many of the other investments, including social housing blocks, were in municipal ownership and thus it was less problematic to decide on the exact content of the interventions and to meet the requirements of the application process. The risk in such cases appeared more in the implementation phase.</p> <p>It can be concluded that the greater the number of consortium partners that are involved the higher the level of risk as the application processes are very complicated. It is the consortium leader's responsible to coordinate the process and in the case of inexperienced organisations the management takes on a huge load.</p> <p>The issue of sustainability has several aspects. The sustainability of the projects in terms of continuing the interventions in the target area with the same integrated approach in the longer term is a crucial issue, as the scale and the scope of the problem is so huge that it cannot be resolved by a two-year project with limited funding. The Magdolna Quarter Programme II was planned only as one phase of a longer strategy and further phases were planned though the funding resources were very uncertain. When the Magdolna Quarter Programme II was planned it was not sure whether the district could apply for another ERDF project later on because the relevant regulation was unclear and the level of competition for the funds could not be seen either. As a result it was not certain whether resources would be available for phase III.</p> <p>As we could see the Magdolna Quarter Programme II was funded not only from ERDF funds as part of the ROP but also from ESF; however this did not mean that the Magdolna Quarter Programme II had to apply for other programmes. The reason is that quite a high cross-financing share (up to 20%) from the ESF is allowed under the socially sensitive regeneration scheme. This meant a soft programme package of almost 400 million HUF (€1.2 million at the 2009 exchange rate) in the Magdolna Quarter Programme II. This arrangement simplified project management as well, as they only had to apply for one project (though it was a very complex application with a high level of requirements) and only had to maintain relations with one managing authority.</p> <p>Besides the Regional Operational Programme funded programme only a small project (4.5 million HUF, approximately €14 500) was implemented partly by the Neighbourhood Association.</p> <p>The Magdolna Quarter Programme I was financed mainly by the district and the Budapest municipality and a smaller GreenKeys project was implemented to support the community planning of the local square (Mátyás Square) (see www.greenkeys-projekt.net).</p> <p>Without EU funding it is unlikely that the project could have been implemented. Neither the district nor the Budapest municipality had the necessary resources and for housing rehabilitation no national funding is available.</p>
<p>3.2. MANAGEMENT, MONITORING AND EVALUATION SYSTEM</p>	<p>When it came to the selection of the management the district was in a unique position in Hungary. It is one of the few municipalities that already had a professional rehabilitation company, RÉV8, which is structured as a share company, 60.9% owned by District 8 and 39.1% by Budapest. Therefore when the planning of the Magdolna Quarter Programme I started it was managed by a professional and experienced team who knew the local conditions and problems, the local institutions and the political environment. However socially sensitive regeneration (involving for example the coordination of a large number of physical and soft projects) was new to the management, which meant that it was a learning process for them as well.</p> <p>When the Magdolna Quarter Programme phase I started a division was formed</p>

inside RÉV8 that was led by the deputy director. She was responsible for the operational management of the project. Strategic management of the project was shared with the director of RÉV8. After the community centre was completed the management of the Magdolna Quarter Programme moved to the new centre which was operated by RÉV8 until 2010. During the Magdolna Quarter Programme II, around 25 people worked in the management. They worked in five subdivision teams covering housing renovation, employment, community centre, community development and crime prevention. Each subdivision had its head and colleagues forming multi-disciplined teams with architects, sociologists, community developers, etc. After the Magdolna Quarter Programme phase II was completed and the Magdolna Quarter Programme III proposal was turned down, more than half of the staff was made redundant.

The management organisation is responsible for planning the projects and for their implementation, as well as for communicating and negotiating with local people, the partner organisations including the condominiums, the tenants and the NGOs. However all the decision-making responsibilities are born by the municipal council or by the relevant committees. This meant that the municipality had to approve not only that the development strategy and the detailed project proposal, but also, during the implementation period, all the projects, contracts and detailed budgets. This arrangement enabled the management to go ahead with planning and generating ideas and new initiatives quite freely, which afterwards were approved or rejected by the council. In the implementation period such tight control hindered the effective accomplishment of the projects and the ability to react quickly to unexpected problems. To illustrate: the management company does not need municipal approval for items under €350, and for items between €180 and €300, it has to make a monthly report.

Regarding the monitoring system, RÉV8 has to prepare a quarterly progress report for the council. The managing authority also monitors the programme (like any other rehabilitation programme): the management has to report to the development agency (the intermediary agency of the managing authority) every two weeks, and has to make a progress report every six months.

The results have not been evaluated so far. The managing authority does not have a special evaluation process – it only checks the progress reports and the indicators to see whether everything is going according to the contract. It asks only for a residential survey to measure the acceptance of the projects by the local residents. The managing authority has defined the set of indicators that has to be produced compulsorily: these are mainly output along with some performance indicators which serve to produce indicators for the EU on the regional and national levels. Additionally the project owners have to define output indicators as a tool to check the implementation of the project (how many people participated in an event, how many houses and how much public space was renovated etc.). So the indicators are defined to monitor the project, not to evaluate its quality.

The representative residential survey was implemented in the autumn of 2011 in the Magdolna quarter after the project had closed down. It showed some effects of the implemented programmes (a control sample was the neighbouring quarter with a similar situation but with no regeneration project). The results shows that the people in the Magdolna quarter:

- trust more in the future development of their quarter;
- think that with the help of the programme in the long run there is a chance to integrate the quarter into the city;
- have more positive experiences related to concrete developments.

However no significant difference could be shown regarding employment or income level.

During the planning and implementation phase, the management had to face many unexpected difficulties. Some of these derived from the fact that some activities had to be changed comparing to the planned content. All the changes had to be negotiated with the managing authority (though mostly this did not require contract amendment, only their approval) and also had to be negotiated with the municipality. Usually such changes were manageable but it took time that slowed down the implementation process.

	<p>One complex example of such changes occurred in one social housing building, where the whole nature of the renewal plan had to be changed. The social composition of the building was very problematic. Several families were involved in crime, mostly drug dealing, others were living in deep poverty and some of them were illegal tenants. It became clear during the implementation phase that the community of the building made the building difficult to manage because of high level of deprivation and criminal activity (dealing etc.).</p> <p>A new concept was developed: the tenants were moved to several other areas and the building itself was converted to social housing for local policemen. The building was also in a very bad condition so it had to be completely rebuilt. The works related to structural renewal were financed from the ERDF project while the development of the new apartments was funded by the municipality. This change was also positive from the public safety perspective as the street had one of the highest crime rates. The concept was approved by both the managing authority and the municipality. (See more on the difficulties under 4.1.)</p>
<p>3.4. GOVERNANCE: PARTNERSHIP, PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT</p>	<p>A very positive and innovative aspect of the Magdolna Quarter Programme was that a wide partnership was built up. As already mentioned, for practical reasons the consortium partners consisted only of the condominiums, but many organisations were involved as so-called cooperating partners. The partnership could be effective because most of the partners were involved from an early stage of the planning process, and the soft projects were designed through an iterative process which meant that they were tailored to the involved partners' expertise and the specific problem of the target group. The NGOs involved were partly locally based (either in the quarter or in the district) but also included external ones that dealt with special services answering some of the basic problems. The partner NGOs dealt with social problems (drug users, deviant young people, homeless people) or provided cultural and educational programmes, but the external NGOs also focused on disadvantaged groups (restorative education techniques, drama groups for disadvantaged young people etc.). A very successful partnership developed with the Jesuit voluntary education programme that mainly targeted adults, helping them to finish their elementary school education. Another NGO implemented the restorative technique in schools with higher-level conflict between problematic children and their schools. A drama project was carried out for local disadvantaged kids. Other NGOs delivered the night table tennis project and so on.</p> <p>Public institutions also played a substantial role in the partnership. The main partners were the local school, the local office of the Unemployment Centre and the local police. Good cooperation was built up with the local unemployment office (the Unemployment Centre is a state institution while the majority of social services are a municipal responsibility) despite the unemployment office received no funding from the programme. The local police were also a strategic partner that operated the neighbourhood patrol service. Cooperation with the local school turned to be less smooth after the change in the leadership of the school, as the new director was not really familiar with the programme and its new approach.</p> <p>A very important part of the partnership system was the active inclusion of the local residents, which is very rare in Hungary. Building up partnership with the local residents was an overarching process across the two phases of the programme. In the first phase the so-called Four Buildings Association was established with the participation of the social housing estates which were going to be renewed. The aim of the association was to represent the interests of the tenants concerned, and it was initiated and led by a very active tenant living in one of the blocks. In this phase the exact renewal activities were elaborated together with the tenants, and the tenants had to carry out voluntary work before the renewal started. The common planning and the voluntary work had a positive, community-building effect as well. The cooperation between RÉV8 and the association (and tenants) worked well in the first years, then suffered from many conflicts, and was finally re-established. In the second phase the association did not play an important role, and could not make the tenants of newly-involved blocks join. In this phase the involvement of tenants was weaker, because the more bureaucratic nature of the EU-funded programme meant that the initial involvement and the community planning of the renewal activities could not be carried out.</p> <p>In the second phase, one of the project's aims was to develop a neighbourhood</p>

association in order to increase the social cohesion of the neighbourhood in the long run. According to the original plans, this association would channel and articulate the interests and problems of local residents and would create a kind of forum for the NGOs. One of the NGOs based in the district (Nap Klub) was responsible for facilitating the process of community-building. Nap Klub made a survey in the quarter and organised consultation through interviews with local residents, the representatives of the municipality and RÉV8. The organisation of the association improved when one of the local residents with substantial experience in civic activities joined and took over the leadership. (Legally the association is still not registered.) During the implementation of the Magdolna Quarter Programme Phase II, several issues emerged that dissatisfied the local residents – at least specific groups of them. There were significant protests related to certain renewal activities. These included the creation of a pedestrian zone around the already renewed local square. The association tried to channel the opinions and interests of different groups and articulate them to RÉV8 and the municipality.

The association actively mobilises around 10 people who are willing to take an active part in the work. The leader of the association makes the group work and without him the association in all probability would not function. The association has a plan to broaden its network in order to establish a wider and firmer social network in the quarter, but the question is whether the leader and the active members have enough capacity to make this happen. The use of external funding (EU or other) is a difficult issue for the association, as according to some people this would compromise its voluntary nature. A possible strategy for them would be to separate the activity of the association, which would work on a voluntary basis, and establish a foundation that could draw in some external resources if needed (something like a Development Trust). Nevertheless the association has already built up relations with the local stakeholders (municipality, institutions, NGOs etc.) and it can mobilise people for some actions if required.

The partnership system was steered by RÉV8, because the partners involved had neither the capacity nor the competencies to implement such a huge task. However RÉV8 thinks that if the neighbourhood association could be strengthened and could enjoy wider support among local residents and stakeholders it could take over the leadership (at least the major part) of the local partnership.

The municipality was not directly involved in the project; its main responsibility was and continues to be the decision-making involved in approving the related strategies, detailed project plans, contracts, etc., monitoring the process and providing the necessary financial contribution.

Political support for the programme changed through the planning and implementation periods of this 6–8-year-long programme. During the programme period there were three changes in the composition of the district's leadership (the mayor and council). The initial political support weakened when the mayor and council had different political orientations. In the third election period the leadership became homogenous, which has created better political conditions for support, but the competencies and the independence of the rehabilitation company were decreased and there is a strong desire from the political sphere to control the project and its partnership fully.

Such a large and complex project is very complicated for local politicians. They sense that they cannot really control the process. This is perhaps why the residential initiatives are not really supported by the politicians.

Despite this stronger control, the political leadership supported several new initiatives (phase III of the programme funded by the Regional Operational Programme and other ESF projects) that mainly focused on the quarter.

Summary list of partnership bodies:

- RÉV8
- Local association Nap Klub
- School
- Police
- Employment office
- Four Buildings Association
- Municipality of Budapest

4. INNOVATIVE ELEMENTS AND NOVEL APPROACHES

The programme as a whole had an innovative nature as it was the first truly integrated and complex regeneration programme. The programme was initiated by RÉV8, the local rehabilitation company. The innovative nature of the programme appears in several aspects:

- The basic approach towards rehabilitation: it was the first programme that aimed not just to improve a deprived area physically, but principally to deal with social problems; it was following this approach that the physical and social measures were planned. It also meant that the soft programmes had a great importance inside the programme and the two kinds of programmes were built on each other and aimed to have a strong synergy effect;
- The management was implemented by a multi-disciplined team that dealt with physical and soft programmes with equal importance and was able to coordinate both types of programmes. The management had significant local experiences before it started the programme and tried to adapt western European examples to Hungarian circumstances effectively;
- Communication of the programme toward the local residents and stakeholders exceeded the usual residential forums and adopted new techniques in order to generate and incorporate residential opinion and activities, such as organising community days;
- An extensive partnership was built up involving many different organisations that played a real role in the planning period and later in implementation;
- The local residents were included actively from the planning period onwards (though the scale of this involvement differed between the two phases) and the establishment of a more structured neighbourhood organisation was stimulated by the management. A compelling reason for this was that a decisive factor was in their approach was that in the long run only a strong local association can ensure the sustainability of the programme;
- In the partnership building the management did not only rely on existing capacities, but tried to build the capacity of the existing and newly-formed organisations;
- Involving tenants in building renovation activities through voluntary work.

Some of these practices had been used elsewhere as independent activities (e.g. community building, empowerment of marginalised groups) but this was the first project in which such a wide range of activities was put together in a complex way.

The exploitation of the results was facilitated by the fact that the Magdolna Quarter Programme Phase II served as a model programme not only in the Central Hungarian Operational Programme but in the other regional operational programmes as well. This meant that either the managing authority or RÉV8 organised consultations or conferences on several topics. These topics included the establishment of an urban development company, elaboration of soft programmes, and dealing with marginalised groups. RÉV8 maintained a webpage with all the related materials. However the importance of this model programme status decreased after the separate division for key projects was relocated to the National Development Agency and the key projects were distributed to the management authorities in other regions.

Additionally, several aspects of the programme were mainstreamed through experiences being incorporated into the requirements of the calls for proposal of socially sensitive regeneration programmes. All of the regional ERDF programmes used almost the same requirements. These included:

- The requirement to establish an urban development company in the case of bigger cities (also in the case of urban centre rehabilitation programmes) and the exact conditions (competencies, responsibilities, distribution of decision-making competence). It was compulsory in the 2007-08 period.
- The compulsory establishment of a local support group that includes the main municipal, civic and residential stakeholders (from 2009-10 onwards)
- The establishment of a local rehabilitation office in the target area (from 2009-10 onwards).

4.1. KEY IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES AND PROBLEM-SOLVING PRACTICES

During the implementation of the Magdolna Quarter Programme Phase II, one of the main problems was the delay in starting the programmes both for the renewal of residential blocks and the accompanying soft measures. Basically the delays had two reasons:

- The public procurement process: when the implementation started the public procurement was stricter, and required that at least three valid proposals had to be received. The process was even slower and more complicated than normal. Because of the size of the project, an EU-level public procurement notice had to be published in the Official Journal. As a result of these complications the first call was not successful. The second call had to be cancelled because the law had changed. Finally the third call was valid and by then the procedure was easier, as one valid proposal was enough. But this caused almost one year's delay in the renovation projects;
- In the case of the soft projects, RÉV8 already had the partners to implement them but the municipality had to sign contracts with them. But (after the elections) the new municipal council (or a part of it) had concerns about the projects and did not know why exactly these NGOs were involved in running them. This resulted in several months delay in launching the projects.

Because it was obvious that the original deadline could not be met, the project was prolonged by one year. As Magdolna Quarter Programme phase II was not the only project that had suffered a delay, it was not a real problem to prolong it. In addition, RÉV8 had good and intensive communication with the intermediary bodies and the managing authorities, and for them it was not an unexpected development.

Other difficulties related to the renovation of residential buildings:

- Some of the contractors carried out low-quality work and that generated conflicts between the residents, the contractor and RÉV8;
- As the buildings were very old and no real renovation works had been implemented for decades, a lot of unexpected problem appeared during the implementation. This meant that RÉV8 had to ask the permission of the managing authority to change the content of the subsidy contract. But it also meant that in some cases the share provided by condominiums or by the municipality had to be increased in order to finish the work;
- Some of the condominiums had problems finding their own contribution to the implementation phase. The reason for this is that in the application period when the condominiums have to demonstrate that they have no debt and they have their own match funding, they do this by putting some money in their bank account (from extra contributions by the owners or by taking out a loan) but this match funding does not have to be separated in a specific account. Therefore some of condominiums had already spent this money while they were waiting for the renewal (e.g. due to unexpected problems that had to be fixed urgently). In this case RÉV8 and the common representative of the condominium worked together to solve the problem (e.g. one of the condominiums took out loan);
- There were conflicts between the contractors (construction workers) and the inhabitants of the buildings. The contractors were not used to working with marginalised groups and they could not handle some situations. Generally a lot of people stayed at home during the days – especially the unemployed and elderly – and they were 'checking' the process of work constantly. It was not uncommon for tenants to ask the building workers to fix problems in their apartment as well – this happened more in the case of the municipal buildings;
- It was frustrating for the building workers to witness criminal activities while they were working, including prostitution and drug dealing. There were also acts of aggression against them. In the case of the municipally-owned building mentioned above that was later turned into rented housing for police, the building workers explicitly declared that they would no longer work in the building;
- The tenants did not understand why their apartments were not fully renewed. This issue also caused tension between RÉV8 and the tenants.

The conflicts with the tenants of the municipal buildings were more severe than with the condominiums. The organisation that managed the municipal stock practically handed over this task to RÉV8 during the renovation period. As a result it was

	<p>RÉV8 that had to manage all kind of conflicts, and became the target of all the anger and fury of the residents and workers. The staff of RÉV8 undertook conflict resolution training to help them to manage the emerging problems.</p> <p>The bureaucratic administration of the project was a huge burden on the common representatives of the condominiums. They could not do the administration work by themselves, so in practice RÉV8 did it for them.</p> <p>The ability of RÉV8 to solve the problems that arose in their negotiations with the residents and other stakeholders was limited. They had to get the approval of the municipality for practically everything and that made the conflict resolution process slow and decreased the residents' trust in RÉV8.</p>
<p>4.2. THEMATIC FOCUS</p>	<p>Regulatory provisions in the field of housing in favour of marginalised groups.</p>
	<p>The programme was implemented according to the 'old' ERDF housing regulation. This means that in the Hungarian programmes housing interventions can be carried out in the framework of a socially sensitive regeneration within an integrated and area-based approach. The integrated approach means that the project must include soft projects targeting the main social problems of the area.</p> <p>The housing interventions can be applied to the commonly-owned part of the condominiums and, in the case of municipal social housing, besides the renewal of the structural elements of the building it can cover the renewal of the bathroom and heating of the apartments as well. However the full renewal of apartments is not allowed to be paid for from the ERDF.</p> <p>The programme was implemented in a low-status, deprived urban area with a somewhat mixed social composition, where the housing conditions are critical in the case of a significant proportion of the stock. This means there is a high proportion of sub-standard, small and overcrowded housing which is often unhealthy because of the damp and mould-covered walls. Additionally the housing stock is old, and even the better-quality units have significant technical problems and need for renovation.</p> <p>The housing renewal activities amounted to almost 60% of the total project cost in the Magdolna Quarter Programme Phase II. The buildings that were selected to participate in the programme fall into three categories according to the social composition and the quality of the housing stock:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - less problematic buildings – mainly condominiums in which a relatively high proportion of households have diplomas - socially more mixed buildings in worse condition - the worst buildings in both social and physical terms <p>There are differences between the condominiums and the municipal social housing. In general the worst conditions can be found in social housing, but even the condominiums can be very problematic in both senses (socially and physically), especially because in many condominiums the proportion of municipal social units is still high. As a consequence the majority of those affected by the housing measures have marginalised or disadvantaged status and the majority of the buildings were in a (very) dilapidated condition.</p> <p>The housing measures included in the programme showed good examples of problems that have to be dealt with during the implementation of housing renovation in a deprived area, both in the case of condominiums and municipal social housing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the often high expectations of the tenants and owners; - the conflicts that emerge between the inhabitants, contractors and management organisation; - the difficulties in involving inhabitants, especially tenants, in the process; - what kind of capacities are needed from the side of the management organisation to communicate the programme and to resolve conflicts; - the unexpected technical problems with the buildings that appear during the implementation phase; - the bad financial situation of the condominiums, which often have a high proportion of non-paying tenants. <p>The involvement of the residents and those organisations that local people trust is</p>

	<p>an important part of the programme, though it is not free of conflict. The two phases of the Magdolna programme applied different approaches to involving tenants in the renewal of the buildings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the first phase of the programme the tenants were already involved in planning the housing interventions. A negotiating process was carried out between the tenants and RÉV8 in order to agree on what voluntary works would be implemented by the tenants and what kind of renovation work would be carried out by RÉV8. Each building had funds amounting to 100 million HUF (€350 000) and on the base of the technical assessment of the building they could decide on the exact content of the renewal. A cooperation contract was signed between the two parties with the agreed terms; - In the second phase funded by ERDF, this arrangement of the initial involvement of the tenants could not be accomplished because of the strict bureaucratic rules applying to the application process: there was a short time to prepare the application and despite using a two-round application process the exact content of the housing interventions had to be submitted in the first round (the expression of interest). In several buildings, although the implementation phase involved many conflicts, by the end of the renovation the tenants were motivated enough to carry out voluntary work in their building, for which RÉV8 provided construction materials (e.g. painting their own windows). Therefore it is important to plan some amount of money for such work in the project proposal as well. <p>Another important aspect relates to the affordability problem.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many tenants were against the renewal because they were afraid that the rent would increase. The rent has not increased so far, but rent controls in Hungary are weak; - But the maintenance cost will increase as bathroom and hot water facilities were installed in many apartments where formerly only one cold water tap existed. <p>The effect of the modernisation of housing stock on affordability, and specifically on rents, is not known yet.</p>
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5. FUNDING

	<p>The Magdolna programme had two phases.</p> <p>The first phase lasted from 2005 to 2008:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It was financed by Budapest municipality and the district municipality; - The total cost of this phase was 821 million HUF (€3.3 million); - Also in this phase a smaller project – Green Keys – was implemented through international cooperation, financed by the INTERREG III. <p>The second phase lasted from 2009 to 2011.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It was financed by the ERDF (90%) and by ESF (10%); - The total cost of the project was 2 billion HUF (€7.3 million) out of which 1.76 billion HUF (€6.5 million) was ERDF and 200 million HUF (€726,000) was ESF; - The total expenditure of the district municipality was 17.4 billion HUF (€62.4 million) in 2010, thus the second phase of the project accounts for 11% of the yearly expenditure. <p>The ERDF and the ESF were used inside one project as the regional operational programme allows the socially sensitive regeneration measure to use a maximum of 20% and a minimum of 8% of cross-financing from the ESF. Therefore it was not a real issue how to coordinate different funds during the programme. Approximately 10% of the project was spent on ESF-type measures.</p> <p>Despite this the Magdolna programme was in a favourable position as the neighbourhood community centre already existed, so there was no problem finding somewhere to deliver the soft programmes. Thus the soft programmes could start at the beginning of the project.</p> <p>The project basically did not use private funds: the only such funds were the condominiums' contributions. The condominiums had to pay a 30% share of their</p>
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renovation cost, which amounted to 44 million HUF (€160,000).

6. PROJECT ASSESSMENT

6.1. SUSTAINABILITY

The Magdolna programme appears in the strategic planning of the district as follows:

- The District Development Strategy defined a 15-year development process in 2004.
- The district's Integrated Urban Development Plan, drawn up as part of the project proposal for the ERDF programme in 2008, already included a third phase of the programme, also to be financed from the ERDF in the 2011-2013 period and partly from the Budapest municipality, along with the district's own resources. It indicated, however, that the available resources were still uncertain.

So far the first two phases have been implemented, the first as a model programme for socially sensitive regeneration under the Budapest Rehabilitation Fund, while the second phase was mainstreaming as a key project of the Central Hungarian ROP serving as a model programme.

In 2010 a project proposal was submitted also to the ROP as the Magdolna Quarter Programme III, but this was rejected because it did not meet the formal requirements.

The organisations that deal with strategic planning (RÉV8 and the Strategic Office) are trying to find resources to continue the Magdolna programme. A complex soft programme package was elaborated as a key project proposal for the Social Renewal OP (ESF). This package includes mainly programmes that can be regarded as the continuation of the Magdolna Quarter Programme Phase II programme. The application was approved by the district council and is going to be submitted in the near future.

It can be said that although the strategic plan defines a 15-year programme, the financing circumstances are very uncertain, which hinders even medium-term planning, let alone the definition of a so-called exit strategy. It seems that despite a number of problems, the political sphere supports the continuation of the programme.

However the main guarantee for the sustainability of the programme seems to be RÉV8 (or its experts) who continue the strategic thinking and try to find resources and adjust the programmes to present conditions.

The neighbourhood association would also be important for sustainability; as previously mentioned the key question is whether it can build up a stronger local network.

The quarter needs more resources to maintain some of the services that were introduced during the Magdolna Quarter Programme phase II and which stopped when the project funding ended. People feel the lack of such services, including the Neighbourhood Patrol and the street social worker which both contributed to the improvement of public safety. Some of the soft services have been continued in the community centre but with less resource. The locally-based NGOs also keep on working but they have continued difficulties in obtaining funding.

6.2. TRANSFERABILITY

The Magdolna project was the first and probably the most innovative 'socially sensitive rehabilitation' project in Budapest and in Hungary. That is why it became a model project which had the compulsory task of disseminating the results of its planning and implementation.

As well as the formal methods of dissemination such as conferences, workshops, study tours, website and information leaflets, the project was visited informally by other project managers who were starting the design phase of their projects.

Moreover, the first phase of Magdolna was a model for the design of the calls for socially sensitive rehabilitation projects in the Regional Operational Programmes. It served as a pattern, which showed what kind of intervention is necessary to provide the needed complexity of measures.

All elements of the Magdolna project are worthy of transfer, however with the use of new methods that may be able to decrease the number of possible conflicts that might occur if such a complex project is implemented.

	<p>What makes the Magdolna project difficult to transfer are the key conditions that underpinned the project. These attributes are missing in most of the other rehabilitation projects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - political commitment (it is not easy to get political support for a project that targets the most vulnerable) - professional management with a healthy mixture of socially and technically skilled staff - a long period of preparation with the goal of involving as many stakeholders as possible - a relatively long period of implementation, with Magdolna phase I and Magdolna phase II together lasting for over six years. For the other EU-funded projects only two or with special extensions three years are available for implementation. 																														
<p>6.3 PROJECT RESULTS</p>	<p>The main results of the project are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - improvement of housing conditions - renewal of 16 municipal housing buildings involving modernisation of 430 units - partial renewal of 7 condominiums - Improvement of the living environment, despite the establishment of a pedestrian zone which fuelled serious conflicts - the increase of local civic capacity and activity by supporting local NGOs and supporting residential initiatives - the level of stigmatisation of the quarter somewhat decreased - the local people have somewhat more trust in the future development of the quarter than people in similarly deprived areas in the district (according to the representative residential survey) <p>The training and employment programmes (including counselling and job markets) were very useful and important for the unemployed people, and many of them successfully found jobs. However, its longer-term effect can be questioned in terms of the better employment indicator of the quarter because of the negative effects of the crisis on employment.</p> <p>The table below shows the specific costs of some of the interventions.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regarding housing, the data shows that the municipal buildings received a substantial amount of support, averaging 2.6 million HUF (€9 200) per unit. - It can also be seen that one municipal building had renovation works costing three times that of the condominiums. Of course the difference between the buildings was also very big both among the municipal buildings and the condominiums. - The local school received as much as support for renovation as the average municipal building. <p>Regarding the soft programmes, the data proves that the intensive social care services are expensive comparing to 'normal' services.</p>																														
	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>measures</th> <th>total cost in HUF (000)</th> <th>unit</th> <th>specific costs in HUF (000)</th> <th>total cost in € (000)</th> <th>specific cost in € (000)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Renewal of social housing buildings</td> <td>1 127 010</td> <td>16 blocks 430 units</td> <td>70 438 2 621</td> <td>4 098</td> <td>256 per block 9.5 per unit</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renewal of condominiums</td> <td>146 427</td> <td>7 blocks</td> <td>20 918</td> <td>532</td> <td>76.1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Renewal of local school</td> <td>69 000</td> <td>1 building</td> <td>69 000</td> <td>251</td> <td>250.9</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Training</td> <td>11 400</td> <td>93</td> <td>123</td> <td>41</td> <td>0.4</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	measures	total cost in HUF (000)	unit	specific costs in HUF (000)	total cost in € (000)	specific cost in € (000)	Renewal of social housing buildings	1 127 010	16 blocks 430 units	70 438 2 621	4 098	256 per block 9.5 per unit	Renewal of condominiums	146 427	7 blocks	20 918	532	76.1	Renewal of local school	69 000	1 building	69 000	251	250.9	Training	11 400	93	123	41	0.4
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	programmes		trainees			
	Intensive family care programmes	8 200	11 families	745	30	2.7
	Drug prevention	14 067	666 drug users	21	51	0.1

7. CONCLUSIONS: KEY SUCCESS FACTORS AND LESSONS LEARNED

5 Success factors

- The complexity and wide scale of the project that aimed to address most of the relevant elements of the development of the quarter, thus trying to create a multiplicative framework for development.
- Over the two phases the project was able to continue for six years, which resulted in a slight improvement in the image of the quarter and increased the confidence of the residents in future developments.
- The relatively high share of housing investment, which was able to reduce the number of substandard flats and increased slightly the real estate value of the dwellings.
- The deep involvement of NGOs and bottom-up civil initiatives in order to channel the opinion of the residents, to broaden public support and to maximise the effect of the project on the everyday lives of the residents.
- The professional and open-minded approach of the management company, RÉV 8 Ltd. The experts of the management company were equipped with the most recent results of the international practice of socially sensitive rehabilitation projects, but naturally they did not have experience of implementation (they had some experience by the second phase of the project).

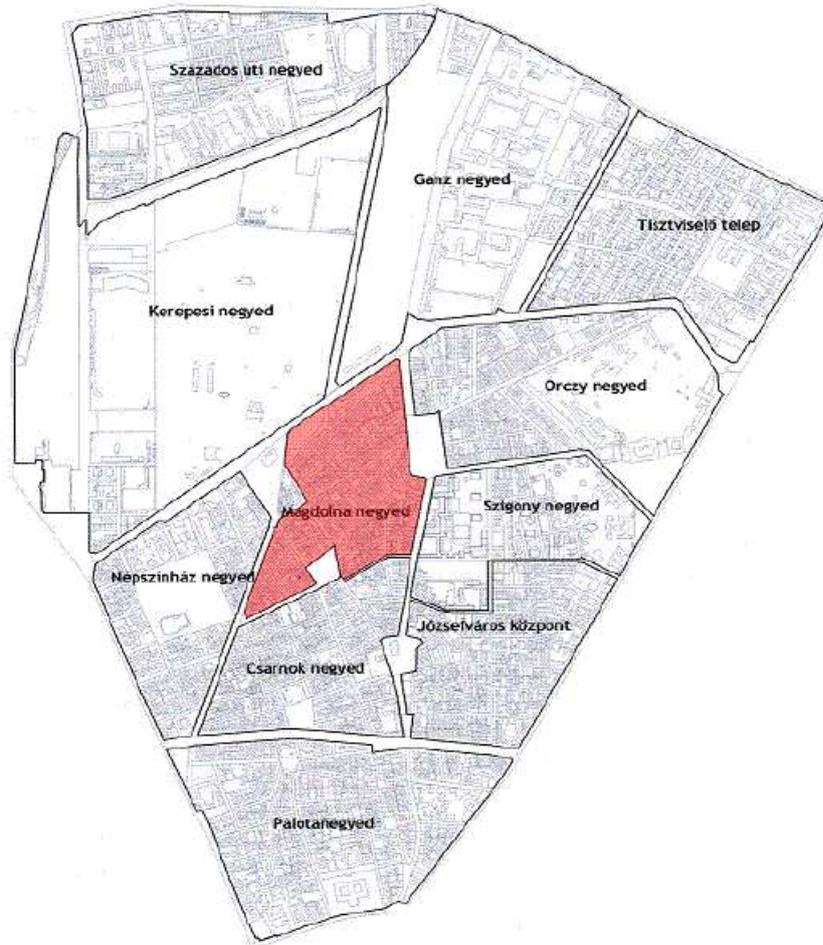
5 Lessons learned

- Complex projects, and mainly those that are targeted at the most vulnerable areas of a city, are full of conflicts. This must be accepted. There is no result without pain. That is why an adaptive and flexible strategy and implementation are crucial.
- The socially sensitive rehabilitation programmes are the most complex development projects and have a high number of beneficiaries and stakeholders. That is why it is crucial to have a certain level of flexibility to be able to adapt to the ever-changing needs and the emergence of new stakeholders. Unfortunately this flexibility is not among the characteristics of programmes financed by the EU. In an EU-funded programme (at least according to the way it was programmed in Hungary) all elements of the project must have been explicitly designed in advance, in the bidding phase, in order to be easily monitored and accounted for.
- Flexibility is also missing in the calls as all eligible actions, all eligible stakeholders, and all characteristics of an eligible project are precisely written down. However all projects have very many specific, individual characteristics that may not fit perfectly to the call. On the other hand if the call is not precise enough, than potential bidders may try to misuse it. In case of Magdolna there was no fear of misuse as the project managers had a clear vision, but most other cities in Hungary may have the temptation for that.
- It is of crucial importance but it also brings in crucial difficulties to involve the least educated, most deprived layer of society, which is not able to articulate its interests, but also not able to accept and understand changes easily. These residents could not be reached via the traditional channels of information exchange (forums, newsletters), but on the other hand they could put up firm opposition to the changes when they materialised. There must be specific ways and means of educating, reaching, involving these stakeholders and residents, otherwise the success of the programme could not be guaranteed.

Social rehabilitation projects are not sustainable after two years. If the EU regulations (N+2 rules) require short-term projects, than a chain of calls and

	possibilities must be created to lengthen the timescale. Socially sensitive rehabilitation interventions need 10-15 years to have real effects, and even after that may require certain soft interventions.
8. MORE INFORMATION	
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Name of expert	Ivan Tosics assisted by Eszter Somogyi (Metropolitan Research Institute)

Figure 1 map showing location of neighbourhood



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