Concordia Discors.

Understanding Conflict and Integration Outcomes of Inter-group Relations and Integration Policies in Selected Neighbourhoods of Five European Cities

Budapest Background Report

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Preface

The expression "Concordia Discors" comes from one of Latin poet Horace's epistles and has become paradigmatic of a dynamic state of "discordant harmony". A fundamental assumption of this project is that integration is a dynamic achievement and it is not a rigid state nor the conceptual opposite of conflict. It is thus necessary to face, thematize and analyze the inter-group tensions inevitably associated with integration processes, as a precondition to deal with such tensions proactively and constructively.

Another assumption inspires this project: for all the differences in the ways in which integration issues emerge and are framed around the EU, an undisputable common feature is the decisive importance of cities, both in symbolical and in practical terms, as concrete contexts where integration "succeeds" or "fails". This decisive role is generally not played by cities as indistinct wholes, but rather by specific quarters within each city which constitute high-visibility testing grounds for integration.

Given these two assumptions, Concordia Discors intends to investigate intergroup relations at quarter level, with the aim of producing a deep, strongly empirically-based and directly policy-relevant understanding of integration and conflict processes in European cities' quarters.

- Intergroup relations are viewed as the complex result of the interaction of three fundamental levels:

- Urban and social context and everyday experience of diversity in the quarter.

- Public policies displaying their effects at quarter level, including political and electoral communication strategies.

- Media information and representation flows concerning the quarter level.

The abovementioned dynamics are investigated through two levels of comparison: i) between different quarters within the same city; ii) between quarters located in different cities and countries. We define quarter as any small residential district irrespective of the degree of social integration (Dictionary of Human Geography 2000), whose identity is recognisable by city residents, whereas having an autonomous administrative relevance as such would not be an essential requisite. Within each city the two target quarters both have a relevant percentage of foreign residents, but are differentiated by different levels of apparent intergroup tension, as suggested by preliminary inquiries. By selecting target quarters in this way, we aim at investigating different modes of intergroup relations that go from conflict to cooperation including intermediate patterns of interactions, seen as developmental dynamics of integration processes.

The project involves five European cities, each of which is investigated by a research partner: Torino by FIERI, Nuremberg by efms of the University of Bamberg, Barcelona by the Migration Research Group of Autonomous University of Barcelona, London by COMPAS of the University of Oxford and Budapest by TARKI. A sixth partner, EPC, is in charge to support the dissemination and favour the networking with decision-makers and civil society organizations at EU level.

This first background report is aimed at reconstructing the urban and social context of the target quarters and at providing some general elements concerning the conflict and cooperation dynamics at work in each area. These aspects will be deepened through the ethnographic fieldwork and illustrated in the final city reports.

1. Contextualizing the context: the city of Budapest

Budapest as the capital of Hungary is located in the centre of the country. The city is divided into two parts by the River Danube which are called Buda and Pest. Budapest with its surface area of 525 square km and total population of 1.721.556 inhabitants counts the largest city of Hungary in point of surface area and number of inhabitants as well. The population density is 3278 inhabitants per square km. Budapest Metropolitan Area which consists of the capital and the surrounding suburbs containing 81 settlements and has a population of more than 2.525.000. Budapest Metropolitan area is the largest metropolitan area in Central-Europe. The Budapest Commuter Area established in 2005 is home to over 3 million people, almost one-third of the total Hungarian population.

Budapest is divided into 23 districts which are marked with Roman numerals: six are situated in Buda, sixteen in Pest and the remainder is on Csepel Island between the two branches of the Danube. Each district can be associated with one or more city parts named after former towns within Budapest .Each district is a separate administrative unit. In generally one can say that the districts in Buda are more prestigious and the indices of welfare are more favorable. Both of our selected quarters, Józsefváros and K bánya are situated in Pest (Józsefváros highlighted with pink, K bánya highlighted with blue on Figure 1.1).

Fig. 1.1 The districts of Budapest
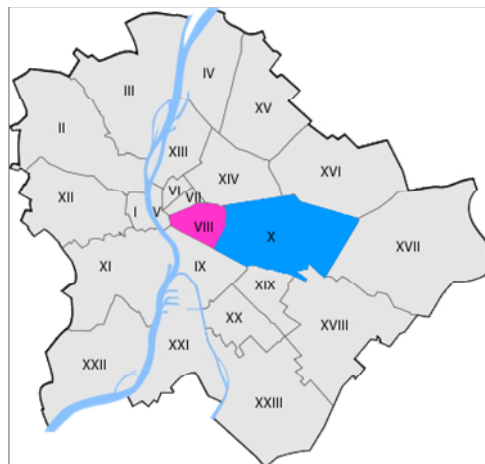
The history of Budapest began with Aquincum, originally a Celtic settlement that became the Roman capital of Lower Pannonia. Hungarians arrived in the territory in the 9th century. Their first settlement was pillaged by the Mongols in 1241-1242. The re-established town became one of the centers of Renaissance humanist culture in the 15th century. Following the Battle of Mohács and nearly 150 years of Ottoman rule, development of the region entered a new age of prosperity in the 18th and 19th centuries, and Budapest became a global city after the 1873 unification. It also became the second capital of Austria-Hungary, a great power that dissolved in 1918. Budapest was the focal point of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919, Operation Panzerfaust in 1944, the Battle of Budapest of 1945, and the Revolution of 1956.

1.1 Demographics

In the last three years the total population of Budapest shows a slow but continuous increase due to the slow but constantly increasing number of live birth and the decrease of mortality, so the natural balance rate[1] shows an increasing trend. However the natural balance rate[2] is still negative as you can see on table 1.1, the female ratio is 53 per cent.

Fig. 1.1 Total population, live birth and mortality of Budapest
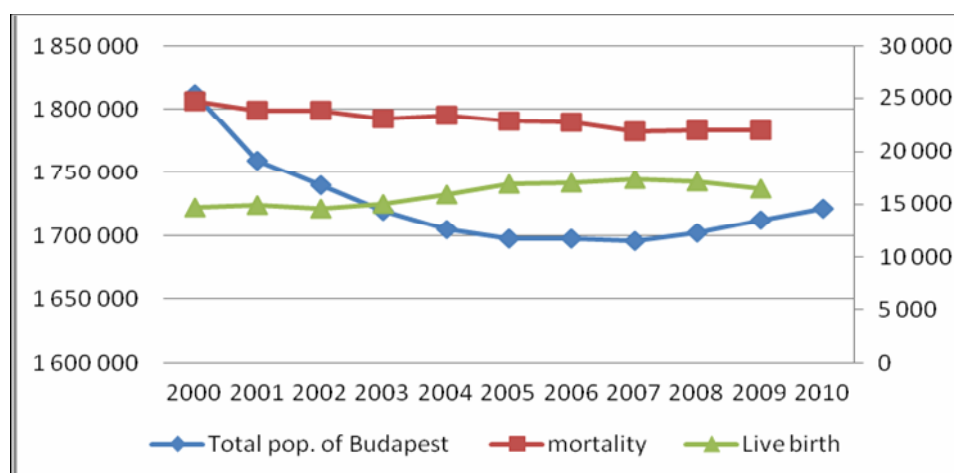
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Tab. 1.1 Natural balance rates of Budapest

Year	Natural balance rate of Budapest
2001	-5,7
2002	-5,1
2003	-5,4
2004	-4,7
2005	-4,4
2006	-3,5
2007	-3,4
2008	-2,7
2009	-2,9
2010	-3,2

Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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[1] Natural balance rate: ((birth-death)/total population)*1000

At the same time the immigration rate[3] has almost doubled, but their proportion among the total population is still low (4. 4%).

Fig. 1.2 Immigration rates of Budapest
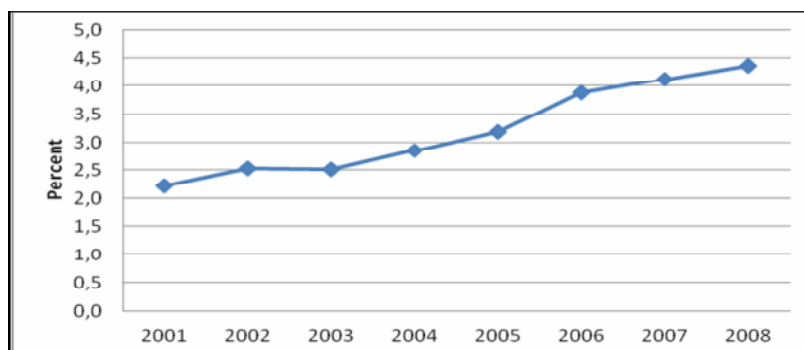
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

1.2 Economy

Hungary is a capital-centralized country in every respect and the differences are manifesting in the statistics as well, especially in the indices of economic activity. All parts of the country are much more hidden by unemployment than Budapest, average earnings are more than twenty per cent lower than in Budapest (see table 1.2). Foreign investments show a high concentration as well. More than a half of foreign investments are spent in Budapest (Bp: 7,866,434 million HUF, Hungary: 15,091,329). More than 60 per cent of total R and D expenditures are spent on Budapest (Bp:181,008 million HUF, Hungary: 299,159 HUF).

Tab. 1.2 Indices of employment of Budapest and Hungary

Indices of employment, 2009	Budapest	Hungary
Rate of participation (%)	60	55
Rate of employment (%)	56	49
Unemployment rate (%)	6,2	10
Average monthly gross earnings of full time employees, HUF	276 751[4]	211 849[5]

Source: Statistical yearbook of Budapest, 2009

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[3](foreign immigrants / total population) *100
[4] 890 EUR
[5] 680EUR

1.3 History of foreign immigration in Hungary and in Budapest

Before the transition in the 1990ies only Greek immigrants lived in a rather closed compound in the Józsefváros and were replaced after the transition in the early 1990ies by Chinese, Vietnamese and later African immigrants. The primary reason for which most immigrants come to Józsefváros is the closeness of the Chinese market. Either they work at the quarter of the market or operate a shop or a restaurant in the district. Most of them work at the field of commerce, and they are considered wealthier than the average inhabitants of Józsefváros.

The ratio of foreign population in Hungary is very low in international comparison. In 2009 the ratio of foreign population in Hungary was 1. 5 percentage (184,000 persons), most of them ethnic Hungarians from neighboring countries. Other continents represent only a small fraction of migrants living in Hungary. The territorial location of migrants in Hungary is highly uneven. Almost half of them (44%, 74,383 people) live in Budapest, and another thirteen per cent in Pest county. Compared to the other migrant groups European migrants have the lowest, Chinese and Vietnamese migrants have the highest concentration in Budapest (see Figure 1.4). The dispersion of third-country migrants is uneven within the capital: 50 percentage of them can be found in six districts (II., VIII., X., XI., XIII., XIV.). The volume of foreign population is the largest (above 5000 people) in the II, VIII, X, XI and XIII districts. The proportion of the foreign population is the highest in district V (eight per cent) followed by the VI, VIII and X districts (seven-seven per cent), and the II. VI. and XII. districts (six per cent).

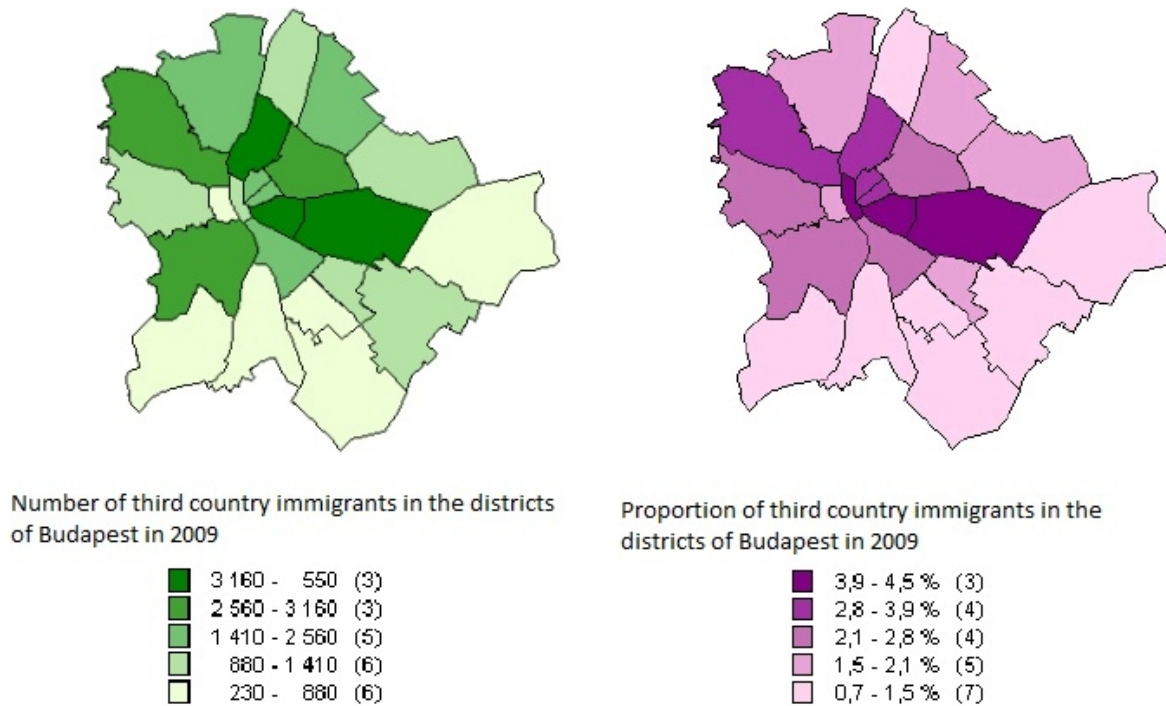**Fig. 1.4 Concentration of foreign immigrants by their origin**
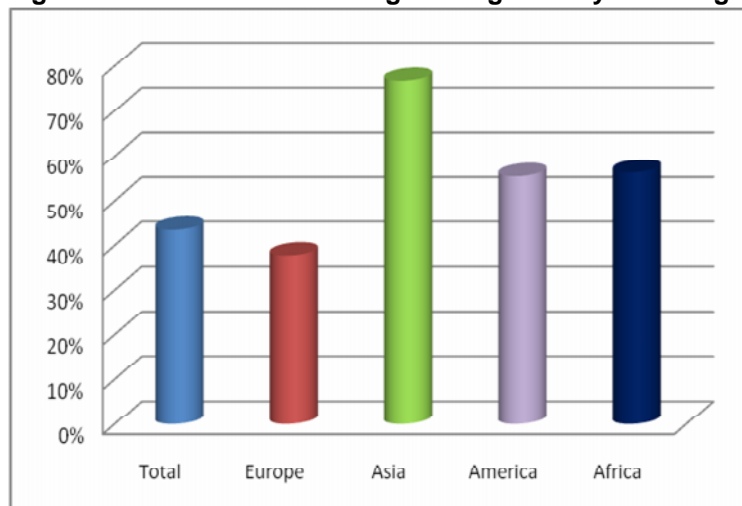
Source: Kőszeghy 2010

As to third country migrants, their volume is the largest in districts VIII, X and XIII with more than 3000 third country migrants living in these districts. The proportion of third country migrants was the highest in districts V, VIII and X (deep purple on Figure 1.5) with more than four per cent of the population (Kőszeghy, 2009).

Because of their higher- than average proportion of migrants in general and third-country migrants in particular, the districts selected for the analysis are the VIII, called Józsefváros and the X, called K bánya.

Fig. 1.5 Number and proportion of third country immigrants in Budapest

Number of third country immigrants in the districts of Budapest in 2009

3 160 - 550 (3)	
2 560 - 3 160 (3)	
1 410 - 2 560 (5)	
880 - 1 410 (6)	
230 - 880 (6)	

Proportion of third country immigrants in the districts of Budapest in 2009

3,9 - 4,5 % (3)	
2,8 - 3,9 % (4)	
2,1 - 2,8 % (4)	
1,5 - 2,1 % (5)	
0,7 - 1,5 % (7)	

Source: K szeghy 2010

2. Józsefváros

Józsefváros (named after the Emperor Joseph II in 1777) was a garden area first; later on large areas were donated to several important public building projects such as a university, the National Museum, hospitals, etc. In the beginning of the 20th century Józsefváros was the home of the upper level of working class and lower middle-class people as well as artisans, musician gypsies and the poorer strata of the Jewish society. The number of inhabitants reached the top in 1910 (164,255 inhabitants). In the 1950's there was a population change, i.e. the number of poor migrants from the countryside has increased and skilled workers and lower middle-class people has declined. This deprivation process has continued since then all over the district.

2.1 Quarter as urban context

Józsefváros is a central quarter of Budapest. Józsefváros with the surface area of 6,85 square km is considered as the 5th smallest district of Budapest with total population of 83.465 people with 12.185 inhabitants per square km is one of the most congested districts as well. The urban green area per inhabitant in Józsefváros is 2,200 square m which is much lower than the average of Budapest (13. 8). Józsefváros has a highly developed public transport connection thanks for its central location. By public transport it is easy to get to almost any places of the capital. Blaha Lujza Square situated in Józsefváros is one of the busiest meeting points of Budapest. Grand Boulevard wich is one of the crowded parts of Budapest crosses Blaha Lujza Square as well. The Metro Line 2 has a station here, and the tram no. four and six as well which is the most busy tram line of Budapest.

The judgment and image of Józsefváros is highly affected by the 9 homeless shelters in use. In Józsefváros This April a proposal were accepted by the local government of Józsefváros about imposing a 480 Euros fine on homeless people or 60 days of imprisonment for "residing in public places". The measure created a huge outcry, since the introduce many citizens express their solidary with homeless people in various forms for example demonstrations, open letters to the local government.

2.1.1 Parts of Józsefváros

In 2004 the district were divided into eleven parts (quarters), which aren't administrative units. Some of these posses' local culture and identity.

Fig. 2.1 The eleven quarters of Józsefváros

Source: Integrated Development Strategy of Józsefváros, 2008, http://www.rev8.hu/index.php
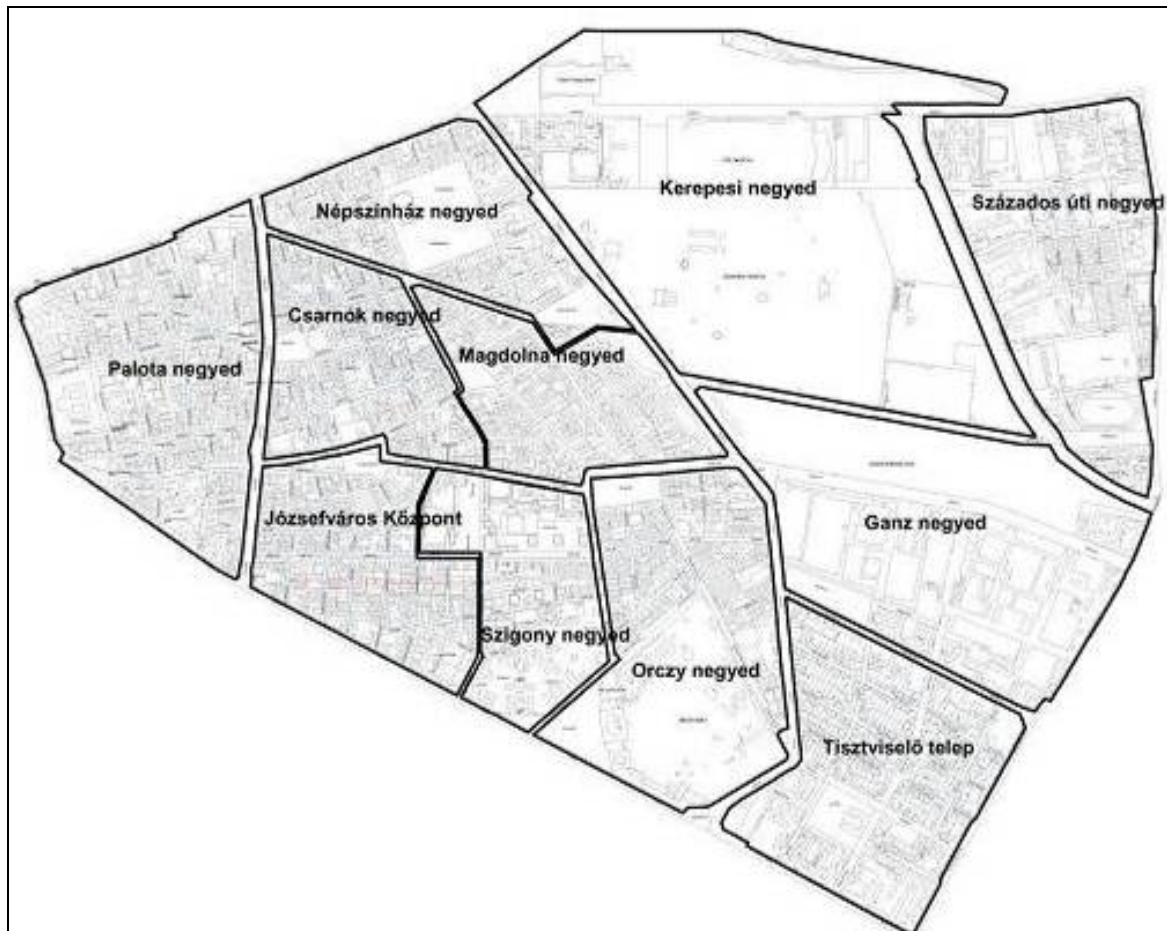
However the inhabitants of these quarters don't have a "quarter-identity", instead of those parts are identity composing units.

Józsefváros can be divided into four main parts with really diverse functions and image. The smallest part called 'Palotanegyed', highlighted with red, includes several remarkable buildings such as the National Museum, central buildings of universities, the Academy of Drama and Film and the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library. The area is one of the most fashionable parts of Budapest. This quarter has undergone major renovations between 1996 and 2002 and it has become a happy, swarming place with lots of students and foreign tourists and several cafés and pizzerias. Thanks to the 'Palotanegyed' the district hosts a large number of catering units, 423 restaurants and confectioneries, 66 bars and eleven hotels are situated in Józsefváros.

The second, central part, highlighted with pink, beyond Nagykörút has a worse reputation, due to prostitution that was rampant until the 1990's, which has been mostly eliminated throughout the district. In this part one can find the Centre for Foreign Languages, the Erkel Theatre, the Hungarian Natural History Museum, Corvin Budapest Film Palace which is a multiplex cinema, one of Budapest's biggest gardens, called Orczy-kert, and a large complex of cliniques. It is traditional craftsmen quarter, which became a slum in the previous decades, is currently under re-development. The dilapidated parts housing stocks was demolished to make place for large office blocks and housing developments. The Corvin- Szigony project which is reported to the biggest urban renewal project in Central-Europe[6], aims to transform the image of the area totally. There were 46 historical apartment buildings with 1,400 units (municipality property and private owners) an elementary school and 2 Metro stops renewed by the program. Furthermore the program aims to provide a new quality of life in the area. The renewal program covers 22 hectares, and includes 500,000 square m combined size of all new building levels; 365,000 square m of which will be over and 135,000 square m will be under the ground (parking garages), 20,000 square m of new public space, 49,000 square m allocated to commercial outlets, entertainment units, dining, and cultural facilities.

The third external part of Józsefváros, highlighted with green, is a garden suburb area for higher status groups.

The Kerepesi quarter highlighted with blue is an underpopulated area hosting the Eastern Railway Station, the Kerepesi Cemetery the oldest Christian cemetery of Budapest founded in 1847.

Fig. 2.2 Parts of Józsefváros

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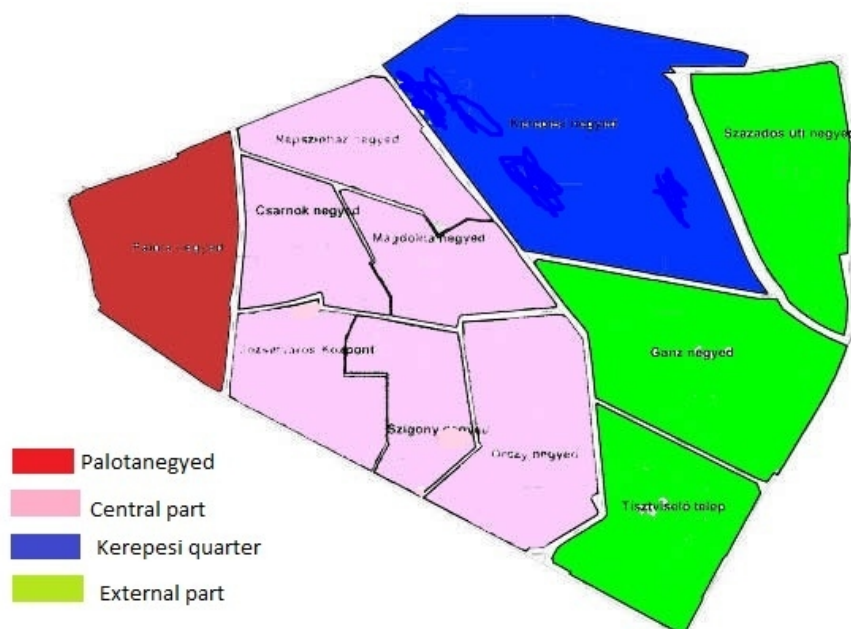
[6] Sources of details of the program: http://www.corvinsetany.hu/ujbelvaros_koncepcio.php

2.1.2 Housing

The quality of stock of dwellings reflects the unfavourable situation of the district. 40 per cent of the dwellings is one-room dwelling, which is double the average of Budapest. Compared to 2000 there is an extensive and fast construction of dwellings in 2005 and in 2009. In Józsefváros almost the half of newly built dwellings is a one- room dwelling whereas in Budapest it is only fifteen per cent. The constantly high proportion of newly built one-room dwellings in Józsefváros demonstrates the disadvantageous situation of the district. This situation is absolutely mirrored by real estate prices as well. Whereas in Budapest the average price of the flats is 300.000[7] HUF/square m, in Józsefváros the average prices are lower by 230,000[8] HUF/ square m[9].

Fig. 2.3 Dwellings built during the year in percentage of the stock of dwellings
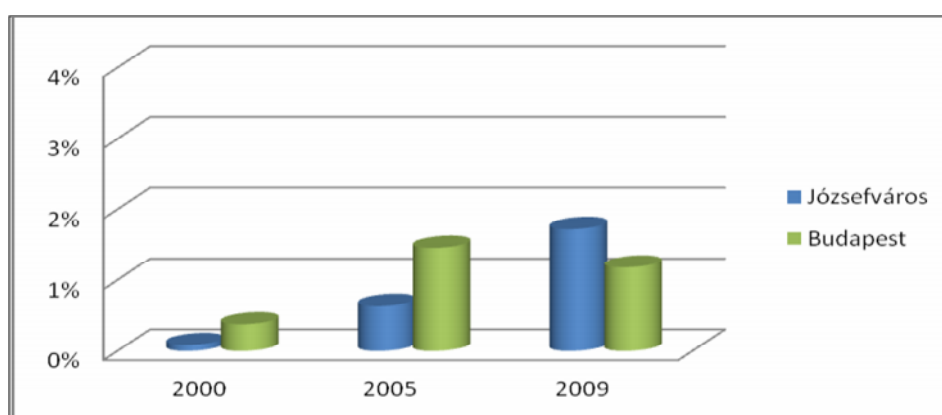
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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[7] 970 Euros

[8] 320 Euros

[9] Source: : https://www.otpbank.hu/OTP_JZB/file/Ertekterkep.pdf

2.1.3 Schooling, healthcare

Józsefváros is very well facilitated by day care nurseries, nurseries, elementary schools and high schools[10]. Because of the relatively high proportion of immigrants, some elementary schools posses' special programs for immigrant children.

The number of operating family doctors is 55, the number of operating pediatricians is thirteen and the number of pharmacies is 23.

2.1.4 The economic structure of Józsefváros

3255 retail shops are operating in Józsefváros. In 2007 a huge mall 'Arena Plaza' were built in the 'Kerepesi quarter' with more than 200 shops, 23 restaurants and coffees and a multiplex cinema.

The economy is dominated by real estate, business and trade activities. The proportion of corporations on the field of construction is five per cent higher, on the field of real estate five per cent lower than the city average.

Fig. 2.4 Registered corporations by industries in percentage of all corporations of the area
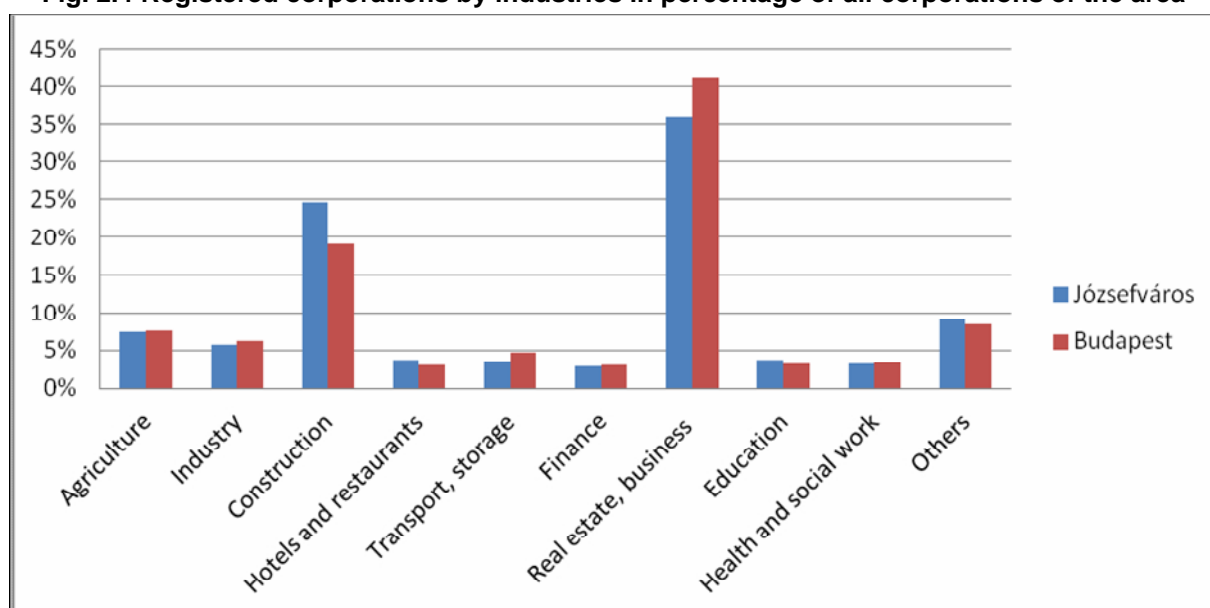

Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

The distribution of shops is highly uneven. Central and inner parts host the major quantity of shops, Kerepesi quarter is almost empty.

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[10] There are 19 nurseries, 6 day care nurseries, 12 elementary schools, 26 high schools several faculties of universities operating in the area.

Fig.2.5 Distribution of parols in Józsefváros
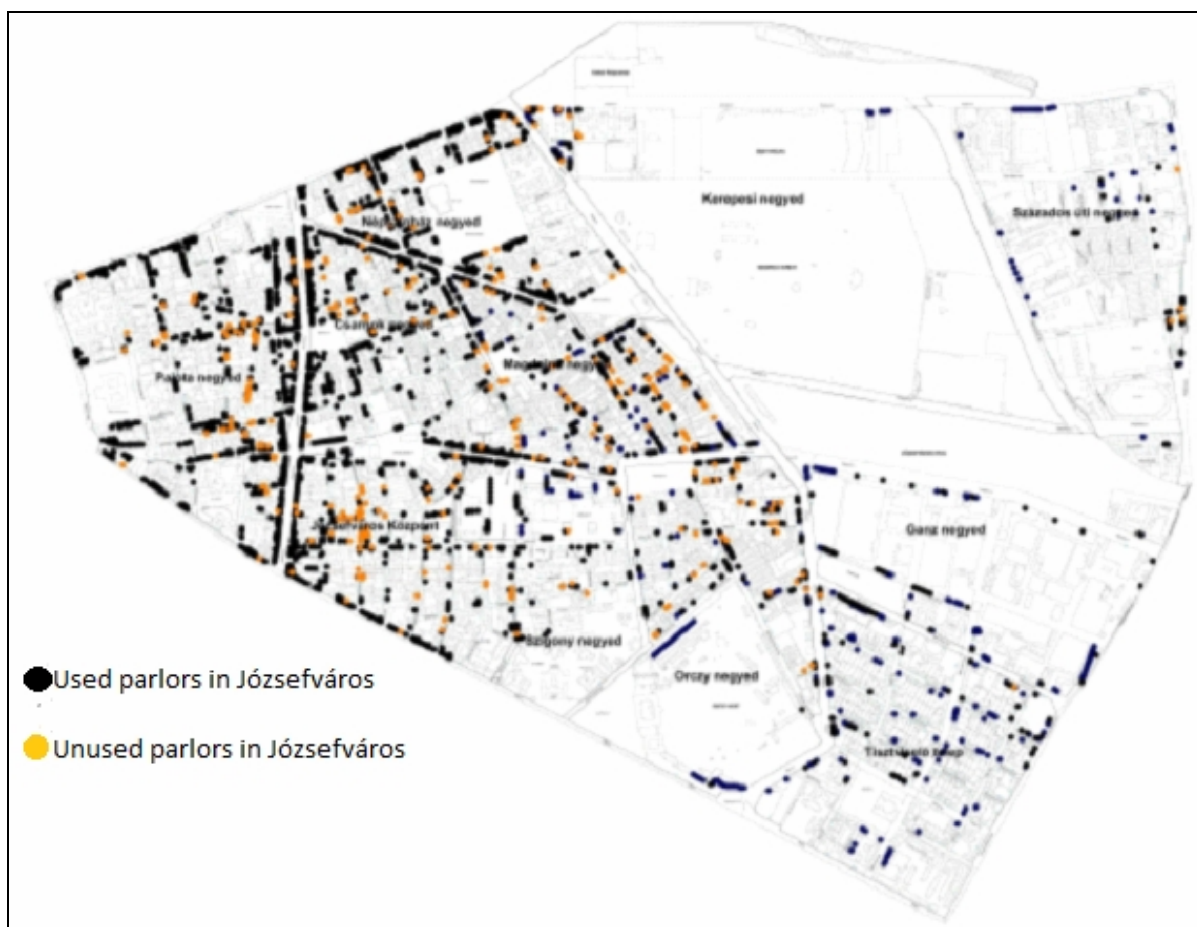
Source: Source: Integrated Development Strategy of Józsefváros, 2008, http://www.rev8.hu/index.php

2.2   Quarter as social unit

2.2.1 Population structure and movements

The population of Józsefváros compasses 83,465 people at the end of 2010. With 12,185 inh./ square km is one of the most congested district of Budapest. A female ratio is 54 per cent, the same as that of Budapest. The age comparison is similar to that of Budapest as well except of two categories. The ratio of people from 30-49 age group is five percentage points higher than the average of Budapest at the expense of the oldest category.

Fig. 2.6 Resident population by age groups in Budapest and Józsefároos, 2009
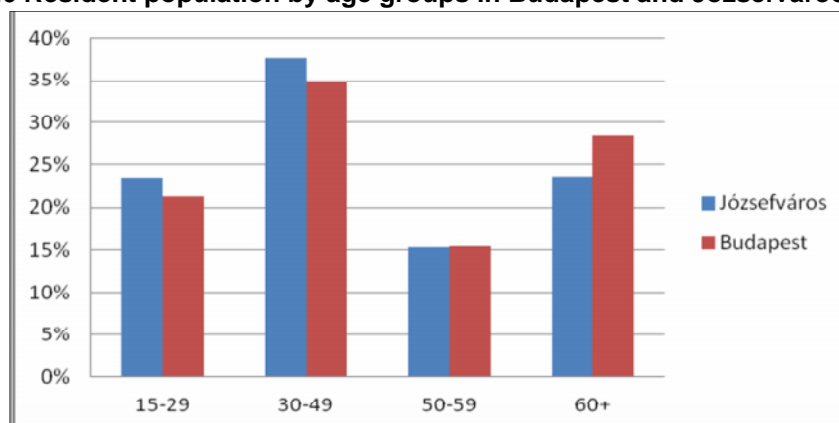
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

When comparing the population stock of 2000 and 2010 in Józsefváros a decrease is taking place between 2000 and 2004, and after 2004 a constant increase is can be observed at the disctrict. The trend is similar to that of the capital. The demographic balance rates[11] of Józsefváros are groving constantly and they are positive since 2005 in spite of that of Budapest which is positive as well but , it is always lower than in Józsefváros.

Fig. 2.7 Total population of Budapest and Józsefváros
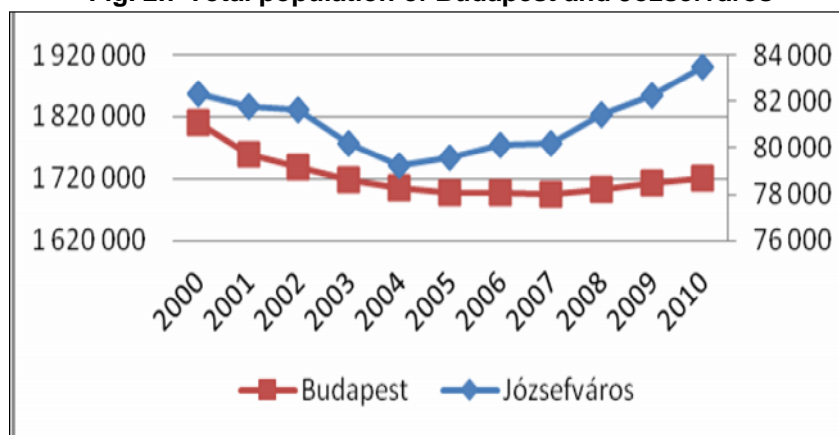
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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[11] [(population t1-population t0)/population t0]*100

Fig. 2.8 Demographic balance rates of Józsefváros and Budapest
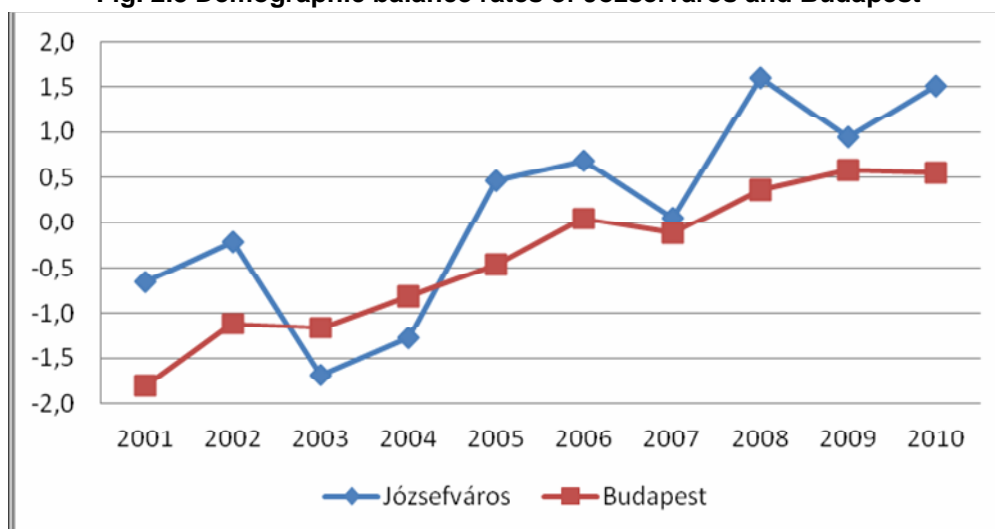
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Fig. 2.9 Density of population of Józsefváros and Budapest
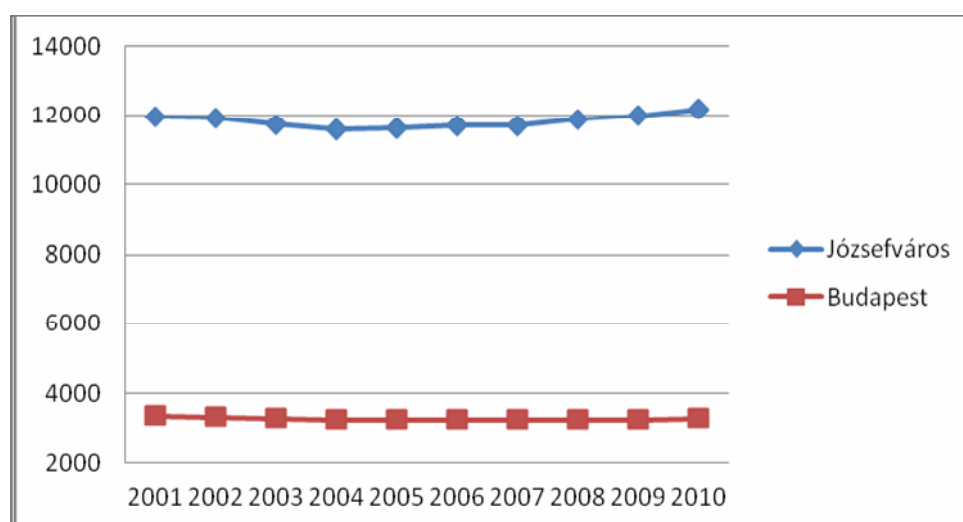
Natural balance rates[12] of Budapest are much lower than that of Józsefváros in every year. The difference between the natural balance rate of Józsefváros and Budapest shows a constant decrease since 2002 but Budapest always had a much lower rate. Internal migration rates of Józsefváros show a constant increasing tendency, since 2005 there are more immigrants in in Józsefváros than emigrants, whereas in Budapest since 2005 there is decreaser taking place.

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[12] ((birth-death)/total population)*1000

Fig. 2.10 Natural balance rate of Józsefváros and Budapest
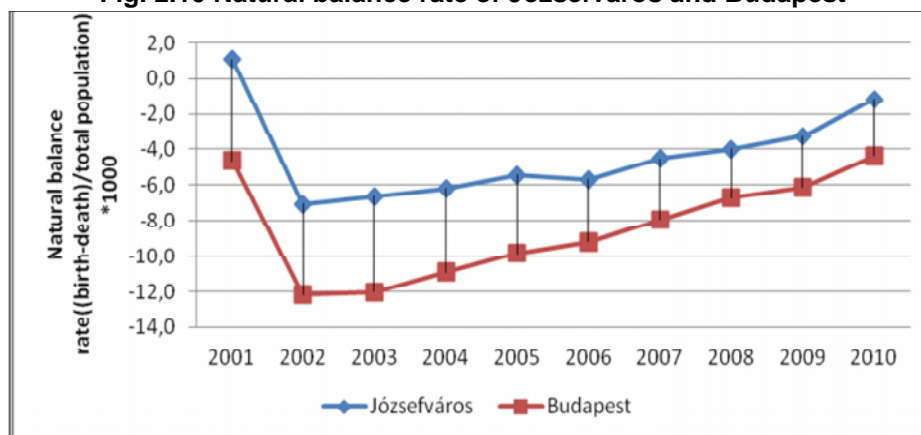
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Fig. 2.11 Internal migration balance of Józsefváros and Budapest
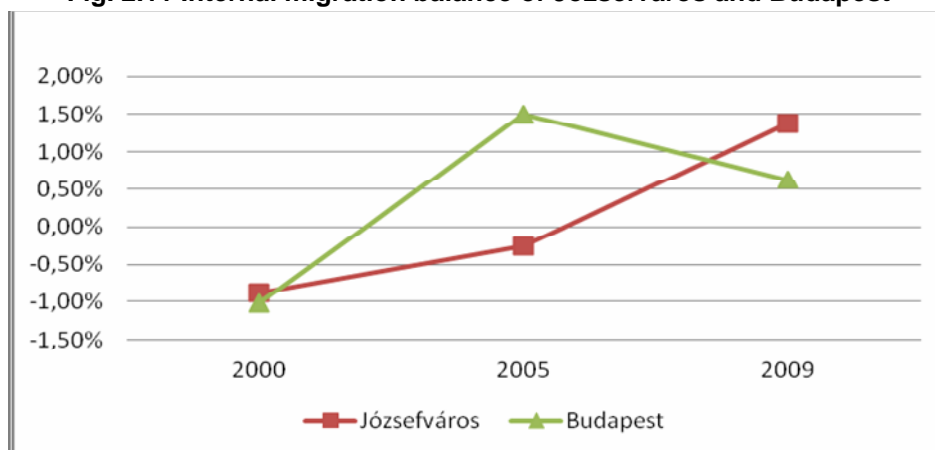
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

2.2.2 Social and economic features of the population

At this chapter we compare the school attendance, the proportion of unemployed people, tax revenues of the local government of Budapest and Józsefváros

Comparing Józsefváros to Budapest it has a significantly higher rate of unemployment: five per cent of the inhabitants in working age (aged 15-61 years) are registered jobseekers while 3.7% in Budapest). Moreover, while in Józsefváros the proportion of long-term jobseekers[13] is more than the half (53%) of all jobseekers in Budapest their proportion is 44%. The distribution of jobseekers by education level mirrors the working and lower class background of the district, the proportion of jobseekers with lower than secondary education is ten percentage points higher in Józsefváros compared to Budapest.

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[13] Long-term jobseeker: Unemplyoed people, who could not find a job over 180 days.

Fig. 2.12 Registered jobseekers by educational qualification in 2009
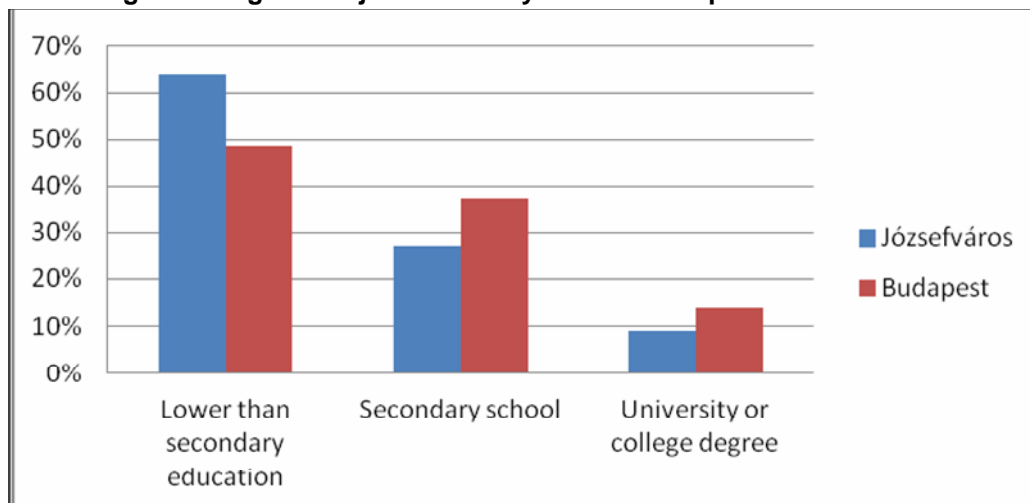
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Another proxy of the underprivileged status of the selected district is the low proportion of tax-payers. In Józsefváros number of taxpayers per thousand inhabitants is 377, while the number of that of Budapest is 440. The personal income tax per taxpayers is 480.000 *HUF* in Józsefváros and 640.000 HUF in the capital.

Fig. 2.13 Indices of tax payers of Józsefváros and Budapest

Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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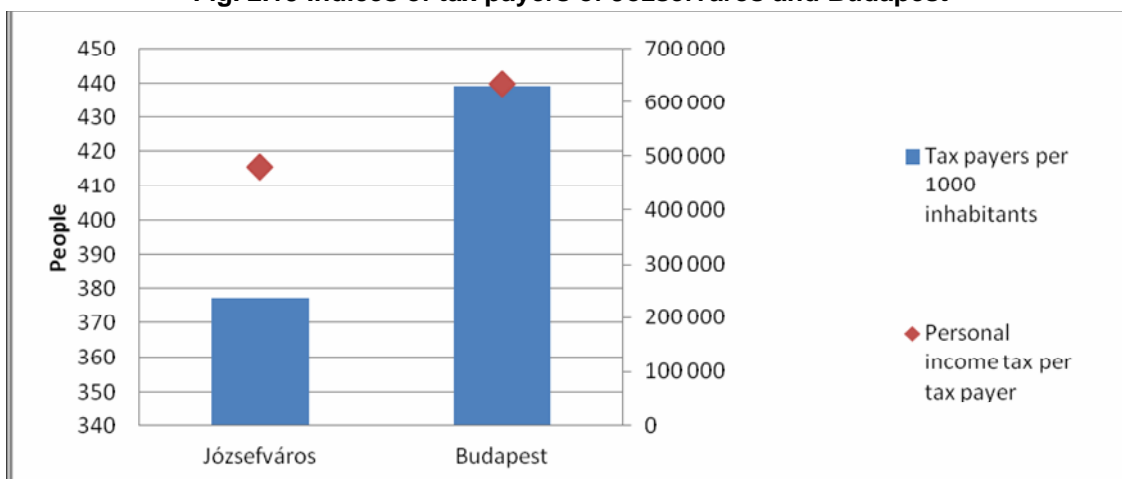
2.3   Quarter as migrant's destination[14]

The 8th district is an important place of concentration for foreigners, especially in the young active age group, where their ratio reaches ten per cent of the total young active age group of the district (K szeghy, 2010). Foreigners show a younger age structure than the host society, although the ratio of children is lower. This is probably a result of a second wave migration which is still ongoing and consisting of enthusiastic people willing to work. Foreign children concentrate in certain schools which require specific policies and pedagogical approach.

'The presence of foreign business operations and different enterprises is well noticeable in Józsefváros. Next to a variety of Chinese, Arabic and Turkish retail shops and fast food restaurants mostly located by the main streets, the district also hosts the largest Chinese market in Hungary – the Four Tigers Market.'[15]

As we said before, in 2008 the ratio of foreign population in Józsefváros was 7.2 per cent whereas in Budapest it is lower than 4 per cent in every observed year.

Fig. 2.13 Immigration rates in Józsefváros and Budapest
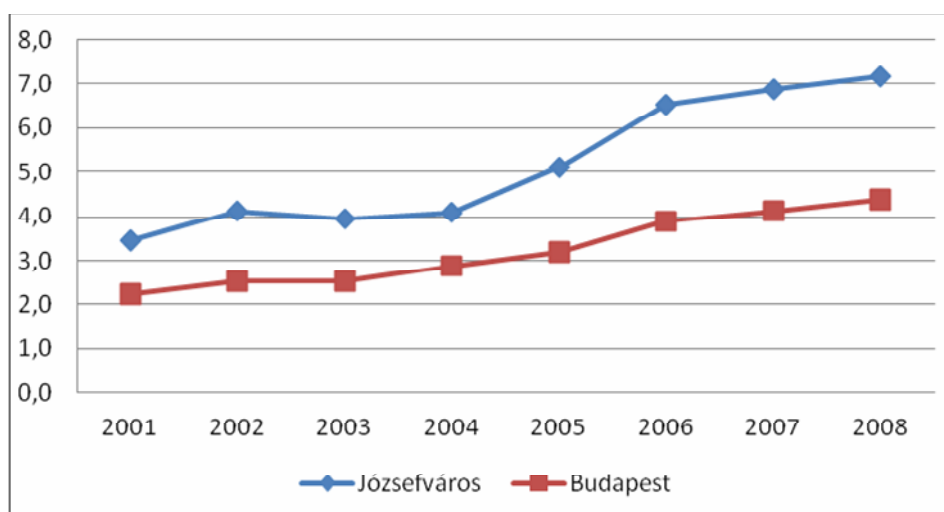
Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants show the highest concentration among immigrants. Almost one fifth of Chinese immigrants living in the capital are settled in Józsefváros, and more than ten per cent of the Vietnamese. The most important immigrants came from Romania, and China. The overwhelming majority of Romanian immigrants are Romanian Roma people, and the Serbian immigrants native Hungarian people.

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[14]   Official statistics show the actual set of foreign population only partly and unevenly. There is a significant number of foreigners in the country without a valid residence permit. At present, no reliable estimations are available for the real number of foreigners staying in Hungary.

[15] Source:K szeghy, 2009

Tab. 2.1 Number of foreign immigrants in Józsefváros and in Budapest

Country of origin	Number of foreign immigrants in Józsefváros (first 5 nationalities)	% of the Bp-en living immigrants	Budapest
Romania	2157	8%	26914
China	1354	18%	7546
Ukraine	390	7%	5305
Vietnam	329	12%	2858
Serbia and	195	7%	2654

Source: Office of Immigration and Nationality

3 Kőbánya

Kőbánya was first mentioned as a stone pit by Béla IV (King of Hungary and of Croatia between 1235 and 1270). From the XVII century the area of Kőbánya was used to mine huge amount of limestone which was distributed all over Hungary. Due to the primitive methods of extraction, the extensive and often un-plotted tunnel network, mining became dangerous so further work was banned in 1890. But the basements and tunnels were useful for entrepreneurs dealing with wine and beermaking. The length of the tunnel-system reaches 33 kilometers. The last and still existing local monument of vine making is the "Csősztorony" in Kőbánya.

In the XVIII century Kőbánya was known as a piggery-centre until 1895 when a swine fever damaged all piggery- undertakings. A lesser known fact that the first horse tramway of Hungary was built in Kőbánya. Unfortunately it was dangerous because of frequent accidants which caused its demolition in 1828. After the establishment of the capital in 1872 Kőbánya's population was increasing rapidly and made a great progress. The majority of the newcomers consisted of laborers working in the factories from the quarter. In 1896 the biggest jail of Central-Europe was established in the district. In 1901 the largest pharmaceutical factory in Hungary, Gedeon Richter Ltd. was founded by Mr. Gedeon Richter, a pharmacist of Kőbánya.

In the 1950's the wine growing area was parceled out, in these years the development of Kőbánya gained momentum.

One of the most famous breweries of Hungary was established in 1864 and the light beer „Kőbányai Világos" became a kind of national drink during the socialism. There was huger landfill sites in the area of Kőbánya, several building estates were built on these refilled landfill sites. Currently Kőbánya is divided into 12 quarters some of them posses local culture.

Fig. 3.1 Quarters of K bánya

3.1 K bánya as urban context

K bánya a peripheral district of Budapest even though the geometric centre of Budapest is situated in the quarter. K bánya is among the largest districts of Budapest with a surface area of 32.5sq.km. K bánya with a population of 80,000 is considered as one of the most populous districts of Budapest. The urban green area/ inhabitant in K bánya is 13,200 square m the same as that of Budapest. Although it has large public greens these spaces are mostly the surfaces of old and unused industry yards (brown areas).

K bánya has always been an industrial area. Nowadays pharmaceutical industry and beer manufacturing are the leading industries of the area. K bánya is bounded by very busy trading routes. One of the most important roads is the road to the international airport with extremely heavy traffic. K bányai and Jászberényi roads are heavy traffic roads as well, both of them are the routes of some buses. K bánya also has a railway station as well as several bus and tram lines which offer good connections to the city center. Due to the huge surface area of K bánya, every kind of buildings can be found here like newly built residential parks, concrete block of flats, just as unused buildings of factories and suburbs built in the 1930's. A constant effort of the municipality is to change the industrial image of the area and encourage the immigration of young people with favourable housing and educational conditions. K bánya is an inner city area where people mostly work and sleep. K bánya is well facilitated by day care nurseries, nurseries, and high schools. Some open markets and a Chinese market exist at K bánya. One of the largest malls of Budapest (Árkád) is situated in K bánya as well.

3.1.1 Housing

Compared to 2000 there is fast construction of dwellings taking place in 2005 and in 2009. In Kőbánya only 10 percentages of newly built dwellings is a one- room dwelling whereas in Budapest it is 15%. The peripheral situation of the district is absolutely mirrored by real estate prices as well. Whereas in Budapest the average price of the flats is 300,000[16] HUF/m^2, in Kőbánya the average prices are lower than 200.000[17] HUF/ square m.

Fig. 3.2 Dwellings built during the year in percentage of the stock of dwellings
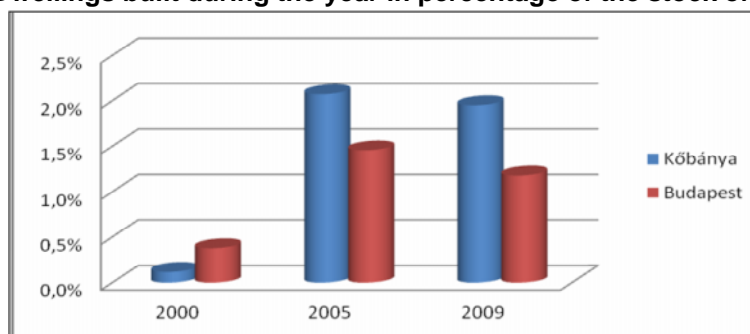
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

3.1.2 Schooling, healthcare

Kőbánya is very well facilitated day care nurseries, nurseries, schools, and high schools[18]. Because of the relatively high proportion of immigrants, some day care nurseries have a special 'rainbow programs' for these children.

3.1.3 The economic structure of Kőbánya

The economy is dominated by real estate, business and trade activities. There is two differences between the economic structure of Kőbánya and Budapest. The proportion of corporations in the field of construction Kőbánya is more than ten percentage point higher than that of Budapest, whereas the proportion of corporations dealing with real estate and business activities are ten percentage points lower than the average of Budapest.

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[16] 970 Euros
[17] 320 Euros
[18] There are 10 nurseries, 23 day care nurseries, 24 elementary schools, 15 high schools several faculties of universities operating in the area.

Fig. 3.3 Registered corporations by industries in percentage of all corporations of the area
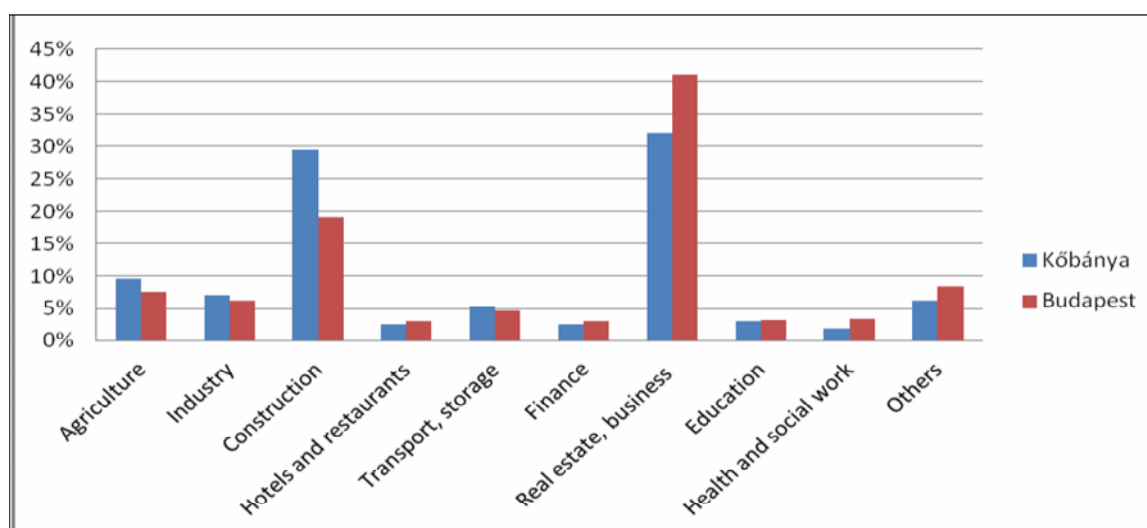
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

3.2   *K bánya as social unit*

The population of K bánya compasses 85,877 people at the end of 2010. Thanks to the surface area of 32.5 square km this is one of the most under populated district of Budapest. The density of population is 2473 inhabitants/ square km, almost two third of the average of Budapest which is 3278 inhabitants/ square km. A female ratio is 53 per cent, the same as that of Budapest. The age comparison is similar to that of Budapest except of the five percentage point higher proportion of younger inhabitants at the expense of the oldest age group.

Fig. 3.4 Resident population of K bánya by age groups, 2009
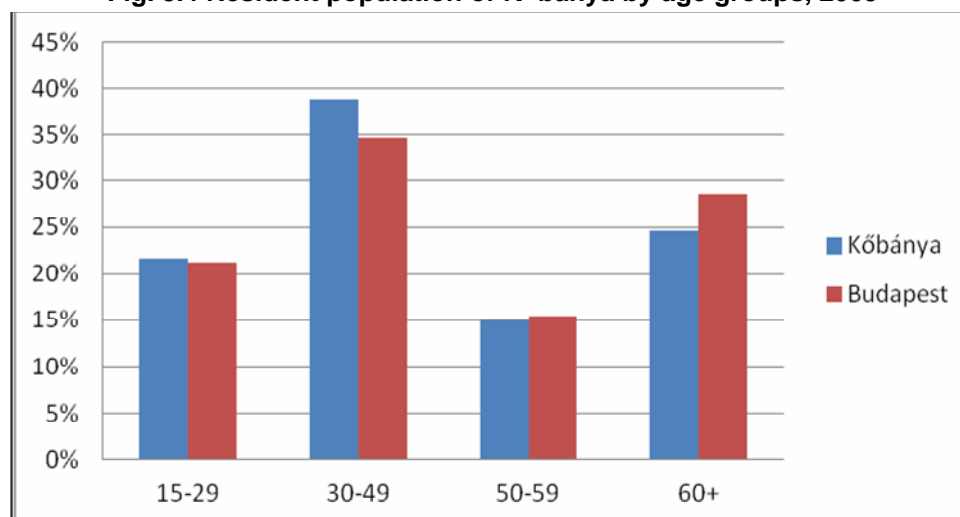
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

When comparing the population stock of 2000 and 2010 in Józsefváros there is a similar trend evolving. There is a constant decrease taking place between 2000 and 2004, and after 2004 a stable raise is taking place at the district and in Budapest as well. The demographic balance rates[19] of K bánya are growing constantly and they are positive since 2004 in spite of that of Budapest which is positive as well but it is always lower than the rates of K bánya.

Fig. 3.5 Total population of Budapest and K bánya
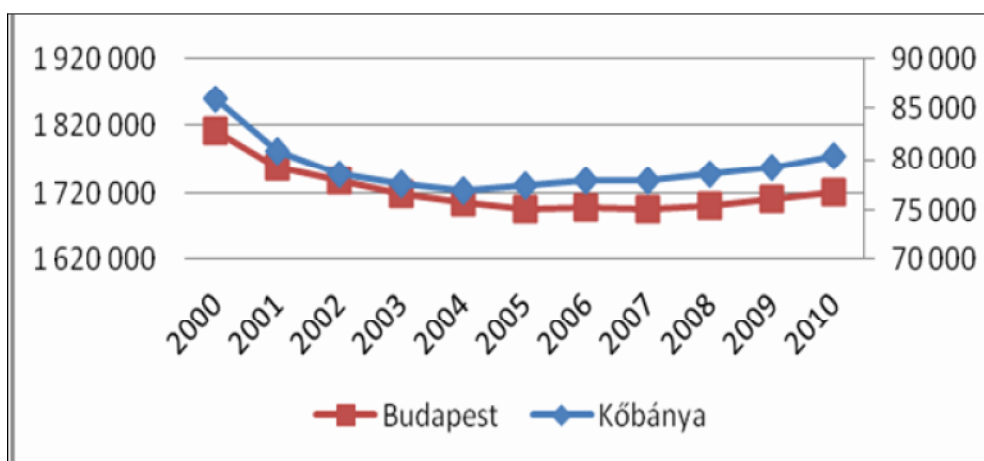
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Fig. 3.6 Demographic balance rates of K bánya and Budapest
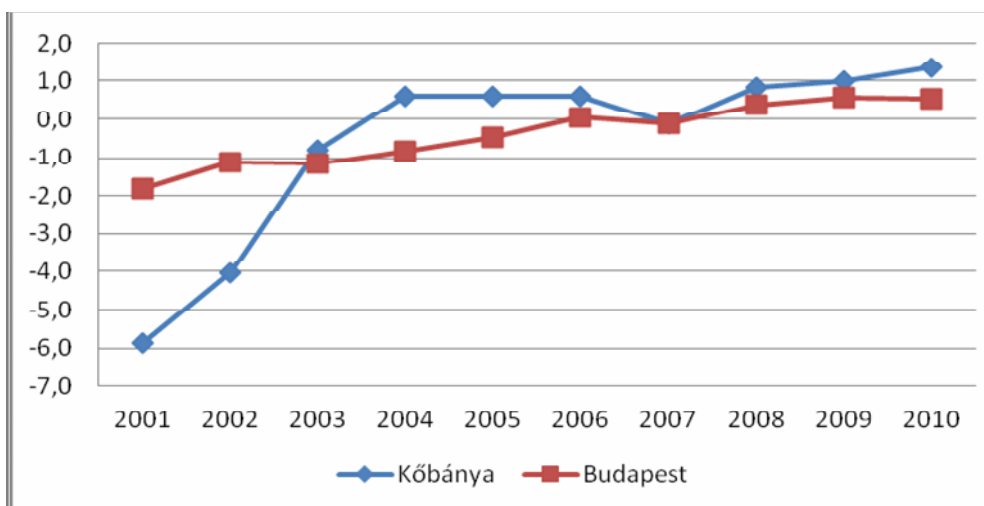
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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[19] [(population t1-population t0)/population t0]*100

Fig. 3.7 Density of population of Józsefváros and Budapest
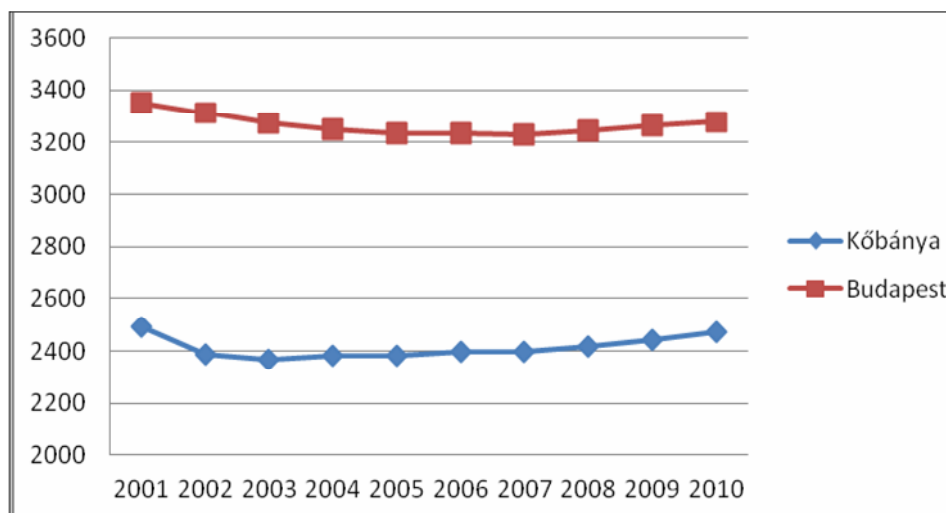
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

The natural balance rates[20] of Budapest are much lower than that of K bánya in every year since 2001. The difference between the natural balance rates of K bánya and Budapest shows a constant decrease since 2002 but Budapest always have a much lower rate.

Fig. 3.8 Natural balance rate of K bánya and Budapest
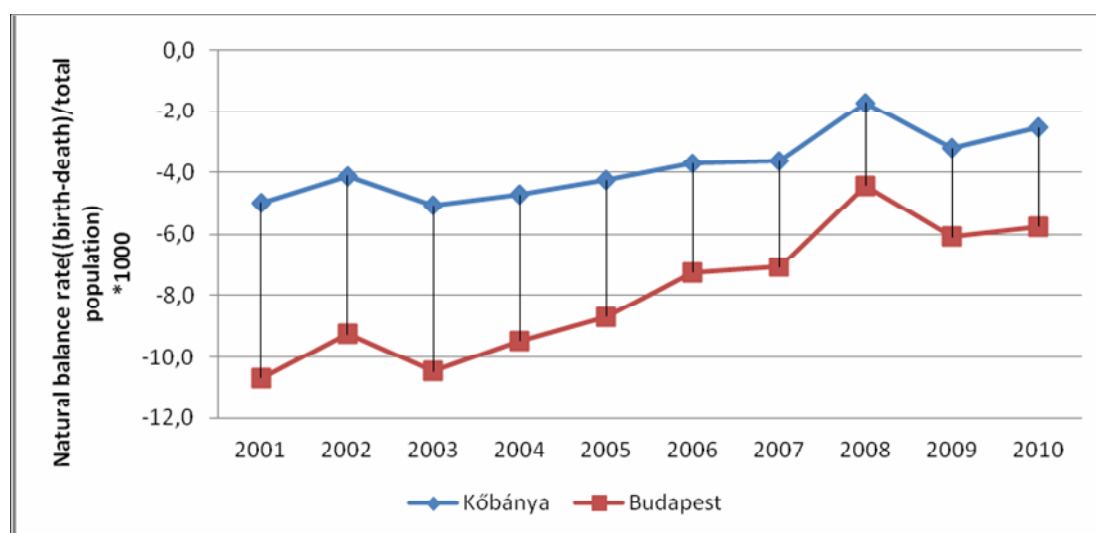
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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[20] ((birth-death)/total population)*1000

3.2.1 Social and economic features of the population

At this chapter we compare the proportion of unemployed people, tax revenues of the local government

Comparing K bánya to Budapest the unemployment rates are similar: 3,4% of the inhabitants in working age (aged 15-61 years) are registered jobseekers while 3,7% in Budapest. In K bánya the proportion of long-term jobseekers[21] is 39 per cent, of all jobseekers and in Budapest their proportion is 44 per cent.

The distribution of jobseekers by education level mirrors the working and lower class background of the district, the proportion of jobseekers with lower than secondary education is 5 percentage points higher in K bánya compared to Budapest.

Fig. 3.9 Registered jobseekers by educational qualification, 2009
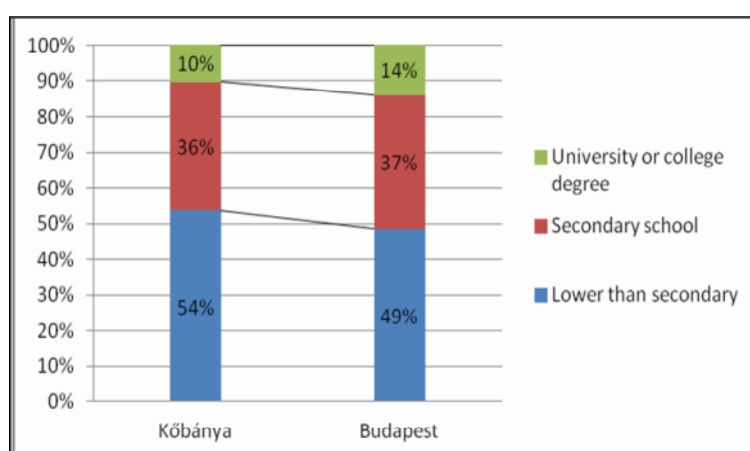
Source: statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Another proxy of the status of the district could be the proportion of tax payers. In K bánya number of taxpayers per thousand inhabitants is 427, the same as that of Budapest, and K bánya is similar to Budapest in all the indices of tax payers.

Fig. 3.10 Indices of tax payers in K bánya and Budapest
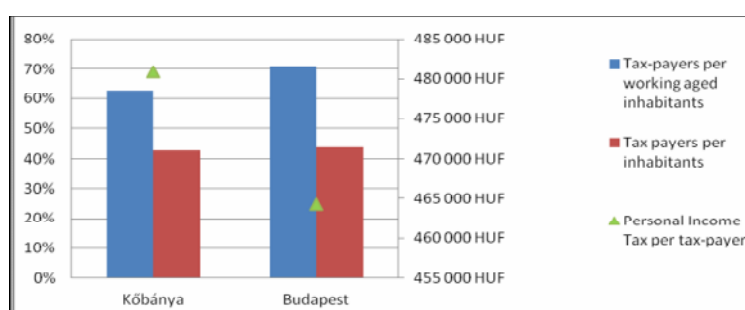
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

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[21] Long-term jobseeker: Unemplyoed people, who could not find a job over 180 days.

3.3 K bánya as migrant's destination

Foreigners living in K bánya can be characterized by the same parameters as the immigrants in Józsefváros because these districts are quarters and because of the closeness of the Chinese market which lures the Asian immigrants in both district.

The 10th district similarly to Józsefváros is an important place of concentration for foreigners, especially in the young active age group. Foreigners show a younger age structure than the host society. Foreign children concentrate in certain schools which require specific policies and pedagogical approach.

'The presence of foreign business operations and different enterprises is well noticeable in Józsefváros. Next to a variety of Chinese, Arabic and Turkish retail shops and fast food restaurants mostly located by the main streets, the district also hosts the largest Chinese market in Hungary – the Four Tigers Market.'[22]

As we said before In 2008 the ratio of foreign population in Józsefváros was 6.6 per cent whereas in Budapest it is lower than 4 per cent in all of the years.

Fig. 3.11 Immigration rates in K bánya and in Budapest
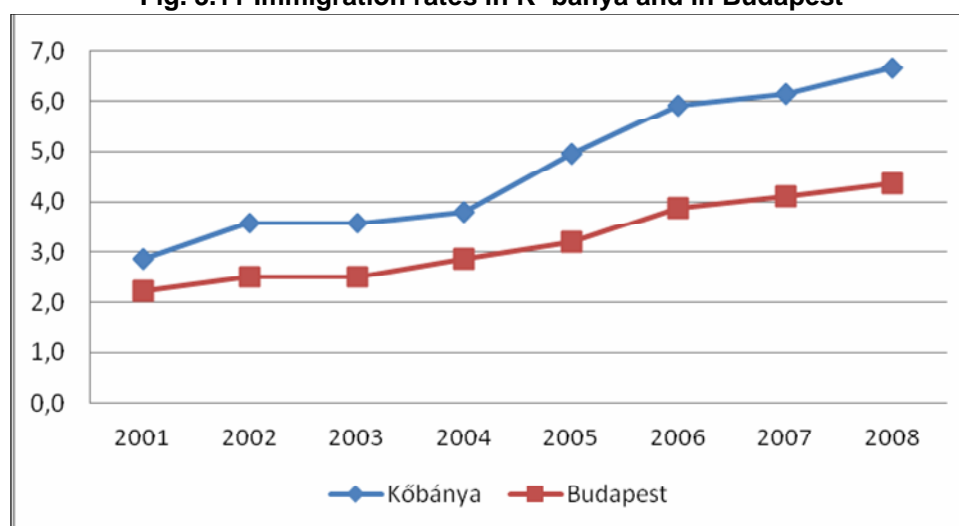
Source: Statistical yearbooks of Budapest

Vietnamese and Chinese immigrants show the highest concentration among immigrants. Almost one fourth of Chinese immigrants living in the capital, and more than 17 per cent of the Vietnamese are settled in K bánya. The most numerous groups immigrants came from Romania, and China. The overwhelming majority of Romanian immigrants are Romanian Roma people.

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[22] Source:K szeghy,2010

Tab. 3.1 Number and concentration of immigrants in K bánya and in Budapest

Country of origin	Number of immigrants		Concentration of the immigrants
	in K bánya	in Budapest	
China	1729	7546	23%
Romania	1411	26914	5%
Vietnam	484	2858	17%
Ukraine	325	5305	6%
Mongol	120	654	18%

Source: Office of Immigration and Nationality

4. Conclusions

Józsefváros and K bánya are both among the most deprived and underdeveloped districts of the capital in every aspect, but the causes are different.

The similarlities of the districts:

- Both of the selected areas encompass a really bad reputation and a high proportion of Roma inhabitants.

- The underdeveloped situation is mirrored by official housing-, employment-, tax and every kind of statistics. According to a recent analysis Józsefváros and K bánya districts contain seven of the twenty six 'crisis zones'[23] of Budapest (Csanádi et al, 2010).

- Both of the districts are characterized with a high concentration of third country immigrants, especially Chinese and Vietnamese inhabitants. They are present a very visible way at these quarters- thanks to the Chinese Market- but they aren't considered as the causes of bad reputation of the selected areas.

Differences of the quarters:

- Józsefváros is a really small district with an extremely high density of population whereas K bánya is not as densely populated thanks to its huge surface area.

- Józsefváros has a central location with a high developed public transport connection whereas K bánya is a peripherial quarter of Budapest.

- K bánya has always been an industrial area, which began to erode after the regime change with closing the factories in the district leaving many skilled workers unemployed. The constant effort of the local government is to lure young and well-educated inhabitants to be able to decrease the unemployment and change the judgement of the district. In the 1950's in Józsefváros there was a population change, i.e. the number of poor migrants from the countryside has increased and skilled workers and lower middle-class people has declined. This deprivation process has continued since then all over the district.

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[23] Crisis zone: Areas of Budapest with a minimum of 100 dwellings, which are in critical status according to the self government, and needs urgent intervention (in 5-10 years).

- Józsefváros is charaterised by an ethnicised form of poverty, i.e. certain parts of it show the emergence of a Roma ghetto.

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Annex 1. The sites of interactions for the ethnographic fieldwork

Józsefváros

All of our selected sites are situated in the central part because of the high proportion of third-country migrants.

- *The Four Tigers Market[24] in the Ganz Quarter*

Ganz Quarter is the remnant of a major industrial complex from the socialist period. In the past decades the area deteriorated, the streets are in bad condition, the former industrial buildings were abandoned for years.

The general state of this area is very dilapidated. The streets are in bad condition full of pot holes.

The market operates with 3.700 pavilions, at more than 260.000 square meters. According to some opinions the market is the symbol of the Hungarian black market. The market is running since 1993, and the owner of the area is MÁV since 1999 (Hungarian State Railways).This area is a popular place of poor layers to buy goods, and get in touch with Chinese and other minorities trading on the market. Almost everything can be bought: besides legal products, diploma, passport, gun, gas spray. The market has a big importance in the life of the district, because there are layers, for whom this is the only opportunity to purchase new things.

People living here have a ghetto- sub culture; it's demonstrated by the animated film "The District!" (in Hungarian: Nyócker!). It is a Hungarian caricaturistic animated film directed by Áron Gauder. Its original title is a shortened colloquial form of nyolcadik kerület, the eighth district of Budapest, also known as Józsefváros, including an infamous quarter where the film takes place. It is sometimes labeled as the Hungarian South Park. The film was the best animated film of Europe in 2005. "The film displays the Hungarian, Roma, Chinese and Arab dwellers and their alliances and conflicts in a humorous way, embedded into a fictive story of a few schoolchildren's oil-making time-travel and a Romeo and Juliet-type love of a Roma guy towards a white girl"[25]

- *Népszínház Street in the Népszínház Quarter*

Népszínház Quarter is a downtown quarter containing mostly four to six floor houses. The street itself connects a major junction (Blaha Lujza square) and Teleki Square (a former flea market and recently the core of a slum area). Népszínház Street is full of small shops owned by foreign migrants living in other parts of the district. Writing "népszínház utca" in Google, the third result is: "Never go there! (Hova ne)", a homepage listing the most dangerous areas of Budapest.

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[24] Read more about the Chinese Market on http://www.socialnetwork.hu/cikkek/cakosik..pdf
[25] Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_District!

- *Orczy Square residential park at Orczy Quarter*

Orczy negyed (Orczy Quarter) is a slum area with a high quality residential park in the middle of it. While 90% of the buildings of the quarter was built before World War II, and the population of the quarter consists of the poorest layers of Budapest including a high proportion of Roma, the newly built residential park (built between 2000 and 2006) in the middle of Orczy Square is home of well-to-do Chinese and Vietnamese people working in the area mostly at the Chinese market.

Kőbánya

- *The surroundings of Mázsa Square at Gyárdűlő Quarter*

Gyárdűlő used to be an industrial area. In the beginning of the XX century temporary accommodations and housing estates were built here because of the housing shortage. The area around Mázsa square is the home for a lot of Chinese families inlcuding vendors of the Chinese Market of Józsefváros. The editorial office of a weekly paper in Chinese is situated here as well. In the 1980's large panel housng estates were built in the area

- *Hungária Boulevard 5-7 at Laposdűlő Quarter*

Hungária Boulevard 5-7 is a huge housing estate consisting of housing estates with a primary school in the middle of it. There are two types of housing estates in the area: three-storey brick buildings built in the early 1960ies surrounded by ten-storey panel high rise blocks built between 1972 and 1975. A lots of Chinese migrants are living in the high rise buildings whereas the owners of brick buildings are mostly Hungarians. The elementary school has several Chinese and Vietnamese students from the nearby housing estate.

- *The area of Taraliget residential park at Népliget Quarter*

The residential park is part of 'Népliget' a rather neglected area with a central coach station and Metro line. Taraliget Lakópark (Taraliget residential park) is situated on the edge of Népliget not very far from the eastern edge of the Four Tiger market and from Kőbányai út, one of the most important streets of Budapest with heavy traffic. The residential park is surrounded by industrial area with old buildings, and it consists of 432 newly built flats. There are several Chinese families living here, most of them are working at the Chinese market. There is a smaller housing estate close to Taraliget where a lots of Chinese and Vietnamese families live together with Hungarians. It consists of two mansions connected by a wing with small shops (some of them owned by Chinese retailers) and an association for migrant Chinese and Vietnamese people.

Additional sites-data (only for Józsefváros)

As to the quarters in Józsefváros, the proportion of dwellings without comfort is high at the Ganz and Orczy quarters and is below the district average in the Népszínház Street. The proportion of jobseekers shows, however, a different picture, it is low in the Ganz quarter very likely due to the closeness of the Chinese market.

**Fig. A1 Proportion of dwellings without comfort
in the quarters of Józsefváros and in Józsefváros, 2001**
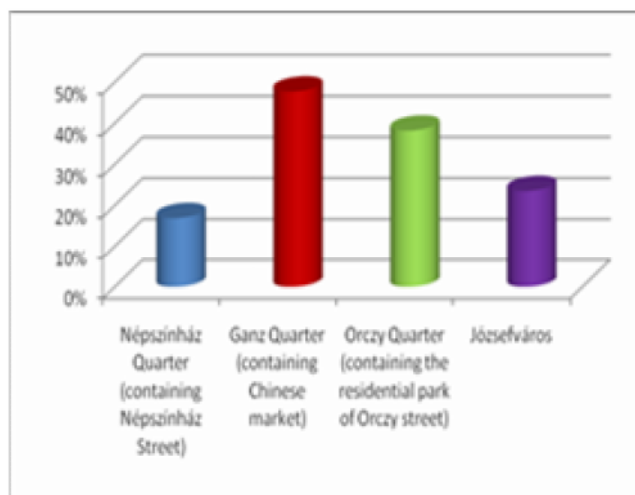
Source: Csanádi, et al 2010

Fig. A2 Proportion of jobseekers in working age population
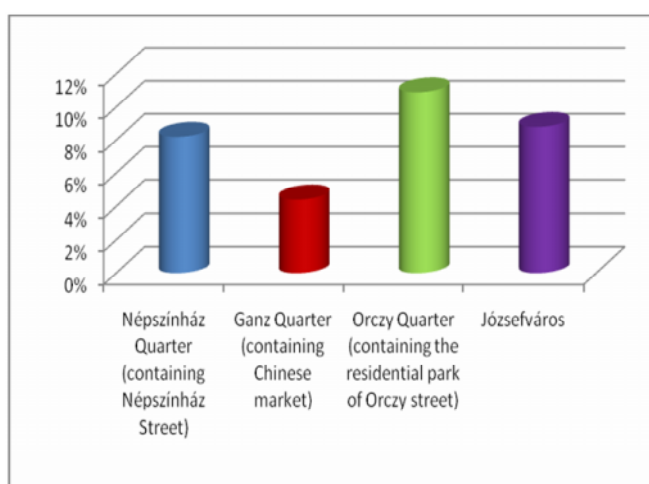
Source: Csanádi et al, 2010

Prices of dwellings

Kőbánya

All the real estate prices of our sites are similar to the district average and lower than the average prices of Budapest.

Fig. A3 Prices of dwellings of sites in Kőbánya
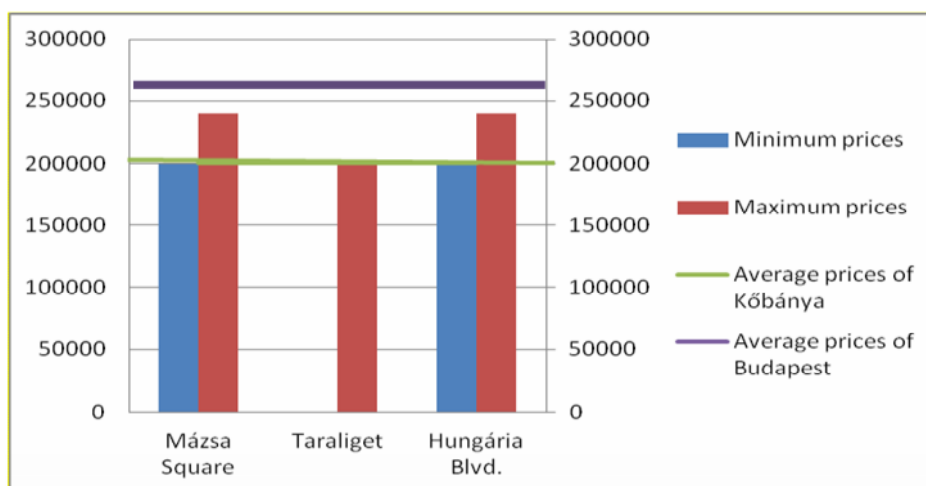
Józsefváros

The prices of Orczy Square and Chinese Market exceed the prices of Józsefváros and Budapest as well. Only the Népszínház Street's prices are lower than the city and district average.

Fig. A4 Prices of dwellings of the sites of Józsefváros
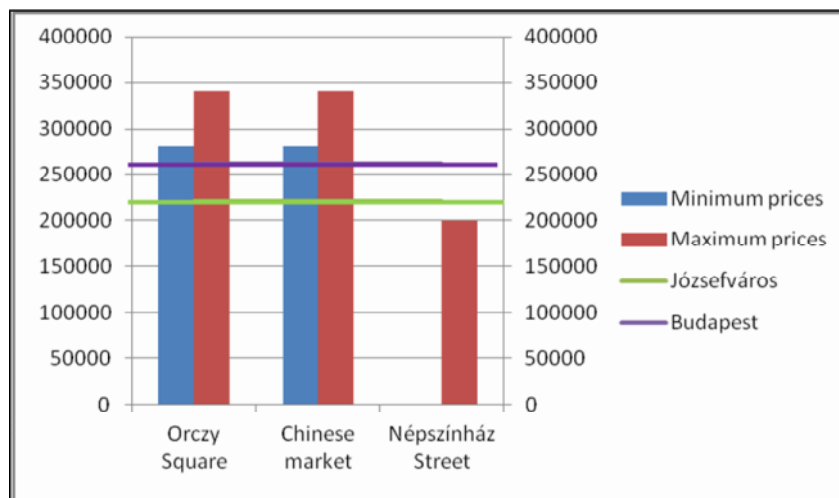
Economy

Kőbánya

Comparing the three Kőbánya areas around the selected quarters, Gyárdűlő is the least hit by unemployment and have average proportion of dwellings without comfort. Laposdűlő and Népliget are characterized by worse labor market situation as well as (especially the former) housing conditions.

**Fig. A5 Proportion of households without employed member
in quarters of Kőbánya and in Kőbánya total , 2001**
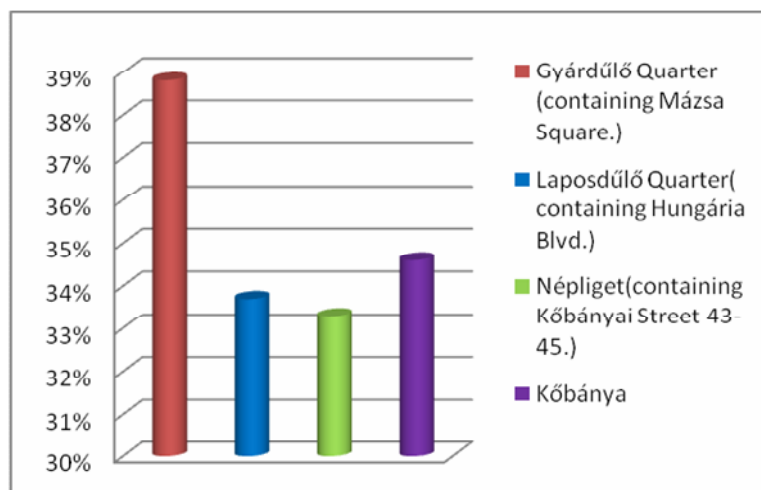
Source: Integrated Strategy of Development of Kőbánya

**Fig. A6 Proportion of dwellings without comfort
in quarters of Kőbánya and in Kőbánya total , 2001**
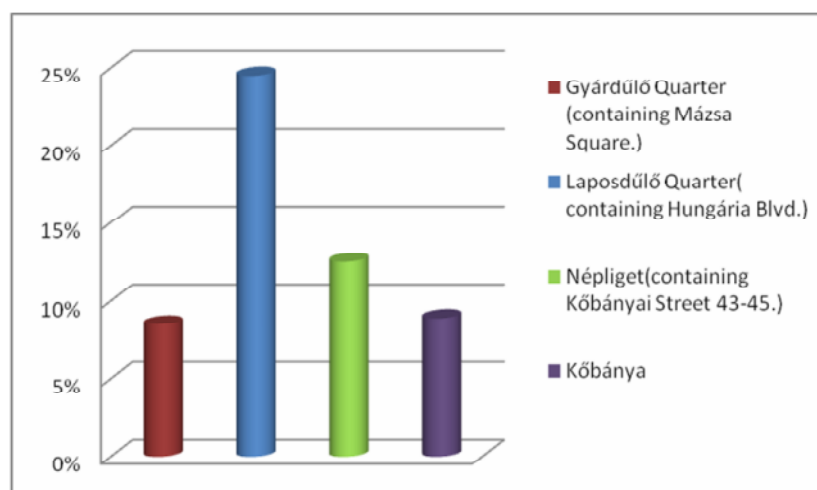
Source: Integrated Strategy of Development of Kőbánya

Józsefváros

Ganz Quarter contains the highest proportion of dwellings without comfort among the selected areas of Józsefváros. Home of the Chinese market almost the half of the houses in the Ganz Quarter is without comfort in spite of the 30 per cent average of the district.

**Fig. A7Proportion of dwellings without comfort
in the quarters of Józsefváros and in Józsefváros, 2001**
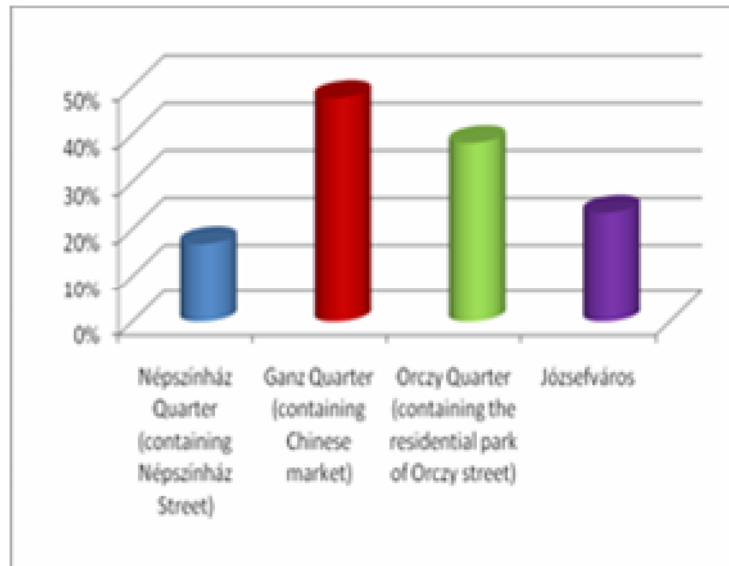
Source: Csanádi, et al 2010

Annex 2. Synoptic tables

<table>
<tr><td colspan="9" align="center">QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT</td></tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td align="center">Quar. 1 Józsefváros</td>
<td align="center">Quar. 2 K bánya</td>
<td align="center">District 1 (when Quar. n/a)</td>
<td align="center">District 2 (when Quar. n/a)</td>
<td align="center">City Budapest</td>
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<td align="center">Definitions and notes</td>
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<td align="center">200.000 HUF/square m (643 EUR)</td>
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<td align="center">300.000 HUF/square m (965EUR)</td>
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</table>

QUARTERS AS URBAN CONTEXT

Qualitative items				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 Kõbánya			
Location of the quartier in the city (central, peripheral, etc.)				Józsefváros is close to the center of Budapest.	It is a peripheral quarter of Budapest even though the geometric centre of Budapest is situated in the quarter.			
Prevailing urban and economic functions of the quartier (touristic area, industrial declining areas, "dormitory" quartier, leisure area, etc.)				Józsefváros can be divided into three parts. The smallest and part called "Palotanegyed" includes several remarkable buildings such as the National Museum, the central buildings of universities, the Academy of Drama and Film and the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, etc. The second part, beyond Nagykörút has a worse reputation, due to prostitution that was rampant until the 1990's, which has been mostly eliminated throughout the district. In this part one can find the Centre for Foreign Languages , the Erkel Theatre, the Hungarian Natural History Museum, Corvin Budapest Film Palace (a multiplex cinema), one of Budapest's biggest gardens (Orczy-kert), and a large complex of cliniques. The third part called "Tisztviselõtelep" is a suburban area for higher status groups.	Kõbánya (named after a limestone mine) has always been an industrial area. Nowadays pharmaceutical industry and beer manufacturing are the leading industries of Kõbánya.			

Qualitative items				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 Kőbánya			
Texture of urban fabric, road and transport connections with the outside				Józsefváros has a highly developed public transport connection. By public transport it is easy to get to any places of the area. The Grand Boulevard and Blaha Lujza Square are one of the busiest meeting points of Budapest.	Kőbánya is bounded by very busy trading routes. One of the most important roads is the road to the international airport with extremely heavy traffic. Kőbányai and Jászberényi roads are a heavy traffic roads as well, both of them are the routes of some buses. Kőbánya also has a railway station as well as several bus and tram lines which offers good connections to the city center.			
Quality of housing stock, housing regimes, extension of urban blight and requalification processes				The image of Józsefváros shows a great heterogeneity. The buildings of the inner part preserved their aristocratic feature. Apartments built for the middle class are bigger here than the average of Budapest. The central part (Palotanegyed) includes several remarkable buildings such as museums and universities. But the biggest part of Józsefváros consists of old and dilapidated buildings. Prices of flats are lower than the average of Budapest. There are 9 homeless shelters in Józsefváros which determine the image strongly. Some neighborhoods are currently under re-development. The dilapidated part of the housing stocks was partly demolished to make place for large office blocks and housing estates.	Due to the huge surface area of Kőbánya, every kind of buildings can be found here like newly built residential parks, concrete block of flats, just as unused buildings of factories and suburbs built in the 1930's.A constant effort of the municipality is to change the industrial image of the area and encourage the immigration of young people with favourable housing and educational conditions.			

Availability of meeting spaces including entertainment places (cinemas/theatres, libraries, etc.)				There are several meeting and entertainment places situated in Józsefváros. Palotanegyed is full of hotels, restaurants and bars. In the other parts of Józsefváros there are mostly cheaper bars situated.	K bánya is an inner city area where people mostly work and sleep. Although it has large public greens these spaces are mostly the surfaces of old and unused industry yards (brown areas).	
Availability of welfare services (education, social action, security)				There are severeal nurseries, day care nurseries, elementary schools, high schools , and there are several faculties of universities. Because of the relatively high proportion of immigrants, some day care nurseries has a special "rainbow programs" for these children.	K bánya is well facilitated by day care nurseries, nurseries, and high schools.	
Trade (shops, malls, open markets, etc.)				Except of Palotanegyed the quarter is historically a trademan's quarter. Népszínház Street is full of small shops several of them are owned by immigrants. The Four Tigers Market is a unique area (almost like a Chinatown). In the gentrifcated areas there are large malls (Corvin plaza, Arena plaza).	Some open markets and a Chinese market exist at K bánya. One of the largest malls of Budapest (Árkád) is situated in K bánya as well.	

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT								
				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 K bánya	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Budapest
Quantitative items+A16	*Definitions and notes*	*Year*	*Source of data*					
Total population	Residents	2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest	83465	80357			1721556
Population composition by age:	Residents by age	2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest					
0-14 years				12%	13%			13%
15-29 years				21%	19%			19%
30-49 years				33%	34%			30%
50-59 years				13%	13%			13%
60+ years				21%	21%			25%
Population composition by sex	Residents by sex	2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest					

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT								
				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 K bánya	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Budapest
Quantitative items+A16	*Definitions and notes*	*Year*	*Source of data*					
M				46.00%	47.00%			46.00%
F				54.00%	53.00%			54.00%
Population composition by year of arrival in the city and in the quarter (0-5 years; 6-10 years; 11 years and over)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Annual variation of the population	[(population t1-population t0)/population t0]*100	2009-2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest	1.5	1.4			0.5
Population/km2	The residents /km2	2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest	12185	2473			3278
Natural balance rate	[(birth-death)/total population]*100	2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest	-1.2	-2.6			-3.2
Immigration rate	(foreign immigrants / total population) *100	2008	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest	7.2	6.6			4.4

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT								
				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 K bánya	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Budapest
Quantitative items+A16	*Definitions and notes*	*Year*	*Source of data*					
Demographic balance rate	[(population t1-population t0)/population t0]*100	2009-2010	Statistical yearbooks of Budapest	1.5	1.4			0.5
Average income or wage of nationals and foreigners				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Employment rates of nationals and foreigners				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Unemployment rates of nationals and foreigners				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percentage of nationals and foreigners employed in highly qualified occupations				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Percentage of residents enrolled in higher education (senior high school, college, university)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT								
				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 K bánya	District 1 (when Quar. n/a)	District 2 (when Quar. n/a)	City Budapest
Quantitative items+A16	*Definitions and notes*	*Year*	*Source of data*					
Percentage of resident families dependent on social services				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Reporting of anti-social behaviour and crime rate with special attention to violent crimes				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT					
Qualitative items				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 K bánya
Class composition				At the beginning of the 20th century Józsefváros was home for artisans, musician gypsies and low middleclass Jews. The number of inhabitants reached the top in 1910. By the 1950's the heterogeneity of the population has declined, and poorer strata of rural immigrants and workers dominated the scene while the upper middle class moved out. Nowadays the high proportion of Roma population, immigrants and poor Hungarians characterizes certain parts of the area.	K bánya has always been an industrial area, but due to the shutdown of many factories in the 1990's skilled workers left K bánya only lower social classes remained behind. Immigrants are present here as well because of the closeness of the Four Tigers Market .
Types of social capital (bonding, bridging, social links)				no information is available	no information is available
Strength and closure/openness of social institutions (associations, unions, housing organisations, etc.)				no information is available	no information is available

QUARTERS AS SOCIAL UNIT					
Qualitative items				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	Quar. 2 K bánya
Presence and types of inflows of outsiders (migrants, tourists, night life users, gentrifiers, etc.)				Inflow of immigrants is very high compared to the other parts of Budapest. They are third country immigrants who mostly work in the Chinese market. They are present in whole Józsefváros, but they show a high concentration in the quarter of the Chinese Market and the Népszínház Street.	The situation of K bánya is similar to that of Józsefváros. Third country immigrants are living here, they operate mostly wholesale shops, or they are selling goods on the Chinese Market.
Quarter identity				In 2004 the district were divided into 11 parts (quarters). Some of these posses local culture and identity. People living in poorer parts of Józsefváros (especially in "Magdolna-negyed" and "Szigony-negyed") have a ghetto like subculture. Tisztvisel telep is called *" Rózsadomb of Józsefváros"* by the inhabitants, so they have a strong local identity . (Rózsadomb is one of the most prestigious areas of Budapest)	K bánya is divided into 12 quarters. Some of these posses local culture and identity.

QUARTERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION								
				Quar. 1 **Józsefváros**	**Quar. 2** **K bánya**	**District 1 (when Quar. n/a)**	**District 2 (when Quar. n/a)**	**City Budapest**
Quantitative items	*Definitions and notes*	*Year*	*Source of data*					
Migratory balance rate	[(immigrants - emigrants) / total population] *100	2010	Statistical yearbook of Budapest	n/a	n/a			n/a
Immigration rate	(foreign immigrants / total population) *100	2010	Statistical yearbook of Budapest	7.2%	6.6%			4.4%
Proportion of people with foreign citizenship in total population	(foreign immigrants / total population) *100	2010	Statistical yearbook of Budapest	7.2%	6.6%			4.4%
Proportion of born in foreign countries in total population				n/a		n/a	n/a	n/a
Proportion of people with an ethnic background in total populations				n/a		n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by nationality (first five nationalities and proportion of each of them in the total foreign population)	first five nationalities and proportion of each of them in the total foreign population)	2007	Office of Immigration and Nationality					
				Romanian 2,62%	Chinese 2,18%			Romanian 1,57%
				Chinese 1,65%	Romanian 1,78%			Chinese 0,44%
				Ukrainian 0,47%	Vietnamese 0,61%			Ukrainian 0,31%

QUARTERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION								
				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	**Quar. 2 K bánya**	**District 1 (when Quar. n/a)**	**District 2 (when Quar. n/a)**	**City Budapest**
Quantitative items	*Definitions and notes*	*Year*	*Source of data*					
				Vietnamese 0,40%	Ukrainian 0,41%			German 0,17%
				Serbian 0,24%	Mongolian 0,15%			Vietnamese 0,17%
Population composition by country of birth (first five countries of birth and proportion of each of them in the total population born abroad)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by minority ethnic background (first five minority ethnic groups and proportion of each of them on the total populatiin with a minority ethnic background)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Population composition by religion				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Proportion of migrants arrived < 5-10 years (recent migrants)				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

QUARTERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION					
Qualitative items				*Quar. 1 Józsefváros*	*Quar. 2 K bánya*
Earlier immigration history				Before the transition in the 1990ies only Greek immigrants lived in a rather closed compound in the Józsefváros and were replaced in the early 1990ies by Chinese, Vietnamese and later African immigrants.	The situation is the same as that of Józsefváros.
Immigrants' profile (blue collars, traders and shop keepers, families, single men/women, etc.)				The primary reason for which most immigrants come to Józsefváros is the closeness of the Chinese market. Either they work at the quarter of the market or operate a shop or a restaurant in the district. Most of them work at the field of commerce, and they are believed to be richer than the average locals in Józsefváros.	The situation is the same as that of Józsefváros.
Visibility of immigrants				Most immigrant groups are visible, especially Chinese, Vietnamese and black people. But they are not so numerous. They are invisible for the municipality because they don't apply for social help.	The situation is the same as that of Józsefváros.

QUARTERS AS MIGRANTS' DESTINATION					
Qualitative items				*Quar. 1 Józsefváros*	*Quar. 2 K bánya*
Main markers of intergroup boundaries (nationality, area of origin, skin colour, religion, length of residence in the quartier, etc.)				Intergroup boundaries are based on skin colour. African people are stereotyped as drugdealers. Arab people are considered more integrated, Chinese and Vietnamese people are seen as immigrants who have no intention to learn Hungarian and being integrated to the host society. The basis of this stereotype is that Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants living here for 10 or 20 years (the first generation) generally don't speak Hungarian (but the second generation feel the need to learn Hungarian).	The situation is the same as that of Józsefváros.

QUARTERS AS ARENA OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION								
				Quar. 1 Józsefváros	**Quar. 2 K bánya**	**District (when Quar. n/a)**	**District 2 (when Quar. n/a)**	**City Budapest**
Quantitative items	***Definitions and notes***	***Year***	***Source of data***					
(Police) Reporting of racist and xenophobic acts				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Votes for political parties with anti-immigrant stances in the EU/national/regional/municipal/district election in target quarters in the last 10 years				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Number and /or proportion of non profit organisations working around immigration issues				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

QUARTERS AS ARENA OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION				
Qualitative items			**Quar. 1 Józsefváros**	**Quar. 2 K bánya**
Main issues of cooperation and conflicts (small business, use of public or semipublic spaces, access to welfare services, public safety, lifestyles, etc.)			Conflict: There are two main reasons for inter-group incidents. The first takes place between Hungarian shop keepers and Chinese traders. The prices of Chinese traders are very low, and considered by the Hungarian shop keepers unfair. Since they can't compete them, some Hungarian shopkeepers are squeezed out of the market by the Chinese. The smaller problem comes from everyday life situations such as Chinese food is considered "stinky" for Hungarian people or that they are loud and don't take care of the living environment. Cooperation: The only field of cooperation we found was that Hungarian pensioners are babysitting Chinese children, and in some cases these relationships turn into friendship.	The situation is the same as that of Józsefváros.