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inequality with and for Future generaTions

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Summary

- The current urban report analyses the socio-economic inequalities and the national and local policy contexts in Pécs, Hungary. It looks particularly at the fields of education, housing, employment and social protection, to explore the opportunities of the economic and spatial environment and the national and local welfare systems that young individuals in vulnerable situation have to navigate.
- The time scale of the current study embraces the last decade, including the financial crisis and prolonged economic recession (GDP decrease and stagnation between 2009 and 2012). The financial crisis had a direct impact on the financial markets (e.g. mortgage loans) and through the fall of GDP on the general economic and employment indicators, but it has much less effect on welfare services or institutional structures. The financial crisis was followed by a strong recovery period in the 2010s thanks to favourable economic conditions in Europe, and the influx of EU funds to the country. The long recovery period was halted by the Covid pandemic, which resulted in a nearly 5% GDP drop; but by mid-2021 employment indicators recovered to their 2019 levels.
- Compared to the EU average, Hungary in general has relatively good social inequality indicators (e.g. Gini index, at-risk-of-poverty rate), but it is in a worse situation in terms of deprivation indicators (severe material deprivation, housing deprivation). Issues related to poverty are not properly mitigated by the measures of the welfare system, which has two major attributes: 1) it favours families with children and 2) supports the middle-class through tax based compensations and shows preference to work income against social transfers.
- Statistically, the young generation (aged 15-29) do not face more serious social problems than the older age groups (except for unemployment, in which the younger generation has a 50% higher rate). The young generation is directly targeted through education (naturally) and central employment policies (through the initiatives of the Youth Guarantee Programmes); while social protection, social work, and housing policy lack age-specific measures, even though in the case of Pécs the number of supported young families is increasing as interviewees report. It is important to emphasize that youth work, youth specific institutional structure, youth departments, youth strategies for vulnerable youth – over the age of 14 – are practically non-existent in Hungary as opposed to many other European countries.
- The research found that most of the domains (education, employment, housing and social protection) are strongly coordinated by the central government as a result of an intense centralisation process since 2010. This has significantly reduced the room of manoeuvre local governments have in these areas. (The financial possibilities of local municipalities were further narrowed down by cuts on local taxes and extra contributions to the state budget due to the Covid pandemic.)

- The centralisation of the public primary and secondary education also limited the potential of local municipalities on their locality, due to losing influence on local public education (except for kindergartens). Still Pécs as a location is an educational hub, providing a wide range of educational services from primary school to university. Vulnerable young people have relatively wide choices, however educational segregation between schools and between classes is still a strong phenomenon following the national framework according to which Hungary has one of the least efficient education system in the EU to compensate generational disadvantage of students.
- Employment policy is centralised, thus the responsibility of local municipalities is limited to complementary functions. The central policy is implemented through locally deconcentrated branches of the state, which offer wide range of assistance for young people in the framework of the Youth Guarantee Programmes, also in Pécs. However these programmes seem to have short time impact and seem not to reach the most vulnerable social layers.
- The major items in the national social allowance system did not change nominally in the last 10 years, consequently they provide marginal help. Local allowances are also kept low due to budgetary constraints. The local social services concentrate rather on the elderly and families with children. Youth age cohorts are not specifically in the focus.
- Currently the provision of social housing and housing allowance are the most important housing related competencies of local municipalities. However, these competencies are not backed by central financial resources. One of the consequence is the low share of municipal housing – about 5.5% in Pécs – and the extremely bad physical state of the social housing stock.
- Even if external immigration and foreign born inhabitants cannot be considered a social issue in Hungary and in Pécs due to their very low share in the society, social exclusion effects much more the Roma population, whose official share is around 5% in the urban area of Pécs.
- Despite all the difficulties major cities face in Hungary with regard to their welfare system, deep poverty is more a rural than an urban phenomenon. This fact is reflected also in the case of Pécs, where the employment, education and social conditions are much better than in its agglomeration (e.g. the number of registered unemployed per 1,000 inhabitants is 5.5 times higher in the settlements outside of Pécs than in the city).

Introduction

This report examines the scales and dimensions of inequality affecting the young population in the functional urban area (FUA) of Pécs, Hungary. Our purpose is to understand how the drivers of socio-economic inequality operate in this local context, as well as the role of policy interventions in aggravating or reducing the impacts of inequality on the urban youth.

Therefore, particular attention is paid to the room for action of local policies and the manners in which policy-makers and stakeholders conceptualize and respond to the existing challenges. This corresponds to the meso-level analysis in the UPLIFT project, i.e. between the macro-level analysis of the drives of inequality (the focus of WP1) and the micro-level analysis of individual behaviour and strategy (the focus of WP3).

The analysis concentrates on four major domains that have strong relevance in reflecting unequal situation among young people: education, housing, employment and social protection. The time scale of the analysis is the last 10-12 years from the great financial crisis until the fourth wave of the Covid pandemic (autumn 2021 in Hungary).

The territorial scope of the analysis is the functional urban area of Pécs, with the most emphasis on the city of Pécs.

The current urban report is based on three major sources of information:

- the analysis of the scientific publications, newspaper articles and strategic documents regarding Pécs and its urban area;
- the analysis of statistical data using publicly available statistical databases;
- online¹ interviews with local experts, politicians, and civil servants of Pécs municipality, conducted between December 2020 and December 2021.

The current document is concise, to help the reader understand the main possibilities and limitations of the national and local welfare system for vulnerable young persons living in Pécs functional urban area. Due to its limited scope the report lacks many of the finer details of education, housing, employment and social protection, but still intends to characterise the major role of different governance actors and their policy intentions.

Despite rich sources of information, the researchers had limited access to government organisations on local level, as giving interviews and providing data is strictly controlled and in most cases rejected.² For this reason the views of the local level and non-governmental

¹ For protection of interviewees and researchers and complying with restrictions of movements and personal meetings, interviews were conducted online. Interviews involved 1 person from the central administration, 7 persons from the local policy and administration, and 4 people from different NGOs.

² For government officers permission is needed in order to give an interview, which they either did not get, or did not get any reply for their requests for months.

organisations may be overrepresented. The Covid pandemic did not create difficulties for the implementation of the online interviews regarding their technicalities; however, the availability of local experts was rather limited as the public sector was under pressure due Covid-19.

1 General description of Pécs Functional Urban Area

Pécs Functional Urban Area³ is located in South-Western Hungary close to the Serbian border, approximately 200 kilometres from Budapest. (See Figure 1 at the Annex)

Southern Transdanubia (Dél-Dunántúl), the NUTS2 region where Pécs FUA is located, is the 9th poorest region in Europe (2017 and 2018 data). The gap between the region and the country average has been increasing in the last two decades, putting the region on a lagging developmental pathway (the GDP of the region compared to the country average was 83,65% in 1994; 73% in 2004 and 68% in 2018)⁴. The economic potential measured by the competitiveness of the region is rather weak, despite the construction of a highway to Pécs finished in 2010. The region has not been successful in attracting foreign direct investments after the socialist regime has collapsed, which hampered the diversification of economic structure and reindustrialization processes, resulting in low performance in the initiation of innovative actions (Gál, 2020: 18).

As the following table shows, the functional urban area of Pécs consists of the core city and 133 settlements that are mostly small villages and some small towns. The social status and the economic potential of Pécs and the neighbouring area is very different: Pécs has a much better position compared to its neighbourhood where most of the settlements can be regarded as remote, despite the fact that some of them are target areas of suburbanisation.

As the data in Table 1 (at the Annex) show, the social and economic difference is much bigger between the city (Pécs) and its rural environment than between Pécs and other larger Hungarian cities. This points to the already known fact that as opposed to Western European countries, deep poverty and social inequalities are more severely concentrated in rural than in urban areas in Hungary.

Compared to other big cities in Hungary,⁵ Pécs has a special position: it has weaker economic performance than the leading urban areas of Hungary (e.g., Győr), but its employment is relatively stable thanks to positions provided by the public and the service

³ The scale of the Functional Urban Area is defined by the Central Statistical Office of Hungary. The most recent delineation is from 2018. The FUA is basically covering the commuting distance around the core city.

⁴ It is important to note that Southern Transdanubia region consists of three counties, one of which is Baranya county, where the FUA of Pécs is located. The two remaining counties are equally underdeveloped, but the functional urban area of Pécs is socially and economically more advanced than the rest of its county.

⁵ The three cities included in the comparison are Győr, the economically most prosperous urban core in Western Hungary; Debrecen, the biggest city in Hungary outside of Budapest, which is also a university town, but with a weaker economic profile; and Miskolc, a former industrial town located in one of the most economically depressed parts of Hungary.

sector⁶. The sectoral distribution of economic actors in Pécs shows a deindustrialized nature. Altogether 25,322 enterprises were registered in Pécs in 2016, 82.87% of which belonged to the service sector. Medium-sized and large enterprises are underrepresented based on the number or employees. Among the 500 largest companies operating country-wide only 3 are located in Baranya county, where Pécs FUA is located (Gál, 2020: 39). The lack of large companies results also in the lack of smaller companies operating in the supply chain, which reduces the employment opportunities of inhabitants.

The lack of larger and economically stronger companies and the lower wage level than in other big cities of Hungary⁷ result in continuous outmigration from the city. This together with the overall demographic processes lead to a constant decline of the population: the city lost approximately 14,000 residents in the last 12 years, and the population of the functional urban area is also declining, even though the settlement belt closest to Pécs is stable. Young people between age 15 and 29 are overrepresented within the demographically declining age cohorts.

Practically there is no substantial immigration into Hungary (about 2% of the population is foreign born in 2021⁸), thus conflicts or difficulties originating from language barriers are hardly experienced. On the other hand, socially severely disadvantaged people are present, among which the Roma population is strongly overrepresented. The share of Roma population in Baranya county – which includes Pécs – is above the national average: 4.6% according to self-reported data in the 2011 Census, although in reality it may be much higher. There are eleven neighbourhoods in Pécs which are already segregated or are at risk of segregation;⁹ eight out of which are located in the north-eastern part of the city, where the former coal miners' estates are located (Local Equal Opportunity Plan, 2018-2023). These areas are characterised by low quality housing, many of which are owned by the municipality of Pécs. This massive segregated area accommodates 1,500-2,000 people, but some of the surrounding neighbourhoods also have low status.

⁶ The share of industry is much lower in case of Pécs regarding the number of employees than in other major cities of Hungary, but this employment share is much higher than the average with regard to education and other public services.

⁷ According to the data of the national tax office the personal income tax/head in Pécs was similar to most of the big cities of Hungary before the financial crisis (except for Győr, where the inhabitants have the highest income level after Budapest). However by 2019 Pécs seems to lag behind the other major cities with regard to the personal income tax/head, and also the share of people with low income is somewhat higher, while the share of people with substantially high income (tax) is somewhat lower than in most bigger Hungarian cities.

⁸ 54,935 residence permits were issued in 2020 in Hungary for non-EU nationals. This mainly includes temporary workers from Ukraine, China and Vietnam.

⁹ The segregated neighbourhoods were delineated by the Central Statistical Office, based on the Census of 2011. In these areas at least 30% of the population had to have crucial characteristics regarding their education and employment level.

As the socialist economy collapsed in Pécs as well as elsewhere in Hungary in the first half of the 1990s, mines were shut down. Social marginalisation trends emerged as lower status social groups were affected first and foremost by the changes, e.g. the least educated were the first to lose their jobs. The local economy has not recovered since, and the competitive private market is still weak: about half of the workers are employed in the public sector, against a national average rate of 20-25%.

The financial crisis had a moderate effect on the local economy (the GDP of Hungary has decreased by 6.7% in 2009 and still by 1.4% in 2012 after a prolonged recession, followed by a strong recovery). The unemployment rate in the country reached 11% in 2012, but decreased to a historical low of 3.42% in 2019. The interviewees did not mention the financial crisis period as a hard hit to the local economy in Pécs (it only had a pronounced effect on people with a foreign currency loan, the instalment amount of which has increased dramatically in 2008).

The Covid pandemic caused a sharp decrease in the GDP in 2020 as well (-4.957%), but in 2021 the recovery seems to be fast. By the summer of 2021 the employment rate approached that of 2019. However, the Covid pandemic had a bigger impact on the budgets of local governments, which lost part of their incomes – e.g. local business tax, tax on vehicles, a new ‘solidarity contribution’ was imposed on municipalities –, which were neither restored in 2021, and most probably nor will be in 2022. As these cuts affected the most flexibly usable parts of the income of local municipalities, it also automatically reduced the room for manoeuvre localities have in social policies.

The decade following the financial crisis can be characterised by new governance approaches, most of which can be labelled as ‘centralisation’ and “deconcentration”. Local municipalities have lost most of their competencies in the field of education, social policy, and also competencies as authorities in various fields e.g. construction, foster care. In the 2000s NUTS 2 regions (there are seven of which in Hungary) obtained important roles in the distribution of EU funds, which was centralised also in the 2010s. Strategic planning role was delegated to the 19 counties of Hungary, which have practically no competencies in any other public issues. The central government functions are deconcentrated into 174 territorial units (called “járás”)¹⁰ where most of the every-day issues are handled such as obtaining documents or applying for unemployment benefit. Pécs “járás” consists of the core city and 39 neighbouring villages.

¹⁰ „Járás” is equal to the aggregation of local municipalities with regard to governmental functions, and includes 20-50,000 people in rural areas, and 100-200,000 people in urban centres.

2 Findings

2.1 Education

2.1.1 National trends and policies

Many criticisms have been formulated with regard to the current education system in Hungary not only regarding its general performance, but also how it (re)produces and strengthens social inequalities. In most of the European countries the share of early leavers is decreasing, while Hungary is among the countries where it has been increasing (its rate 10.9% in 2010, and 11.8% in 2019) which puts the country on the lower ranks (7th from the bottom) along with countries like Estonia or Slovakia (UPLIFT D1.3.). Other European level comparisons of performance in standardized tests also show the vulnerability of the Hungarian educational system: PISA results of 15 years old students have been worsening since 2009 (Nahalka 2018).

The difference between the performance of students with different social backgrounds already surfaces in primary education, and secondary schools are unable to close this gap; in fact, they are more likely to widen it. "Hungary operates one of the most selective education systems in Europe. For example, according to the PISA index of social inclusion, education is more selective in Hungary than in the overwhelming majority of European education systems or in the United States. The only other European country that has a very low capacity to compensate for disadvantages and very strong social selection at the same time is Slovakia." (Radó, 2021) In this general trend in Hungary – and in the neighbouring countries as well – the educational mobility of the Roma ethnic minority is even below the national average (Radó-Kelemen 2020).

As Table 2 (in the Annex) displays there is a general decline in the number of students due to demographic reasons, which is paired (for other reasons) with the increasingly serious shortage of teachers. (Current estimates show that about 3,500 teachers position are not filled in public - primary and secondary - education across the country) (Juhász and Vas 2021) This decline of students affected the secondary grammar schools the least, but had a greater effect on vocational education.

The educational system has a strongly segregating nature. This phenomenon has four main causes: 1) free choice of schools, which results in an immediate middle-class flight from schools that tend to have decreasing performance; 2) segregated primary schools are mostly located in segregated neighbourhoods; 3) there are 4, 6, and 8 year secondary grammar schools, so the highest performing children leave primary school after 4 or 6 years and leave the least talented/ambitious for the remaining 2-4 years; and 4) the choice between a secondary grammar school versus a vocational school that does not provide high school diploma leads to segregation in itself, as basic vocational schools pool students with the lowest grades, who can enter into some of these schools without any entry exams. These

students (mostly due to their social background) present hardships regarding their basic competencies already in primary school, and many of them struggle to follow the courses and obtain qualification.

The segregation of education is also reflected in the shift regarding the owner/administrator of educational institutions. Regarding primary schools there has been a steady growth to the present day in the number of students attending church-maintained schools. (EMMI, 2020) These schools mostly attract children with a more favourable social background, while students from a more difficult social situation remain in public schools, many of which become socially segregated. As for secondary grammar schools, nearly half of them are under church control, but unlike primary schools, this does not have a significant segregation effect.

The ability of the education system to compensate for social inequalities among youngsters was further reduced by decreasing the age limit of compulsory education from age 18 to 16 in 2012, which resulted in a decrease in number of students in the age cohort of 15-19, and increased the number of young workers. (However, most of our interviewees working in vocational schools consider this age limit decrease useful, as it practically removed absentee students from the schools, which only reduced administrative duties.)

The education system was substantially restructured after the current right-wing government was elected in 2010. First, the previously municipally owned and maintained primary education system was centralised. All educational institutions were given 'back' to the state from 1 January 2013, which was supposed to reduce differences between schools, including equalizing infrastructural background and human resources. Up until 2017 municipalities were responsible for the infrastructural maintenance of local schools, but teachers were paid centrally, and teaching methodology including compulsory school books were (and still are) developed centrally. After 2017 the education system was completely centralised, including the maintenance of schools. Only kindergartens remained at the competence of local municipalities, which consequently completely lost their ability to influence the local education system. The centralisation process has turned into a deconcentrating tendency from 2016: the schools as organisations are governed by school districts, which are tied to the "járás"). This centralisation and deconcentration process did not go hand in hand with the expansion of financial resources. The share of GDP spent on public education (primary and secondary) has been around 2% for more than a decade.¹¹

The vocational training system was also significantly restructured: from 2015 schools that provided vocational education either for young or adult students became independent from the public education system, and were integrated into so called 'vocational centres' that are currently supervised by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology. This change resulted in more freedom for the educational institutions to define courses to train, to choose

¹¹ https://www.ksh.hu/thm/2/indi2_2_2.html

educational methodology, and create closer links between the schools and companies in the market. Altogether today there are 44 Vocational Centres in the country, managing 381 schools, and providing courses in 238 professions. These centres provide dual education¹² and help the smooth transition from education to employment with the goal of bridging job market demand and the educational outcomes by providing generic education and basic professional courses at the educational institutions, while having specific, market-oriented training sessions at the premises of the employees. The government is unquestionably moving towards strengthening vocational education, and for this reason substantial scholarship programmes were put in place to attract more students: currently a scholarship is provided in the first one or two years, followed by a salary in the following years that reach up to 100% of the minimum wage by the end of the education. (Such a generic scholarship programme does not exist in secondary grammar schools.)

To tackle the phenomena of early school leaving, EU2020 directives encouraged countries to introduce new programmes. There are complex pedagogical programme packages, financed and administered by the central government (and later on built into EU financed operational programmes) that aim to support students for reaching a decent educational level: 1) 'Public educational 'HÍD' (bridging) programmes' ('Köznevelési hídprogram'); 2) 'Springboard' ('Dobbantó') programme; and 3) Orientation year programme.

'Public educational HÍD (bridging) programmes' were first introduced by the CLXXXVII 2011 Law on vocational education. (njt.hu 2011) The program is divided into Híd 1 and Híd 2 programs. Híd 1 program targets those under age 16 who were not accepted to secondary school but successfully finished primary education. The program strengthens individual abilities and competences. At the end of the program students take the entrance exam for secondary schools. Híd 2 program targets students who are age 15 or older and have finished 6 classes, but not the whole primary school. Participating students are prepared for successful entrance to vocational education. (Mogyorósi and Virág 2015) The first HÍD programmes were launched in 2013 with 1,518 student on board; this number grew above 3,000, and in 2017 was 2,373 countrywide (Szurovecz, 2017).

The *'Dobbantó ('springboard') program'*¹³ combined with *'Műhelyiskolai képzés' (Education in workshops)* was introduced in 2020 for those who do not have a completed primary education, and applies alternative ways of providing basic education and a partial profession. It is implemented in vocational centres around the country. 'Dobbantó' programme aims to compensate for missing basic competencies, further develop skills expected from employees, and support access to vocational training.

¹² Basing on the example of Germany, Austria and Switzerland, where Dual Education has been an ongoing and successful form of education.

¹³ The original „Dobbantó” programme was launched already in 2008/2009 with the aim to insert one preliminary year before the vocational training to catch up with the basic competencies of students, who are officially struggling with basic capability problems (in Hungarian: SNI).

Orientation year has been introduced to provide valuable first-hand information and experience on all the possible vocations one can study, to ensure that the hesitant students choose an appropriate field. This program is implemented only in vocational schools.

Only one programme enjoyed broad political support throughout different administrations: the János Arany Talent Support Programme. It was first launched in 2000 for students in a disadvantaged social position to support their educational pathways, providing them with the possibility to study in the best secondary schools in Hungary, and to get into tertiary education. (More on the programme will be elaborated in chapter 3).

Adult education is a currently expanding form of education. The three main goals of adult education are to help finish primary school (668 people in 2020); to obtain vocational certificate after secondary grammar school (16,933 people in 2020); and to pass the high school finishing exam (5,531 people in 2020). This form of education also has great reintegrating potential for many youngsters who dropped out of school without gaining the necessary qualifications. (From 2015 it is free of charge to attend a maximum of two specific professional educational courses for anyone.¹⁴)

The digital transformation of education has been on the table for a while now, and the COVID-19 pandemic has ultimately forced schools to switch, which resulted in many contradicting tendencies. First, several teachers have gained digital competencies, part of which can be integrated into in-person education as well. Second, 7-12% of the students in primary and secondary education might not have access to digital tools, and an additional 6-7% have limited access, most of whom have unfavourable social background. Third, online education required the active involvement of parents, whose capability to support their children in education is also highly dependent on their educational attainment and resources. All these phenomena bear a clear risk of increasing the already substantial differences between schools and students. (Polónyi, 2021)

2.1.2 Local trends and policies

As it was mentioned before, the local governments have completely lost their competence in the field of education. Consequently anything that can be considered as a local level intervention is related to the local educational and vocational centres (which are governed by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology), and to the limited room for manoeuvre of individual schools.

Pécs has a wealth of educational facilities, being a university town (with approx. 20,000 students in tertiary education, of which 4,000 are international students), but also the educational centre of the whole Baranya county. Regarding secondary education, there are 16 secondary grammar schools in Baranya county, out of which 14 are in Pécs; and 18

¹⁴ It does not mean that all the courses are free of charge for the adults. All the short term courses have fees, but most of the courses that are integrated into the public educational system can be attended free of charge. However over the age of 25 workday courses cannot be attended, only courses on weekends or on remote basis.

vocational schools,¹⁵ out of which 10 are located in the city¹⁶. The vocational schools in Pécs provide a wider range of professional profiles than the ones in the county but outside Pécs combined. Still, many potential students are trapped: due to the deficiencies of public transportation it is very problematic to commute to Pécs even from a short distance. Consequently students are forced to attend lower quality secondary schools outside the city, unless they can access – and tolerate – dormitory accommodation.

All the previously discussed country-level phenomena can be identified in Pécs as well, with some specificities:

- There are quite a few segregated primary schools inside and in the close vicinity of Pécs. This educational segregation is closely linked to spatial segregation and the high percentage of Roma pupils (most of the segregated schools are in the north-eastern part of Pécs). Despite the efforts of the local municipality (when it had competencies over primary education) this segregation tendency is constantly strengthening (Zolnay, 2010).
- There are a few NGOs in Pécs that help students mainly from the primary schools to compensate their learning difficulties in after-school programmes (in a so called 'tanoda'.¹⁷) Some of these are supported by the state, while others finance their activities from private donations. The activities of these organisations reach a few hundreds of students all over the city.
- The vocational training system is strong in Pécs thanks to its industrial past, which attracts hundreds of students from the proximity of the city. However, these schools are also strongly selective: most of the students from marginalised communities attend the same 3-4 schools, where the dropout rate is the highest. (10-15% of the students do not pass their final exam. This rate is even worse in the vocational schools outside Pécs¹⁸.) Since vocational schools have a bit more freedom than other public education schools (like primary schools and secondary grammar schools) and have a greater leeway in paying the teachers, they have better opportunities to attract trainers, provide courses, and involve private companies into their curriculum. On the other hand, the vocational training system as a whole has limited opportunities for providing practical education at industrial and service sector companies, as the economy of Pécs is rather weak and lacks medium and large enterprises, which are the typical places of practical learning in dual education.

¹⁵ The vocational centres in Pécs in most cases have three sections: one, so called 'szakgimnázium' that provide maturity, one which is called 'szakközépiskola', which provides mainly exclusively profession but not maturity, and dormitories are usually integrated in these complexes.

¹⁶ Source: https://pecsimami.hu/iskolak-ovodak-bolcsodek/kozepiskolak?teruleti_szuro=178

¹⁷ In 2018 'tanoda' programmes were included into the law 40/2018 (XII. 4.) Ministry of Human Resources (EMMI) regulation that have created conflict of interest with already existing after-school programmes.

¹⁸ Data source: interview with the representative of the Baranya County Vocational Centre

Consequently the schools themselves have to provide most of the practical classes, which weakens students' market orientation and sensitivity to market needs.

- A sort of innovative action was the establishment of a Roma national secondary grammar school in Pécs in 1994, which was the first of its kind in Hungary as well as in Europe, called Gandhi Secondary school. Since 2002 the school provides adult education as well, and was also among the first institutes to incorporate the János Arany Talent Support Program. 197 full-time students and 113 correspondence course students were expected to enrol in the academic year 2020/21.

The interviewed school directors have mentioned that students who study in Pécs but live in smaller villages could not actively join classes in the course of the Covid pandemic. There were restrictions on dormitory accommodation, and they could not join digital sessions either due to the lack of devices, limited internet access, and also due to a lack of motivation to resolve these difficulties (e.g. by sending home assignments via post, which is also costly and complicated).

2.2 Employment

2.2.1 National trends and policies

The economic activity of the population in Hungary has been continuously growing. In 2010, when the financial crisis still had a significant effect, the activity rate was 61.9%; it grew to 72.6% by 2019. The employment rate has also been continuously increasing: it grew from 57% in 2010 to 72.2% in 2019.¹⁹ While employment is seemingly significantly growing, unemployment rate has declined (3.42% in 2019) putting Hungary among the best performing countries in Europe (UPLIFT D1.3, 2020). The rate of employees with fixed term contracts has been low (6.5% in 2018) in a European comparison (UPLIFT D1.3, 2020, Greskovics – Scharle, 2018). Public employment programmes account for a significant share of fixed term contracts.

The employment rate of young people aged 15-29 has significantly declined and unemployment increased as a result of the financial crisis in 2008. This was followed by a quick recovery by 2016. Still, the younger generation has a much more precariat situation in the labour market than other age groups: the unemployment rate of young people between the age of 15-24 was around 27% in 2010 (while this rate was about 10% in other age groups), and reduced to 9% in 2018 (while the rate was around 3% for the remaining age groups).

Rate of NEET youth also decreased rapidly (from around 18% in 2012 to 13% in 2018), although the rate of female NEET is still high (18.6%) (UPLIFT D1.3). Fixed term contracts are much more prevalent among young workers than in the whole working age population (17% compared to 6.5%) (Greskovics – Scharle, 2018).

¹⁹ Among people aged 15-64

The overall favourable employment trends are mostly the results of the most prosperous decade of the Hungarian economy between 2010-2020, which is characterised by a general economic boom all over Europe and the intense influx of EU funds.

The Covid pandemic seems to have a temporary impact on the job market. Even though surveys (Bíró-Nagy-Szászi, 2021) show that about 800,000 people lost their job due to the pandemic by March 2021 – however, many of them may have found another one – and about 40% of these people experienced reduction in their income, employment returned close to its 2019 levels by 2021: the unemployment rate was 3.9% in July 2021, and the employment rate was 74.2%.²⁰ On the other hand the Covid pandemic also had a more serious effect on youth: while the overall unemployment rate only slightly increased and went back to the standards of 2019 by the mid-2021, the youth unemployment rate remained on 14-15% (Central Statistical office, quarterly unemployment data).

Unemployment is fairly low, although the statistics hide many of the structural problems of the labour market, like:

- There are huge differences between the regions of Hungary, and between urban and rural areas. (There are urban areas in the most developed western part of Hungary where the unemployment rate is below 1%, while in remote rural areas it can be over 15%.)
- There are big differences between mainstream employment and the employment of marginalised groups, like the Roma population. According to the Central Statistical Office, 55% of the men and 36% of women in the Roma population was employed in the age group of 15-64 in 2017, while this rate was 76% and 62% respectively in the non-Roma population (Scharle, 2018).
- There are several forms of employment that increase vulnerability. This does not necessarily mean fixed term contracts or contracts for definite periods (which are underrepresented in the Hungarian market compared to other EU countries), but also hired staff in a contractual relation not with the company they are working for, but with a labour force agency. These employees have much weaker legal protection, and have less favourable working conditions than those with proper employment contracts. (There were about 130,000 people contracted by labour force agencies in 2015.) (Jogpontok.hu, 2021)
- It is quite widespread to have an official (reported) workload and salary below the real one, for partial tax evasion. The difference between the official and the actual salary is paid in cash, which does not generate contribution to the worker's old pension. (34% of the employees in the private sector earn minimum wage or less in Hungary.) (Portfolio.hu, 2021)

²⁰ Hungarian Central Statistical Office

- Many of the unemployed are working in the grey economy. One of the reasons for choosing this employment form is not to have official income, from which certain obligations (e.g. utility debts) could be deducted.
- Even though the employment indicators are quite favourable, and the average income is also relatively acceptable (approx. EUR 840 net in April 2021), there is a big difference between the median and average income (the net median income was approx. 630 EUR in April 2021), which means that high end salaries strongly influence the average, while most of the society earns a moderate income.
- Moderate unemployment and a strong demand for labour are present at the same time, increasing the structural problems in the labour market. High demand is mainly limited to vocationally trained workers and IT professionals.

Passive job market measures

The period of receiving unemployment benefit was decreased from 9 to 3 months in 2012.²¹ The benefit is tied to the former salary of the client; more precisely to the social tax he/she has paid, but cannot exceed the minimum wage (which is about net 293-383 EUR/month). The conditions for receiving unemployment benefit is to have an employment (or entrepreneurial) contract for a period of 360 days, or full time (8 hour per day) employment in the last three years.

Active job market programmes

Active job market programmes aim to alleviate the mismatch between the demand and supply sides of the job market by providing support for individuals for improving their marketable skills and competences, while contributing to a better re-distribution of work force in line with macro level economic demand (Kóti, 2020). Among these programmes, we analyse public work in depth in this section, as it has been an actively used measure in Hungary, and it would not be an exaggeration to claim that it has been the most significant employment programme of the last decade (Kóti, 2020; Gerő – Vigvári, 2019; Varga, 2015). Public work programs originally aimed to support the transition to the primary job market by providing mainly low qualified, easy to fulfil protected working spaces in the public sector.

The rate of public workers as a percentage of registered jobseekers increased in all regions of Hungary until 2016, when it reached its peak (81.3%) and started dropping, eventually decreasing to 56% in 2018. (A significant amendment in 2017 introduced a minimum age of 25 for being eligible for public work. By this time nearly 19,000 young people were in public works.) Public works is the most intensively used in rural areas; in some remote settlements public work is the most prevalent form of employment. The net wage in public work is about 160 EUR/month for full-time employment for people with primary education. It can go up to 230 EUR/month for a team leader (in 2021). These amounts are far below the minimum

²¹ Before 2012 there were different types of unemployment benefits; the most widely applied version could be received for 270 days.

wage, but two-three times higher than the basic social benefit. There are constant debates around the topic of public works as it seems to be inefficient in directing people toward the primary job market,²² while it nonetheless instils a culture of working in remote areas where generations grew up in unemployment since 1989, and provides a very modest livelihood. From 2012 there were different programmes financed from EU funds that aimed to improve the basic competencies of public workers to make them capable to enter the primary job market. (Between 2012-2018 nearly 300,000 people participated in these.)

The involvement of young people in public works is an issue to analyse in itself. From 2013, when the age limit of compulsory education was decreased from 18 to 16 years, the number of children aged 16-17 in public work increased dramatically (many quit school to earn money as a public worker), from 600 in 2012 to nearly 6,000 in 2016. This is why the age limit for public works was increased to 25 in 2017. 80% of the young public workers below the age of 20 had maximum primary education (Molnár, 2018).

The young generation has specific problems in the job market – namely, transferring from school to job – that requires special attention. (In 2019, 38% of the registered unemployed were aged 15-29, while 62% were aged 30-64 in Hungary.) This was recognised by the European Union by establishing the Youth Guarantee Programme (YGP) in response to the realization that long-term unemployment at an early age has lasting negative effects on employment possibilities in the future. Countries have taken on the responsibility to provide job offers for people under 25 who have just finished their education. A new element of the program is that NEET youth is guaranteed to get early and substantive support from the authorities, for which the EU provides financial tools (Krekó – Molnár – Scharle, 2018). From 2015 to 2018 approximately 54,000 young adults got subsidy for their wages; 28,000 received training; and about 17,000 got both in Hungary.

In 2015-2017 nearly 50% of the registered unemployed under the age of 25 benefited from a job market intervention and the other half left the registration without any interventions. Nonetheless, experts claim that YGP hardly affected NEET and undereducated young people, so there is a recognized necessity to fine-tune the targeting of the programme (Krekó – Molnár – Scharle, 2018: 108).

Another rather significant trend that improved unemployment figures was the out-migration of the Hungarian workforce, either for short or long term. Although one would assume that the migrant workforce consists of people who speak languages and have high qualifications, in reality the share of migrant workers with vocational training rapidly grows, while the share of university degree holders decreases. Comparing NUTS2 regions, a more rapidly growing number of young people move to abroad for work from Southern Transdanubia, which includes Pécs, than from other regions (Hárs – Simon, 2018).

²² Moving to the primary job market is still not a viable option for most workers in public employment, even though they receive a special allowance (a job placement allowance, 'elhelyezkedési juttatás') if they leave public work within a month and are contracted by an employer in the primary job market.

Besides targeting the young generation there are numerous active employment measures financed from EU funds, e.g. targeting the trade unions to increase working competencies of their members, programmes for employers to support the training of employees, for young mothers to co-finance the fees at the nurseries, and for youngsters to start their own business.

2.2.2 Local trends and policies

The financial crisis also affected Pécs and its neighbourhood, which resulted in rising unemployment level and lowering activity rates after 2008, but by the end of the 2010s economic indicators were more favourable than before the crisis (e.g. the unemployment rate in Baranya county was 8% before the crisis, 14.35% in 2012, and only 6.6% in 2019).

As was mentioned in chapter 1, there is a significant difference between Pécs and its surrounding, which is predominantly rural and has substantial remote areas with poor public transportation to Pécs.

The employment indicators of Pécs (e.g. the share of employed among people aged 20-64 was 73.1% in 2016) are comparable to other major Hungarian cities. A key difference, however, is that about half of the employment positions are in education and public services, and the share of market based companies is relatively low, which results in somewhat lower average wages, and higher share of low paid employees compared to other major cities. Our interviews with experts and vulnerable youngsters also underline that currently there are enough job opportunities in the city and its surroundings in terms of quantity: practically everyone can find a job who wants to. What rather a major concern for the youngsters is to find a job, which provides a decent payment and proper working conditions. Labour market fluctuation is high due to low wages and poor working conditions on the employees' side; and due to the low skill and competency level of workers on the employers' side.

Public works are less common in Pécs "járás" than in other areas of Baranya county. The rate of public workers – compared to the registered jobseekers – was 18.41% in 2019. These people are mostly employed by the municipal company, which implement the maintenance of municipal properties ('Elszámoló Ház'), and the company that processes recycled waste (Biokom Kft.) (HEP 2018-2023)

Regarding the structure of the registered unemployed in Pécs "járás" the number of unemployed over the age of 50 is three times higher than those below 25 – the vast majority of them are starting their careers. Of course the overall number of the economically active is also lower below 25, but even taking it into consideration it is visible that people have at least as much problems with their employment in their last active years as in their early career.

The major actor in the field of active labour market policies in Pécs is the Baranya County Government Office (Baranya Megyei Kormányhivatal). The Office implements central programmes that provide 1) trainings for job seekers, and 2) subsidies for employers for

hiring the registered unemployed. These programmes are generally financed from European Union funds, and are structured under different operational programmes (e.g. Economic Development Operational Programme, Territorial Development Operational Programme, Social Development Operational Programme).

As part of the local employment policy all around Hungary, each county and the "járás" of county seats (like Pécs) had the chance to participate in the creation of a local pact that aims to support the most disadvantaged in the labour market (e.g. undereducated, fresh graduates under age 30, people above 50, people (especially women) returning to the labour market from maternity leave, social allowance recipients, the disabled, workers in public work and inactive people) to be employed in the primer job market. The organisation of these pacts dates back to the early 2010s.

There is currently a Pécs Pact as well, covering Pécs "járás" with the partnership of four institutions: The Municipality of Pécs, Baranya County Government Office (Baranya Megyei Kormányhivatal), Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Malta ('MALTA'), and Urban Development Company of Pécs (Pécsi Városfejlesztési Nzrt). For the implementation there is a budget of EUR 6 million for the planned two phases (I. 2016-2019; II. 2019-2021). The roles in the implementation of the Pact are the following:

- Pécs Municipality: sustaining the network, creating strategic documents, organising seminars and conferences.
- Baranya County Government Office: providing trainings, providing allowances to help starting employment (covering the salary of new workers for 3, 4, or 6 months in case the employment is retained for additional 3-6 months), providing information on vacancies, linking employers and candidates, helping starting new businesses.
- MALTA: recruitment of participants and ensuring that they stay in the programme. The Pact has a great emphasis on the Eastern part of Pécs, which is the socially most marginalised area of the city, where MALTA has strong activities.
- Urban Development Company of Pécs: Organising the operation of the Pact, communication and website management.

The two phases of the project may have reached about 1,500 people, about 5-6% of which were at the same employer 6 months after the compulsory employment period. In addition, thousands of people obtained assistance outside the Pact, from the standard measures of the Government County Office. These numbers can be regarded as relevant if we consider that in this area (Pécs "járás") the number of registered unemployed is about 3,500-4,000.

The innovation of the Pact lays in its networking potential, linking the demand and supply sides of the labour market. In addition, MALTA charity organisation is a crucial actor, actively seeking out vulnerable inhabitants in Pécs járás who are not even registered job seekers, and try to involve them into different programmes. This type of activity is crucially missing from the public employment service system. The current government system is rigid, excludes innovation, and concentrates on spending the funds without trying to create connections to

the most excluded, and to find tailor made solutions. The Government Office acts like an authority rather than a service provider. This was a major observation of the young people we interviewed, and was also expressed by local actors. As one of them said: *“The Government Office has to stick to legislations, which does not allow to pilot innovative actions, to create flexible, tailor made solutions.”* The registered unemployed with courage and ambition can benefit from the current system; but marginalised people with low levels of self-esteem and motivations fall out of it.

2.3 Housing

2.3.1 National trends and policies

The housing finance system in the post-socialist countries collapsed following the political-economic transition of 1989-90, resulting in distorted housing regimes (Csizmady – Hegedüs – Vonnák 2018). From then until the financial crisis, experts differentiate three main stages of housing policy in Hungary. The first stage (1990-1994) aimed to eliminate the ‘socialist’ housing system mainly through privatizing the state owned stock, which was transferred to the local municipalities. (About a quarter of the housing stock was in public ownership in 1989. By 2019, 90.9% was owner occupied, 4.3% rented out on the market, and only 3.7% was publicly owned and rented out at a reduced price.²³) In the second stage (1995-2000) the new system’s main institutions and tools were set up especially in the financial sector and in the housing market, such as mortgage banks and Housing Savings Banks. The third stage, before the financial crisis, saw the re-emergence of active housing policy making. It started with a declaration of a new housing policy by the government, which contained two main types of programmes: 1) supporting the construction of new municipal rental stock, and 2) introducing a new housing mortgage system to improve the credit access of lower income households (Hegedüs, 2006). The increase of the municipal stock did not achieve a breakthrough, as it only resulted in the construction of 712 additional flats between 2000-2005.

Mortgage lending, on the other hand, increased significantly after 2000, and was further boosted by the replacement of subsidized Hungarian Forint (HUF) based mortgages with foreign currency (FX) backed loans. This, however, led to a drastic increase of instalment amounts due to the Financial Crisis in 2008 (Csizmady-Hegedüs-Vonnák, 2018; Dancsik et al., 2015). Numerous different measures were introduced to assist households to alleviate the mortgage burden, in many cases preventing the loss of housing. Three major programmes among these were 1) the Early FX loan repayment scheme (2011-2012) that allowed to repay part of the loan in a lump sum, eliminating the remaining amount; 2) a rent-to-own scheme (2012-2017) through the newly established National Asset Management Company (NAMC), which took over foreclosed homes en masse at a regulated price, and turned them into social rentals (by 2021 the vast majority of these were resold to the original owners at a

²³ Central Statistical Office

preferential price); and 3) an FX loan exchange rate cap scheme (2012-2017) (Hegedüs – Somogyi, 2017).

Although the state housing policy has been quite openly targeted to support the middle class and largely ignores vulnerable households, the crisis management showed a different approach with using significant amount of resources rescuing those who were seriously hit by the consequences of the Great Financial Crisis. Despite the state measures, the financial crisis and the recovery period had a great impact on the housing market. First, the recovery period has seen a steep increase in housing costs, not accompanied by a comparable increase in incomes, significantly affecting not only the lowest income groups but also lower-middle class households; and second, another massive housing-related debts (including utility cost arrears) have been accumulating across wide segments of the population (Hegedüs – Somogyi – 2017).

In the recovery period, house prices increased more rapidly than net incomes, thus less households are able to afford ownership, especially those without family support, and especially in big cities such as Pécs. (The down-payment of loans creates the biggest burden, as instalments have recently been becoming more affordable: even in 2021 the HUF mortgage interest rates are below 5%, which is equal to the current inflation rate.) The effects of the financial crisis are still visible on the housing market: in 2005, 50% of young adults aged 18-34 lived with their parents, while this rate rose to 62% in 2019 (the average age of moving out of the family home is 27).

A housing allowance to compensate for housing cost overburden was introduced in 1993, and further adjusted in 2004: 90% of the amount was provided by the state and 10% by the local municipalities. In 2011 municipalities gained more freedom on regulating the eligibility criteria. The scale of the program was quite significant, in total 454,866 households (Habitat, 2015) received a small housing allowance between 2004-2014. In 2015 the central funding of the allowance was abolished, and the responsibility to operate (or not) a housing allowance system was placed entirely on local municipalities without getting any compensation or funding from the state. Habitat for Humanity Hungary compared 31 municipalities' local regulation on housing allowance after 2015. Only one of them maintained the original subsidy amount. The remaining 30 reduced the subsidy amount, and the system became less targeted to the most vulnerable households. (KSH, 2020)

A debt management programme had been in place since 2003, with a much lower funding than the housing allowance. The programme provided counselling and debt repayment services, with a funding arrangement similar to the housing allowance scheme until 2015: 90% was paid by the state and 10% by the local municipality. In 2013 approximately 10,000 households were assisted by this program. From 2015, debt management services were also fully delegated to local municipalities, with no central state funding (Kováts, 2015). These changes deepened already existing territorial differences: better-off municipalities have more substantial financial means to provide at least some financial support related to housing,

while lower income municipalities with poorer inhabitants overall have much more limited means (Hegedüs et al., 2019).

In reality, neither the housing allowance, nor the debt management programmes have substantial effect on reducing the housing cost burden. About 1 out of 6 Hungarian households have utility arrears, which leads to approx. 3,000 foreclosures per year (Habitat, 2020).

The state practically fully withdrew from housing allowance and debt management, although it did introduce a noteworthy new regulation: the freezing of utility prices for all inhabitants from 2013, covering gas, electricity, water, and district heating. It resulted in stable and relatively low utility prices, which became independent from the market prices. (In the first few years this freezing did generate savings for the citizens. Later the frozen prices were higher than the world market prices, and it was the state who benefited; more recently the internal prices are again well below market prices.) This indirect subsidy is provided for everyone who uses utilities, regardless of the income level; conversely, it not provided for solid fuels, which are primarily used by marginalised rural households.

A grant for the construction and purchase of new housing was provided by the state from 1994 to 2009 (called 'szocpol', short for 'social policy benefit' in Hungarian) for families with children, and couples planning to start a family. It was terminated at the time of the Great Financial Crisis, then reintroduced in different forms; its current form was first introduced in 2015, in Government Decree 16/2016 (ii.10.). This is the Family Home Allowance (FHA) scheme, which aims to help families buy newly built housing with the intention to boost the housing market as well as the birth rate (ÁSZ, 2019; Pósfai-Bródy, 2020). The grant is available for families (married couples) with stable employment and income, and enough savings for mortgage down-payment. The system has also an age dimension: at least one of the couple must be under 40. Since its introduction, further elements were added to the programme; for instance, after producing three or more children, the repayable mortgage is reduced or the benefit can also be used for existing housing, but only at a lower grant amount. The Rural Family Housing Allowance programme was introduced in May 2019 as part of the Hungarian Village Program (Magyar Falu Program), targeting rural areas and small settlements; it is set to last until June 2022. The grant is accessible for buying a home in small settlements with a population below 5,000 and has been shrinking in the decade prior to the purchase (ÁSZ, 2019; Hegedüs et al., 2019). This state programme is the most relevant one in the functional urban area of Pécs, outside the city, as there are many settlements that fulfil the criteria (small and declining population), and the support level for the families is a substantial help (depending on the size of the building and the number of children, the grant ranges between EUR 1,700 and 28,500). On the other hand, it is important to note that these settlements have poor public transportation, thus moving to these areas may result in segregation from mainstream educational, cultural and working opportunities.

Another form of family support was introduced in January 2021, covering half of the home renovation costs up to 8,500 EUR (HUF 3 million) for families with children.

2.3.2 Local trends and policies

Pécs's housing stock is quite large compared to other bigger cities, altogether 72,037 dwellings are located in the city, among which only 64,795 are occupied (2011 census data). 87% of the dwellings were owner occupied in 2011 according to census data, while the rest were rented out. The municipality of Pécs owns 3,926 dwellings (2020), which is a relatively high number compared to other cities, but is still only 5.5% of the housing stock. 417 municipally owned housing units are vacant, of which only 19 are actually in a habitable condition. (There are practically no social rental units in the FUA outside Pécs.)

The housing affordability crisis reached Pécs as well as the whole country, in line with international trends. According to the Housing Market Report of the Hungarian National Bank, Pécs is the only city where the house price to income ratio did not decrease in 2020. The house price to income ratio – the number of years a person should save up its full salary to buy a home outright - for a 75 m² apartment, based on national average income, was 12 in Budapest in 2020, a little more than 8 years in Pécs, while it was 12 in Debrecen, 8.5 in Győr and 7 years in Miskolc (MNB, 2021:19). This ratio was somewhat lower during the financial crisis and the subsequent recession.

Countrywide, market rents are varying widely (from about 7 EUR/m² in Budapest to 5 EUR in other big cities, and about 4.5 EUR in Pécs – 2018). These numbers seem very affordable in a European comparison, but they are high in relation to the average income in Hungary (about 630 EUR/month net in 2018 for a full-time employee). University cities have higher average rent levels compared to the region in which they are located.

In cities with low economic potential, housing tends to be more affordable. However, in the case of Pécs university students have a strong impact, as their number is rather high compared to the number of residents (approx.. 20-22,000 compared to 140,000). Consequently the affordability problem affects not only the most marginalised but the middle-class as well, such as civil servants. As one of the experts stated, *'We experience that finding an adequate housing solution gets more and more difficult for the most vulnerable people. Pécs is a university city, there are thousands of foreign students, so the local housing stock shifted towards the goal of renting out the higher quality flats for higher rent, so a local Roma family is excluded, especially with more kids, even if they would be able to pay.'*

The local social housing policy has been inconsistent for decades. On the one hand, the social housing stock generates massive losses every year, not only because the social rent level is much lower than the cost of maintenance,²⁴ but also due to widespread non-payment among social tenants. Often, non-payment is a consequence of poverty; but incentives for

²⁴ According to the local municipal decree 44/2012 the social rent level depends on the size and the value of the apartment. The latter is a complex indicator based on different parameters (e.g. comfort level, location, state of the building). It is further modified by the social status of the tenant. In general, the social rent level is about 15-25% of the market rent.

regular payment are also defective. Legal consequences are unpredictable due to the inefficient and inconsistent rental housing operation and debt management of the municipality, which also includes a lack of basic knowledge about the stock and the tenants. (It turned out from our interviews with tenants that in many cases a dwelling is occupied not by the household with a tenancy right; in addition, sub-letting is also widespread.) All actors have known these problems for many years, but many are afraid that a substantial change in housing management would reveal that there are major problems not only with the administration of the housing stock,²⁵ but also with its limited size and poor state of repair. Any in-depth solution would require huge funds from the city, as there are practically no central state funding available to support the local housing systems.

The latest Local Housing Policy was published in 2008. The local government (a more left-leaning coalition which replaced the previous conservative leadership in 2019) announced the opening of a wide discourse and organized roundtables around a new housing policy, but after its inception in 2020 the process seems to have hit a dead end. Nonetheless, a new housing concept has been under preparation focusing on establishing the financial sustainability for the management of public housing, which also means it will reduce its social nature.

There are two programmes that were originally mostly financed by the state, but as of 2015 were completely delegated to local governments: 1) housing allowance and 2) debt management programmes. Housing allowance is regulated by a local decree, according to which housing allowance is allocated for one year (6 months if the beneficiary has no verifiable income). The maximum monthly income level for eligibility cannot exceed 200-250% of the old age pension minimum – approx. EUR 80 – and the amount of the benefit is between EUR 7 to 8.5 – an insignificant amount. The number of households receiving housing allowance in Pécs has dramatically decreased from about 10,000 in 2013 to 2,200 in 2017 (Local Equal Opportunity Plan 2018-2023).

The debt management programme practically disappeared from 2015. It was never very generous regarding its conditions, but after 2015 only a few dozen households received it at all. As an example: between 2005 and 2010 a pilot programme was implemented as an addition to the debt management programme. This pilot (Housing accompaniment programme, 'Lakaskísérés program'²⁶) was based on a Dutch example and was implemented by the youth support NGO "Ifjúságért Egyesület" aiming to prevent the loss of housing due to indebtedness. The program assisted families who accumulated housing debts above HUF 300,000 (approx. EUR 1,200) for a maximum of 3 years. According to both the utility companies and the municipality the programme worked very well as it provided complex

²⁵ The number of employees in the housing department of the municipality was decreased to 8, which is reportedly a very small number of people for managing 4,000 flats.

²⁶ <http://www.ifjusagertegyesulet.hu/Lakaskiseresi-program>

assistance. The program was reintroduced by MALTA Charity Service, which recently built it into its social rehabilitation programme.

An additional problem with the municipally owned housing stock is that most of it is located in segregated urban neighbourhoods, thus even when one becomes vacant, it is not easy to find tenants who accept the environment.

Segregation is an important issue in the urban and housing domain (as mentioned in chapter 1). In order to handle this problem, complex rehabilitation programmes were started in the city focusing on the segregated areas, already in 2007. The rehabilitation process was accelerated with the involvement of EU cohesion policy funds from 2012. From this year onwards the city submitted tenders for funding for social rehabilitation on all possible occasions, consequently it implemented social rehabilitation programmes in three waves, for a total budget of about EUR 8 million. Most of the activities concentrated on the eastern part of the city, which contains most of the segregated neighbourhoods. The interventions included the demolition of 38 social dwellings, the purchase of 34 dwellings, and the renovation of 139 municipal flats. The housing interventions also included the relocation of some families into less segregated, but still stigmatized areas of Pécs. Besides these housing measures soft interventions were also implemented (e.g. educational, community building, job assistance, and drug prevention programmes). (Homepage of Pfv Zrt)

For the most part, the local municipality cooperated with its own municipal social service providers in these programmes, while the most stable external partner was MALTA, which participated in all of the programmes.

The main outcome of these rehabilitation programmes (besides the improved living conditions for a limited number of beneficiaries) was to finance NGOs that became involved in the everyday life of local citizens, to some extent replacing municipal social services, which struggle with a shortage of capacities anyway. According to the local social experts the interventions mainly improved the job opportunities of the targeted families and somewhat improved the overall situation, but the segregation process is still prevalent, and the interventions so far did not result in a major breakthrough.

2.4 Social protection

2.4.1 National trends and policies

It has always been a critical question whose primary responsibility it is to guarantee the social security of citizens. Before 2011 social security was defined as a basic right to be provided by the state. The Constitution²⁷ as amended in 2011 clearly changes this previously accepted approach: the state aims, but is not obliged, to provide security. Thus, since 2011,

²⁷ The Constitution was renamed the Fundamental Law of Hungary in 2011

the government has undoubtedly been delegating more responsibility to individual citizens and their families.

Regarding social allowances, up until the 2010s two types of support existed in parallel: normative (stipulated by law) and fairness based (allocated by individual assessment). Local municipalities were responsible for the latter, which created a highly unequal system: better-off municipalities could provide more, while lower income municipalities could obviously provide less. This outcome was recognized and some fairness based benefits were phased out. Another governmental aspiration was to reduce central support and delegate responsibilities “back” to households (Mózer – Tausz – Varga, 2015).

The system of social benefits was completely restructured again in 2015, after numerous previous modifications. Some benefits are currently provided and administered by *járás* level, which is a deconcentrated level of the central state. These allowances became independent from local municipal policy, while other benefits that were previously mostly financed by the state (e.g. housing allowance and debt management subsidy) were completely delegated to local municipalities without providing the necessary financial resources. This again means that better-off locations gain more room for manoeuvre.

In the last decade the nominal value of most of the centrally provided benefits did not change, thus the real value decreased sharply. (For instance the regular universal child benefit, currently approx. 35 EUR/child/month; basic social benefit, currently approx. 65 EUR/month; the minimal amount of old-age pension, to which many other social benefits are tied, approx. 80 EUR/month). Still, indicators related to poverty and deprivation have improved or stagnated in the last decade – except during the financial crisis: for example, between 2007 and 2018 the at-risk-of-poverty rate remained below the EU average; and the rate of severe material deprivation decreased, although it is still worse than the EU average. These results are not rooted in the social system, which became quite marginal next to other policy fields, but rather from the overall economic recovery, the large scale public work programme, tax deductions for families with children, and the overall cap on utilities.

As in other policy fields, e.g. education and healthcare, the allocation of resources became centralized in social services (or deconcentrated to governmental authorities on *járás* level). In addition, resources are allocated by organisation and not by tasks, so the real cost of services cannot be promptly assessed. Experts find it rather challenging to tell whether the budget covers the goals sufficiently or if services are overbudgeted (Czibere – Mester, 2020 and Mózer, 2020). In 2020 approximately 0.7% of the GDP was allocated to the social service system.

Table 3 (in the Annex) shows the distribution of beneficiaries in institutional social care among different actors. The significance of local municipalities has visibly decreased dramatically, while all other actors gained importance, resulting a quite heterogeneous maintenance system.

Municipalities have had a much greater role previously, which significantly decreased over the years. Besides, due to sustainability and economies of scale considerations, smaller municipalities are encouraged by law to create co-operations, joining to the service provision system of bigger towns or cities. For this reason, many social services are provided under subregional associations (“kistérségi társulás”).

There is a severe shortage of capacities in the social system both on the local and the state level, as social sector employees are among the lowest paid workers in Hungary.

The social system, even in its limited form, is targeted to:

- The registered unemployed, although the unemployment benefit was decreased significantly both in terms of the subsidy amount and the duration of eligibility (it is currently 3 months).
- People with disabilities, who are eligible for certain allowances, although mostly at a very low amount (ranging between EUR 90-460/month); eligibility criteria are heavily monitored.
- People caring for chronically ill family members: the benefit amount is very low, although it was recently increased for recipients caring for their chronically ill child to approx. EUR 350/month.
- Pensioners with long-term health conditions: day care centres for pensioners are operated by local municipalities, while the institutional service provision for pensioners’ homes is provided mostly by the state or other service providers. There is a general shortage of places in these institutions.
- Families of vulnerable children. From 2016 the formerly split child protection and family protection services were integrated in all localities, which resulted in a more holistic approach (unfortunately, little attention is given to vulnerable people without children).
- The foster care system, which is covered by the state, some NGOs (like SOS Children’s Villages), and the church has been gaining more importance. The decision of taking a child from the family to foster care is made by the authorities on the district level.

Young adults are not specified as a target group of social services, unless they have children, are in foster care, or have disabilities.

At the beginning of 2022 new interventions are expected to be introduced that can be considered welfare interventions (although they may also be in direct connection with the parliamentary elections in 2022):

- 13th month pension for 2021, to be distributed in February 2022;
- full personal income tax reimbursement for 2021 to families with children;
- the elimination of personal income tax for young people below the age of 24.

2.4.2 Local trends and policies

As previously mentioned, centralisation has also taken place in the social sector, leaving limited functions to local municipalities. These local functions are implemented by the Cultural and Social Department of Pécs Municipality through the supervision of the following entities:

- Territorial social centres (there are three of them), which are responsible for the distribution of local social allowances;
- Lajos Esztergár Family Care and Child Protection Services, with seven branches;
- Temporary shelter for families;
- Daily centres of pensioners, home care services, and 2 pensioners' homes;
- Kindergartens (five institutions with local branches); and
- Nurseries.

The scope of responsibility of the institutions providing social services – family care and pensioner care – covers not only the city but its neighbouring villages as well (42 settlements outside Pécs).

Territorial social centres

The three territorial centres distribute the social allowances (the ones that remained in place after 2015, when the allowance system was reorganised). They have to follow the local regulations and are bound by the annual budget of the municipality. The three centres cover different territories of the city, which have different characteristics (one of them covers more marginalized urban areas with a high share of Roma population, another includes large housing estates, and the third has a mixed area of the inner city and its environment). Despite the differences among their clients, one phenomenon is quite common: social problems appear to be inherited from generation to generation. The main issue with regards to social allowances is their limited amount (e.g. housing allowances typically amount to 5-8 EUR/month; the debt management service is not available any more; an extraordinary social allowance of EUR 15-20 may be allocated on a case basis; the medicine allowance is 8.5 EUR) and low maximum eligibility periods. These amounts do not provide substantial help, only small complements to maintaining the everyday life of vulnerable people. There is an ongoing contradiction in the allowance system: the allowance is low, thus it does not help much in covering the basic needs; but if the income of the family grows somewhat, they lose their eligibility, resulting in a poverty trap. This problem is the most crucial for pensioners, who can hardly be expected to return to the job market. As a consequence, the number of social allowance recipients decreases as incomes and pensions slowly grow, while the eligibility thresholds do not follow the inflation, thus more and more people are falling out of the allowance system. As one of the interviewees said: *"This social system does not provide great support to the families; a few thousand Forints does not mean the same support it meant 8-10 years ago"*.

Pécs municipality has room for manoeuvre to define the amount of the local allowances. However, these are kept low, significantly lower than in other major Hungarian cities, due to constraints on the local budget. (Interestingly enough, there usually are remaining funds in the budget lines for social allowances at the end of the fiscal year as a result of the very cautious financial planning.)

The clients of the social allowance system are mostly pensioners, and inactive working age people. Young people are not in the focus of the social services; however, interviewees indicated a trend where the average age of new clients appeared to be decreasing. According to our interviewees, young people tend to have families at a younger age mainly in the segregated neighbourhoods of the city.

Lajos Esztergár Family Care and Child Protection Service

Family care and child protection organisations functioned independent from each other until 1 January 2016, when they had to be integrated according to the law. The Esztergár Centre provides family care services for the city and part of the FUA of Pécs. It contains seven branches, four in Pécs and three in the agglomeration. The role of the services is to provide direct help to families in need, provide them information, and direct them towards allowances, service providers (e.g. job centres on *járás* level), and NGOs. The Centre also operates a temporary shelter for children.

After the institutional integration process was implemented in 2016, clients tended to be mostly families with children (children, parents, and grandparents), thus individuals without children are somewhat left out. The most common issue for which the clients turn to the centre is about housing, either in a direct (to find affordable housing) or indirect sense (to manage the psychological consequences of an overcrowded home).

The intensity of the direct services provided by the centre is constantly decreasing, but their administrative and authority tasks are increasing. They rather serve as an intermediary between different authorities and professionals working for municipal institutions – e.g. a psychologist -, NGOs, and the clients.

One of the biggest problems these services have (besides having shortage of labour force due to their low salaries and the limited possibilities of the social and housing system they can offer to their clients) is that they are widely considered to be part of the administrative system rather than social support providers, thus their clients are somewhat distrustful towards them. The real social work is currently carried out by NGOs, whose financial status is very insecure and depends highly on EU financed social programmes. (In the last 10-15 years the role of NGOs increased significantly, while public social assistance has decreased.)

Temporary shelter for families

It is mandatory for cities over 30,000 inhabitants to operate a temporary shelter for families. (Besides these, there are temporary shelters for families maintained by governmental organisations as well.)

In Pécs the temporary shelter organisation has a facility for accommodating 40 persons, and external placements for 77 people.

There are legal obligations for these temporary shelters (e.g. that the maximum duration of stay for a family is 1.5 years), but within these obligations there is room for manoeuvre for the organisations themselves, mainly regarding the rules of co-habitation and the way of assisting vulnerable families in their everyday life. Most clients in these shelters are coming from the foster care, and as they start their own family without having a stable family and home background, they need strong social assistance. Consequently the vast majority of clients are below 29 years old, and mostly undereducated.

The biggest problem these shelters face is their limited capacity, the fact that the complex problems of the families cannot be solved within 1.5 years, and the lack of social rental homes or supported private rental housing to establish the exit strategy of the beneficiaries.

As to sum up: the social protection system concentrates on families with children, old age pensioners, and the working age unemployed. No special youth focus or youth work is undertaken in any of the responsible organisations.

3 Innovative post-crisis policies

Experts claim that the Hungarian education system is so rigid that any attempt at change could count as source of innovation (Bíró, 2015). The programme we have chosen to briefly analyse as an innovative measure is the János Arany Talent Support Programme. The reason for choosing this programme as an innovative measure is that besides its general innovative nature it provides the framework for micro-innovations in the education system as well. The other reason for the choice was that we believe that this programme focuses on one of the most crucial drivers of educational inequalities, namely that the choice of secondary school greatly influences the later possibilities of entering tertiary education, which is proven to be strongly related to family background (Csákó et al., 1998²⁸). By the time a student reaches the possibility of applying for tertiary education, societal selection criteria 'has already done their job' in early childhood socialization and during elementary school studies, which indirectly affects the students' capabilities and choices (Csákó et al 1998).

Based on these evidences, the János Arany Talent Support Programme (AJP) was launched in 2000, financed from the state budget. The program was initiated by the Ministry of Education as an experiment to help students coming from disadvantaged families and/or living in disadvantaged areas to learn in the best secondary schools of the country.

- First the programme operated as a talent management programme that provided a one year preparation before entering secondary school (e.g. language courses, mathematics, computer use, communication, learning methodology) and dormitory placement. The aim was to assist students mostly coming from small villages in remote areas in entering tertiary education. These students attend normal secondary education after the preparatory year, but their school career is constantly assisted by tutors and mentors mostly in the form of after school courses in the dormitories. (This is why dormitory is compulsory for these students.)
- Then, from 2004, a new sub-programme was launched that concentrated on the dormitories themselves. In these dormitories (11 of them) the students are living within the same group, while they attend different secondary schools. They also participate in preparatory courses before entering secondary school. This programme seems to be quite similar to the previously mentioned one, but it has a stronger social support dimension, and the emphasis is on compensating for learning difficulties rather than on talent management. The goal of this programme is to help students to get a secondary school diploma.
- From 2007 another sub-programme was added to the János Arany Talent Support programme, targeting students in vocational education. The aim of the programme was to help students to obtain a profession. The dormitory plays a key role in this

²⁸ Csákó Mihály et al. (1998): A felsőfokú továbbtanulás meghatározói 1998-ban. Budapest, ELTE Szociológiai és Szociálpolitikai Intézet.

programme, but the complex development of the students is implemented according to an 'individual development plan' which is assisted by the teachers and teaching assistants, and also involves the family.

At the end of 2017, 2,508 students took part in the original programme, 921 students participated in the "dormitory" programme, while and 428 students were in the vocational school sub-programme.

As for the current target group of the programme, students can apply if they are 1) legally enrolled in 8th grade and are applying for 9th grade (the first year of secondary school); 2a) disadvantaged according to Act XXXI of 1997 on the Protection of Children and the Administration of Guardianship (Gyermekvédelmi törvény) or 2b) receive regular child protection allowance; 3) already in temporary guardianship; 4) in need according to the recommendation issued by the Child Protection Services (CPS), based on the request of the elementary school and the parents.²⁹

The financial source of the program has barely changed since its beginning. All currently participating institutions (schools and dormitories) receive state (and partially EU) support after each involved student on a normative base set in the law. In 2014 this was HUF 315,000 per person per year (approx. EUR 950).

Even at the very beginning the programme aimed to cover broad areas of the country. The first 13 joining institutions were from 13 different counties (of the 19 total), and later it covered the entire country, now present in 71 secondary schools in 36 cities nationwide.

The Programme has been operating for decades, seemingly resistant to the structural changes in politics and education. Analyses show that the programme successfully contributes to reducing inequalities among young people by providing substantial support to students who otherwise would not have a chance to reach high educational attainment. One indicator of success is the high share - 80-82% - of the students in the first programme type who were able to attend tertiary education. Still, the programmes have difficulties as well (e.g. a 5.3% dropout rate; only about 70% of the budgetary framework is used).

The main reasons for considering this programme innovative are:

- It was created as a mixture of bottom-up and top-down policy making.
- It provides a framework for complex and tailor-made assistance, including compensating for learning difficulties, providing appropriate physical conditions in terms of accommodation, and helping to develop the possible talents of students.
- The programme generated methodological innovations in pedagogy, e.g. in the field of drama pedagogy, workshops were organised for fostering cultural identity and

²⁹ The CPS has to decide on the indigence based on the previous 3 years prior to the application to the AJP.

psychological aspect were considered very important. Several of these innovations were mainstreamed later on into standard pedagogy³⁰.

- The programme had a reflective nature: as it was progressing in time, new elements were added according to feedbacks and assessments of the program.

In Pécs 3 institutions are participating in the Talent Programme (2 out of them since 2000): Klára Leövey Secondary Grammar school; Zoltán Kodály Dormitory (in close cooperation with Klára Leövey Secondary Grammar School) and Gandhi Secondary Grammar School.

The Kodály Dormitory implements, besides extra curriculum, a complex program including regular family visits firstly to inform parents in segregated and poorer areas but keeping a good relationship with parents. This attribute seems to be a rather important element of the success.

³⁰ A guideline was written, collecting good practices based on the AJP's experiences between 2000 and 2018. This provides a great opportunity to further mainstream the potential good practices into the standard education system. Brahmi Ilona and Csirke József (ed.) "JÓ GYAKORLATOK AZ ARANY JÁNOS TEHETSÉGGONDOZÓ PROGRAM KOLLÉGIUMAIBAN Módszertani kiadvány, 2000 – 2018" ISBN: 978-615-001251-3

4 Discussion and conclusions

Pécs FUA is considered to have limited economic potential compared to other parts of Hungary, thus both the skilled and the unskilled labour force is migrating either to other regions (the capital or Western Hungary) or abroad. Even if Pécs has strong potential in the field of education and private and public services, it provides little opportunity in market based production and logistics. The economic situation is even direr outside the city, in the functional urban area, where most of the undereducated and unemployed population lives.

The relatively weak economic position of the Pécs functional urban area has a direct impact on the major domains discussed in the present study, but their causal relations are complex:

- Statistics on employment seem relatively favourable, and have been improving in the last decade (except for the early Covid period), employment rate is high and unemployment is low (approx. 5% in Pécs járás in 2019) across all age groups, including the young population³¹. The negative aspects of the labour market are rather reflected in the low average wages, and the strong outmigration to other parts of Hungary and abroad, pointing to the fact that there is a shortage of opportunities both for the low skilled and the high skilled population. There are widespread employment programmes provided by the county government office, but these programmes offer – mostly temporary – solutions for the registered unemployed with good capabilities and ambitions, while they hardly affect the lives of the most vulnerable.
- The education system (primary schools, secondary grammar schools, vocational education, and university) is strong in the city and provide opportunities for many students in and around Pécs. As public sector salaries are more competitive to market based salaries than in urban areas with more dynamic economies, the quality of public services is relatively high in terms of human capacity. On the other hand, the local education system is embedded into the national one, which in general is characterised by high levels of segregation and the reproduction of the advantages and disadvantages resulting from the family background. The local solutions in the education system are hardly able to compensate for these national trends, even if they are supported by local NGOs that focus on the most vulnerable students and marginalised neighbourhoods.
- Creating strong links between the education system and the labour market for the sake of improving the competencies of the most vulnerable students in vocational education has limited possibilities in and around Pécs, as after the collapse of socialist industry in the early 1990s the local economy never really recovered, and there are no large employers that can be efficiently involved into secondary dual education.

³¹ 11% of the registered unemployed were below 25 years in Pécs járás in 2019.

- As regards the gender dimension of education and employment, in the most recent EIGE report Hungary reaches only 53.4 points out of the 100, which ranks it the second country from the bottom in the EU. Low performance is represented in the all of the measured domains with different weight: work, money, knowledge, time, power, and health (EIGE, 2021). There are significant gaps in the employment indicators such as the employment rate, FTE employment rate, part-time employment and sectorial inequalities. A recently published study claims that low-educated women were most at risk of the employment consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, the crisis has shown again that the current caring system both the institutional and individual (family) producing and reproducing inequalities between women and men in Hungary (Fodor et al 2020). Despite Hungary has improved in some of the indicators in the last years, challenges remain rather significant.
- With regard to housing, the pressure on the housing market could technically be moderate due to the decreasing population, but instead it is relatively high due to the high number of university students compared to the population (20,000 compared to 140,000). Thus the need for affordable housing is prevalent not only among marginalised social groups, but also among the lower-middle income families and students studying in the city. The need for affordable housing is not counterbalanced by public housing policy, which has very limited resources both in terms of the number of publicly owned dwellings and their physical state. The biggest problem young adults seek a solution for when turning to social organisations is access to housing. Vacant housing, on the other hand, is mostly located in segregated neighbourhoods where very few are willing to move from other parts of the city.

In conclusion, Pécs belongs to the urban type with relatively weak economic potential and a weak social welfare system, in which the local government has decreasing room for manoeuvre due to the general centralisation processes, coupled with shrinking local funds and competencies.

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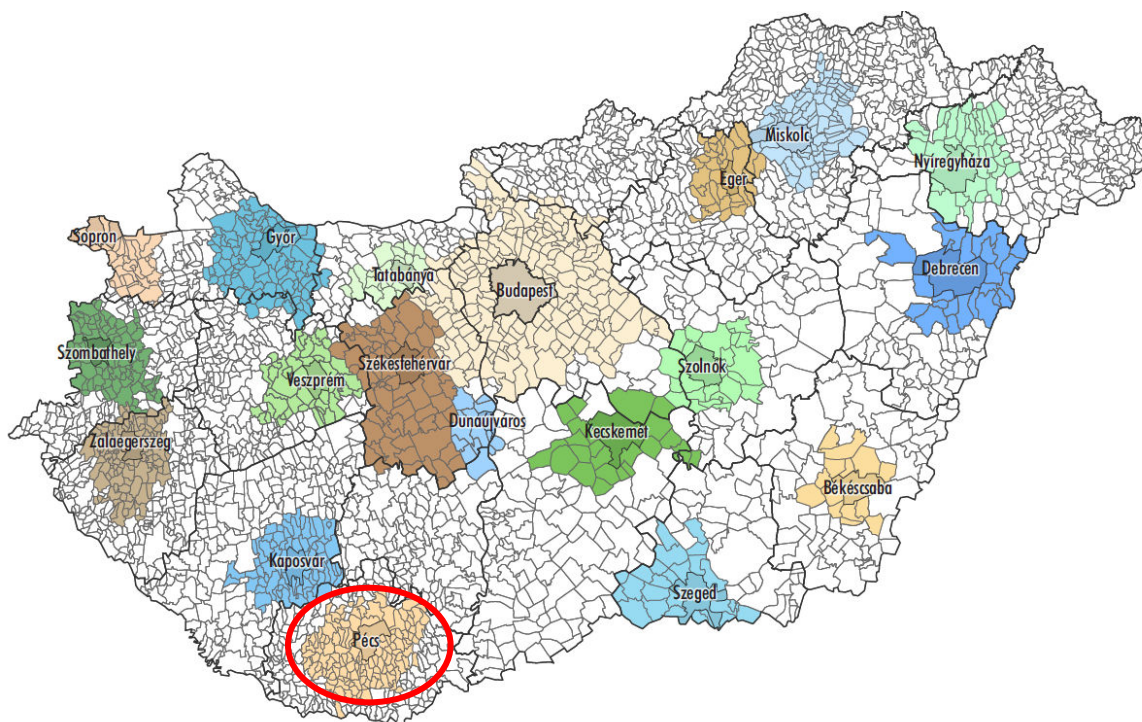
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Annex

Figure 1. Functional urban areas of Hungary (2018)



Source: Central Statistical Office of Hungary

Table 1. Basic data on Pécs Functional Urban Area and comparable big cities of Hungary

	Number of settlements	Population (2011)	Population (2019)	Share of people aged 25-64 with a maximum primary education (2016)*	Share of people aged 20-64 in employment (2016)**	Number of registered unemployed persons (2019)
Hungary	3,114	9,937,628	9,769,526	15.67%	72.44%	159,000
Pécs	1	156,049	142,873	8.77%	73.1%	1,450
Settlements outside Pécs in the FUA	133	105,427 (2015)	103,150	20.63%	66.5%	5,501
Pécs FUA total	134	251,412 (2015)	246,023	13.87%	70.32%	6,951

Debrecen	1	211,320	201,432	8.1%	71.6%	2491
Győr	1	129,527	132,038	8.82%	75.5%	486
Miskolc	1	167,754	154,521	9.34%	71.4%	2229

Source: Central Statistical Office of Hungary, *Primary education lasts 8 years, ** Microcensus

Table 2. Structure of the educational system with the number of students (full-time education)

Form of education	Number of students in 2001-2002	Number of students in 2019-2020
Kindergarten (age 3-5)	342,285	330,539 ³²
Primary school (age 6-14)	944,244	720,329
Vocational secondary school, providing secondary school diploma and profession (age 15-19)	238,622	149,090
Secondary grammar school, providing secondary school diploma (age 15-18)	182,267	188,970
Vocational school, providing profession but not secondary school diploma (age 15-17)	123,951	65,771

Source: Source: KIR-STAT: https://dari.oktatas.hu/kozerdeku_index

Table 3. Share of people in specialised social care under different operators

	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2018
Local municipality	87.3	80.4	73.1	67.1	28.6	28
Central government	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	32.3	30.7
Church	7.0	7.8	8.9	13.0	17.5	20.4
NGO, other	5.7	11.8	18.0	19.2	21.6	20.9

Source: Czibere – Mester, 2020:439

³² The fact that the number of children attending kindergarten did not reduce significantly is only partially explained by the moderate decrease of children between the age of 3-5, it is rather due to the obligation from 2015/2016 to attend kindergarten strictly from the age of 3.

The table below contains data/indicators that are able to display social inequalities in a way that is the most comparable with other urban areas. Each urban report includes this data table, which is also intending to show not only the scale and dimensions of inequalities in the functional urban area of Pécs, but indicates also the scale of missing data that makes any comparative research difficult to implement.

	National data (Hungary)	Regional data (Southern Transdanubia, Dél-Dunántúl)	FUA data (Pécsi járás)	City level data (Pécs)
Population				
Population in 2007	10,066,158	967,677	188,465	156,649
Population in 2012	9,931,925	931,215	182,443	149,992
Population in 2019	9,772,756	879,596	175,235	142,873
Population aged 15-29 in 2005 (Microcensus)	2,151,787	203,907	41,390	34,978
Population aged 15-29 in 2011 (Census)	1,823,070	166,519	35,081	29,314
Population aged 15-29 in 2016 (Microcensus)	1,717,342	154,513	33,062	27,963
Income/poverty				
Gini index 2007	25,2	-	-	-
Gini index 2011	28,3	-	-	-
Gini index 2018	28,3	32,4 (2017)	-	-
Equalized personal income 1 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	428,803	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 2 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	724,048	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 3 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	889,965	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 4 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	1,043,553	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 5 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	1,188,846	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 6 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	1,361,068	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 7 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	1,517,440	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 8 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	1,752,149	-	-	-

	National data (Hungary)	Regional data (Southern Transdanubia, Dél-Dunántúl)	FUA data (Pécsi járás)	City level data (Pécs)
Equalized personal income 9 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	2,083,995	-	-	-
Equalized personal income 10 decile, 2018 (yearly, net, HUF)	3,334,364	-	-	-
At risk of poverty rate 2007	12.4	29.8	-	-
At risk of poverty rate 2012	15.0	37.3	-	-
At risk of poverty rate 2019	12.3	24.7	-	-
At risk of poverty aged 15-29 2007	14.4	-	-	-
At risk of poverty aged 15-29 2012	18.8	-	-	-
At risk of poverty aged 15-29 2019	13.7	-	-	-
Housing				
Share of housing below market rates (social housing) 2007	3.4	3,0	-	-
Share of housing below market rates (social housing) 2012	3.0	2,8	4.76 (2011)	5.40 (2011)
Share of housing below market rates (social housing) 2019	2.6	2,6	-	-
Average housing price/average income 2007	4.6	-	-	-
Average housing price/average income 2013	4.93	-	-	5.84 years
Average housing price/average income 2018	7.5	-	-	7.8 years
Education				
Early leavers from education and training 2007 (%)	11.4	15.7	-	-
Early leavers from education and training 2012 (%)	11.8	10.6	-	-
Early leavers from education and training 2019 (%)	11.8	17.3	-	-
Share of inhabitants aged 25-64 with a maximum ISCED 2 education 2007	21	-	-	-
Share of inhabitants aged 25-64 with a maximum ISCED 2 education 2011	18.5	-	-	-

	National data (Hungary)	Regional data (Southern Transdanubia, Dél-Dunántúl)	FUA data (Pécsi járás)	City level data (Pécs)
Share of inhabitants aged 25-64 with a maximum ISCED 2 education 2018	15	-	13.86 (2016)	8.77 (2016)
Enrolment in upper secondary school 2005	92.16	-	-	-
Enrolment in upper secondary school 2012	95.08	-	-	-
Enrolment in upper secondary school 2018	86.8	-	-	-
Employment				
NEET youth aged 15- 24 2007 (%)	11.5	15.7	-	-
NEET youth aged 15-24 2012 (%)	14.8	15.3	-	-
NEET youth aged 15-24 2019 (%)	11.0	17.0	-	-
Employment rate (15-64) 2009	57.2	53.3	-	-
Employment rate (15-64) 2012	58	53.6	-	-
Employment rate (15-64) 2019	72.2	66.8	-	-
Employment rate aged 15-29 2007	40	-	-	-
Employment rate aged 15-29 2012	35.1	-	-	-
Employment rate aged 15-29 2019	47.1	-	-	-
Unemployment rate 2009	9.7	10,9	-	-
Unemployment rate 2012	10.7	11,7	-	-
Unemployment rate 2019	3.3	4,7	-	-
Unemployment rate aged 15-24 2007 I. quarter	18.5	-	-	-
Unemployment rate aged 15-24 2012 I. quarter	28.4	-	-	-
Unemployment rate aged 15-24 2019 I. quarter	11.2	-	-	-
Share of precarious employment (15-64) 2007	6.40	-	-	-
Share of precarious employment (15-64) 2012	8.50	-	-	-
Share of precarious employment (15-64) 2018	6.50	-	-	-
Share of precarious employment aged 15-29 2007	-	-	-	-

	National data (Hungary)	Regional data (Southern Transdanubia, Dél-Dunántúl)	FUA data (Pécsi járás)	City level data (Pécs)
Share of precarious employment aged 15-29 2012	-	-	-	-
Share of precarious employment aged 15-29 2019	-	-	-	-
Health				
Life expectancy 2007	73.3	69.0	74.01 (2005)	-
Life expectancy 2012	75.0	71.1	-	-
Life expectancy 2019	76.16	72.4	-	-
Teenage birth rate 2007	19.54	-	-	-
Teenage birth rate 2012	20.32	-	-	-
Teenage birth rate 2019	24.6	-	-	-

SOURCES:

Population: National data: Regional data is from the micro censuses and the census

Gini index: National data is from the Central Statistical Office of Hungary, Regional data is from a study: https://joallamjelentes.uni-nke.hu/2018_pages/pages/F.5.5.pdf

Equalized personal income quintiles: National data source: KSH, 2018: https://www.ksh.hu/interaktiv/haztart_jov_tizedek/index.html

At risk of poverty rate: National data source: KSH, https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/ele/en/ele0004.html. The regional data refers to the people at risk of poverty or social exclusion.

Share of housing below market rates (social housing): (as of 1st of January): https://www.ksh.hu/thm/2/indi2_7_7.html

Average housing price/average income: National data source: KSH, https://www.ksh.hu/thm/2/indi2_7_4.html

Early leavers from education and training: <https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

Share of inhabitants aged 25-64 with a maximum ISCED 1 education 2007 (legfeljebb alacsony végzettség): https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/okt/hu/okt0027.html and data of the functional urban regions (microcensus): <https://statinfo.ksh.hu/Stainfo/haDetails.jsp>

Enrolment in upper secondary school: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=educ_uoe_enrs04&lang=en

NEET youth aged 15-24: https://www.ksh.hu/sdg/cel_08.html?lang=hu

Employment rate (15-64): https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/mun/hu/mun0003.html and https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/mun/hu/mun0077.html, and https://www.ksh.hu/thm/2/indi2_4_1.html

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Share of precarious employment (15-64): Employed with a definite contract. Data source: https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/eurostat_tablak/tabl/tps00073.html

Life expectancy: Data source: https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_hosszu/h_wdsd001a.htm

Teenage birth rate: Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19) Data source: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT?locations=HU>