UPLIFT – Urban PoLicy Innovation to address inequality with and for Future generaTions

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1 Executive Summary

In this Case Study Report on Pécs we have examined the mechanisms that trap vulnerable young people in their social position in the field of housing, employment and education. For this, we have made several interviews with local decision makers and policy implementers and 40 interviews with local young people: 20 among them within the age range of 15-29 and 20 interviews with 30-43 years old people, who were young at the time of the financial crisis.

There are many potential factors behind stucking in a vulnerable situation, and the current case study report concentrates on four major narratives (storylines) from these many:

- Being stuck in the social rental sector;
- Path-dependency in educational choices;
- Inactivity trap of mothers in the labour market;
- Discrimination against Roma people in employment.

In housing, we have found that the social housing sector rather works as a long-term trap than a temporary solution in case of crisis or difficulties. The share of public rental housing is low (5,5%) in Pécs in a European comparison, most of it is located in segregated urban neighbourhoods, and their general physical state is poor. Still it seems from the interviews that those young people that have experiences with living in social housing (or their partners have experience) tend to remain in the sector even if they may have a monetary basis for leaving it. The reasons behind are several from individual factors (being aware and being used to social housing conditions), through institutional factors (non-transparent management of the system in which ad-hoc decisions overrule the generic regulations), till market-based factors (e.g. discriminations against households with children and Roma ethnicity in the private rental market).

Even though Pécs is an educational centre of its surroundings, still the choices young people have in their educational career are strongly path-dependent. From primary schools, located in segregated areas, students are more likely to continue their studies in vocational education while students attending primary schools in non-segregated area and coming from families where parents have higher educational background and stable employment history are more likely to graduate from secondary grammar schools. Breaking out from this path-dependency and successfully achieving mobility in education requires cooperation from all participants: the individual, the family and the institutions.

We have found that the individual's attitude towards learning (e.g. the worth of maturity exam as opposed to a vocational education) is also an important factor in addition to the family's ability and willingness for providing adequate support for their children in education (e.g. financial resources, being able to help with homeworks, parent's and relative's educational background). Besides micro level factors, the school is also playing an important role in (re)producing inequality through the attitude of individual teachers, the potential they see in

students (underestimation or overestimation) and the ability to provide individualized orientation on which secondary school would be preferred for the students. In our sample of interviewees, a way out for Roma and in some cases for non-Roma people is through a specialized (in some way) segregating secondary grammar school (Gandhi secondary school) that provides an opportunity for gaining maturity exams even for vulnerable individuals.

In employment, we have examined the factors behind the high inactivity rate among young mothers and the exclusion of Roma people in the labour market. Young women having children at an early age without significant or non-working experience increases the likelihood of being trapped in inactivity, which is further strengthened by a paternalistic distribution of roles in the family. However, if the single-earning model cannot be sustained anymore - e.g. the wage-earner gets ill - then the push for entering the labour market for mothers naturally increases. The nature of the local job market and the local Employment office altogether does not provide valuable opportunities, not only for mothers but also for other job-seekers, which are flexible, short term jobs or trainings and are valued in the local labour market. The other story in employment has revealed that discrimination by employers is a commonly experienced disadvantage on the local labour market by Roma people. The experiences can lead to coping strategies like self-limitation of Roma people or overcompensation in a workplace. However, a good educational level and good communication skills seem to be factors that conceal the stigma of being Roma. Again, the Employment Office seemed to fail in offering real opportunities for Roma applicants, and even reinforces the discriminatory processes in the labour market.

These storylines clearly show the need for serious changes in housing, education and employment welfare systems, however this case study report does not have the ambition to propose radical changes. It rather concentrates on formulating suggestions that can be implemented locally by changing local decrees or the behaviour of local stakeholders in the framework of a so-called Reflexive Policy Agenda (a method of co-creating local policies with the active involvement of the target group of policies). We identified five major entry points for co-creating more efficient local policies: 1) encouraging creation and maintaining transitory solutions between decent choices in housing, education and employment (through which reintegration remains possible) 2) prevention should be prioritized and gain more emphasis in policies 3) involving families and important reference people to interventions for individuals 4) cooperation between stakeholders should be improved 5) information streams towards the vulnerable target groups should be strengthened.

2 Introduction

The current document is the result of the research activities carried out in work package 3 (WP3) of the UPLIFT project[1] in Pécs, Hungary. It aims to understand which micro, mezo and macro level factors influence vulnerable young people's decisions in education, employment and housing, and how these young people create their own strategies and make choices within the possibilities available in the given locality.

The main research questions we analyse in this study are:

- What are the different factors in different levels (welfare system, intermediary institutions, family background, individual characteristics) that retain vulnerable young individuals to live the life they would like to live or they should be able to live taking into account the possibilities the locality offers for them?
- Which are the factors that can be changed by means of Reflexive Policy Agenda (RPA) - a co-creation tool that includes vulnerable young people into policy design, implementation and monitoring?

These two main questions rather serve as guidelines for the analysis, but are too broad to be answered fully, thus we have chosen those sub-topics in this framework that came out to be the most relevant in the local interview process. We aimed to focus on factors that cannot purely be explained by the deficiencies of the welfare systems, rather by the interactions between vulnerable young individuals and institutions as a response to the welfare framework.

Our chosen sub-topics are around 1) stucking in social housing and inaccessibility of social housing, 2) path dependency in educational choices, 3) inactivity of young mothers with children and 4) discrimination against Roma people in the labour market.

The methods of exploring the factors behind individual decisions are primarily based on interviews with local policy experts and policy implementers and 40 vulnerable young people: 20 currently young people between the age of 15 and 29 and 20 interviews with people aged 30-43 - who were between 15-29 at the time of the financial crisis of 2008. These interviews naturally revealed many, mostly already well-studied deficiencies of the national and local legislations and the welfare systems. Still, this case study report does not have the primary goal to formulate criticism about the general welfare policies and other structurally given resources in Pécs (this was already done in another work package of UPLIFT[2]), it rather aims to understand how these structural resources, policies, programmes, and services are implemented and how they influence the life strategies of young individuals. (For instance:

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[1] More information on the project can be found at: uplift-youth.eu

[2] More details about the local welfare systems in 16 urban areas of Europe can be found at: https://uplift-youth.eu/research-policy/official-deliverables

how do individuals use the local social housing opportunities within the frame of the available number of social housing, and the current set of eligibility criteria.)

The final aim of this case study report and the analysis of the interactions of the behaviour of individuals and the institutions is to discover and suggest topics for a future Reflexive Policy Agenda for each of our eight localities of WP3 of UPLIFT, in this case study focusing exclusively on Pécs. Reflexive Policy making lies in the centre of UPLIFT project. It refers to a policy co-creation, refining process, which involves the target group of the policies (in our case vulnerable young people). This process aims to explore young people's narratives on their perceived reality about the locally available policies and services, and empower them to be part of the creation of knowledge on the policy framework. Moreover, this process takes young individuals' feedback on possible changes of policies seriously, and also invites them to monitor the implementation of these policies. By nature, it means a power-balanced cooperation between local decision makers and the target group of local policies, which process relies on both groups' interests and knowledge. Thus, the current research aims to deal less with fundamental systemic deficiencies of welfare policies, as it would exceed the competencies of local actors, but rather aims to discover those topics that can be handled locally.

In this report, we first introduce the framework of the analysis in Chapter 3, then we describe our methodology of the research and the analysis in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 first summarizes the main characteristics of the current life situation of vulnerable young people (40 interviewees) regarding their education, employment and housing conditions. Then we describe the main inequality traps we have discovered in our analysis, and the conversions that lead to the current outcomes (positions) of our interviewees. Finally, Chapter 6 contains the main suggestions for potential topics in education, employment and housing for a Reflexive Policy Agenda.

3 Framework of the analysis

This section contains the theoretical framework for the case study analysis to gain a comprehensive understanding of the qualitative research that has been accomplished in eight UPLIFT locations: Amadora, Amsterdam, Barakaldo, Chemnitz, Corby, Pécs, Sfantu Gheorghe and Tallinn.

The framework of the analysis of this case study report is based on the Capability Approach, an attempt for better understanding and interpreting the nature of modern age poverty, social inequalities, human development and well-being, devised in the 1980s by the Nobel prize laureate economist-philosopher Amartya Sen. The Capability Approach understands certain life-pathways as results of a complex interplay of various factors: the nature of the system (e.g. economic, housing, education); individual perception of the system and other micro level, individually driven factors. Moreover, the main goal of the theory is to be able to comprehensively capture the factors that are constraining or enabling an individual to live a meaningful and fulfilling life. Our analytical framework builds on the Capability Approach; however, it implies some adjustments and complements it with the life-course approach and the transgenerational approach.

The starting point for understanding the life strategies of vulnerable individuals is to define the "*resource space*", which is a complex socio-economic environment around individuals, consisting of all formal rights (e.g. laws and legislations) and possibilities (e.g. subsidy schemes, programmes against social inequalities), which defines opportunities for all inhabitants in a given location. This environment might be enabling, e.g. providing work places, subsidies, networks, while it might be restricting as well, e.g. providing segregated school system, unaffordable housing. The resource space, as it is, largely depends on the socio-economic context in which people live: constitutional rights, economic development of the place, degree of inequalities, thus it varies from location to location. In addition to this, the accessibility of resources is conditionally determined. For instance, even if there is a subsidy scheme to buy a flat, it is only accessible in case of having savings (wealth), having a certain income level and under certain circumstances (e.g. having children). Based on individual characteristics, thus we define an "*individualized resource space*", in which an individual can navigate. This individualized resource space is what we basically interpret as "*real freedoms, real opportunities*".

However, young individuals have their own culturally and socially embedded perception of their possibilities that are not necessarily match with the so-called real opportunities: either by having unrealistic view or by not seeing those opportunities that theoretically would be achievable for them. This distinction is a new element compared to the original Capability Approach developed by Sen, as our analytical framework places great emphasis on the distinction between "*real and perceived opportunity spaces*" to understand the origin and the consequence of the gaps between the space of available possible actions and the perceived

possible actions. The mechanisms that cause the gaps between the two (e.g. blind spots, false perceptions or conditioned to illegal interventions) are those that make it difficult for an individual to choose those positions in life that best suits his or her abilities and remain in the widely accepted legal and socio-cultural environment.

Inside the individualised resource space, based on the perceived and real opportunities, one can take different positions: *"functionings"* (*See in Table 1*). In the original theory, functionings are defined as "various things a person may value being or doing". In empirical terms, this can mean two things: 1) the actual and current achievement/outcome of an individual 2) a desired, valued outcome an individual would prefer doing instead of his or her current life choices. Thus, functionings are practically the achievements in a person's life, which he/she either achieved in reality, or may value doing or being.

Table 1. Potential functionings (either current or desired) by domains

Education	Employment	Housing
Qualification (completed and on-going education)	Working conditions (legal/illegal, full time/part time, one shift/three shifts)	Tenure type (public rental, private rental, owner occupation)
Quality of qualification (value of qualification depending on the specific school and dropout history)[3]	Salary level	Quality of housing (neighbourhood, affordability, density)

The main question of the case study analysis in UPLIFT is the mechanism with which these functionings (outcomes/positions/choices/desires) are chosen in the local resource spaces by vulnerable individuals.

According to the original Capability Approach, individuals ideally choose from real opportunities based on what they value or desire. However, it is not necessarily possible to interpret the decisions made by individuals in a vulnerable life situation as value-based decisions, as they could be based on their everyday life difficulties (compulsion), or also be a consequence of past decisions. Hence, two ideal types of decision chains can be identified: 1) value-based and 2) path dependent – which are not easy to distinguish, as values are born by internalising the circumstances. In case of value-based decisions, the individual can live a meaningful and fulfilling life, while under the notion of path-dependency we understand patterns of past outcomes, which, in time, increase the likelihood of a limited number of future choices that are not necessarily advantageous for the individual. Understanding the outcomes from the perspective of a life-course approach is essential to be able to evaluate the agency

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[3] The quality of education is interpreted in a wide sense, outside of education, having socialising effects on students (e.g. functions/dysfunctions developed in schools that enable/disable functionings in the labour market or the housing market).

potential and the role of agency in the life-path of an individual. Thus, the Life-course Approach is an important additional component to the Capability Approach. Among the past life events and experiences, the behaviour of the family system and the childhood home environment play a key role, which provides a potential to understand what trajectories and possibilities an individual has. The theory of the Transgenerational Mobility contributes and valuably complement the capability approach with emphasizing the role of socialization and the parental experiences and behaviour as conversion factors.

The routes (conversions) i) from formal resource space to real opportunities (CF1 on Figure 1), ii) from real opportunity space to perceived opportunities (CF2 on Figure 1), and iii) from perceived opportunity space to chosen or desired functioning (CF3 on Figure 1) are paved by "*conversion factors*": the interference of institutional and individual conditions that lead to the creation of individual life-strategies. Conversion factors refers to the fact that different individuals have different capabilities to convert public policies and formal rights into valuable opportunities (Kimhur, 2020: 4, CF1 on Figure 1). Certain conversion factors enable some elements of the opportunity space to be made visible and usable, while other factors have the ability to conceal the real opportunity space, resulting in a gap between the real and perceived opportunity space (CF2 on Figure 1), and a distorted decision about chosen functionings (CF3 on Figure 1).

One may think that the perceived resource space is part of the real resource space, and the conversion from real to perceived necessarily results in the reduction of choices. According to our research however, vulnerable young individuals tend to see options for themselves also outside the social norms and legal framework (real opportunities), thus are able to widen their space of options even if it is not realistic from an external viewpoint or not valued positively by the society.

Figure 1. A modified concept of the Capability Approach
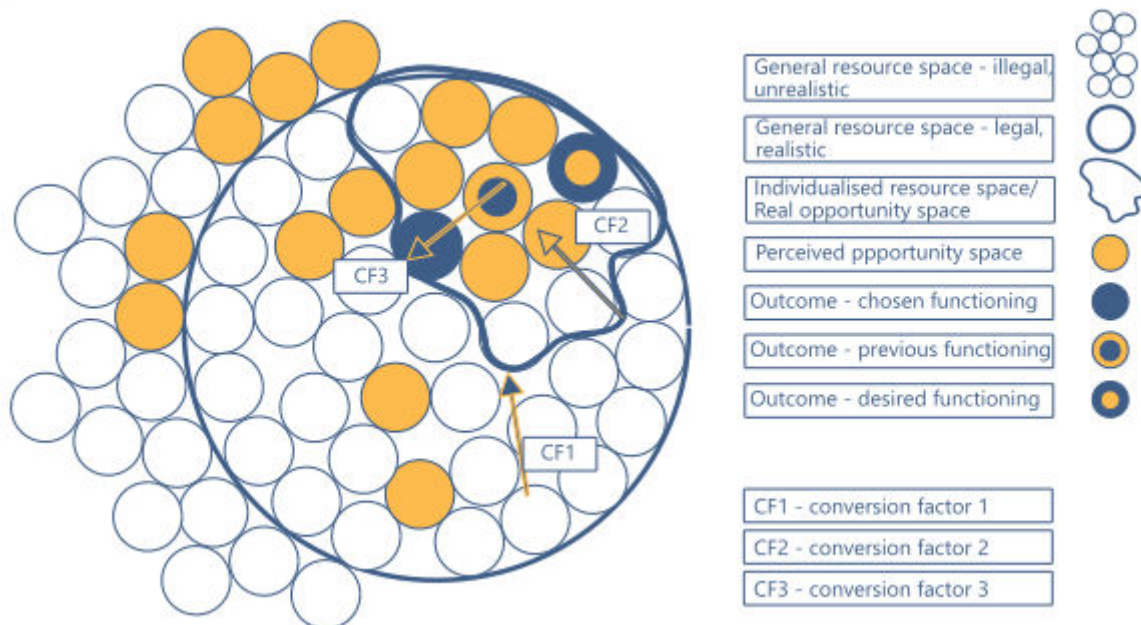
Source: Own elaboration

Our analysis of the interviews was based on four sets of conversion factors:

- Individual conversion factors (micro level conversion factors) focus on a person's psycho-social set, domain-specific capabilities, individual character (e.g. sex, intelligence, financial literacy, learning abilities, work ethics), things a person values (e.g. attitude towards education, certain professions) and his/her social network (including the secondary social group where an individual belongs to: neighbourhood, schoolmates, friends, etc.).

- Family-level conversion factors (micro level conversion factor as well) focus on the original family system[4], where he/she was brought up, family's educational/employment background, values, believes and attitudes in the family, psychosocial environment.

- A special focus is given to institutions (meso-level conversion factors), where we are interested in how institutions narrow down, or rather correct, the perceived space of possibilities in their interactions with individuals. Institutional conversion factors focus on attitudes and behaviours of an institution[5]. Just as the individual conversion factors,

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[4] Family system includes the position of the individual in the original family dynamics. For instance, whether it's a supporting and functional or a negative, dysfunctional environment.

[5] Institutionalized norms in our interpretation are the ones that are followed by most members of an institution. One widely known example is institutionalized discrimination, when a large majority of the members of the institutions systematically behave differently (in a negative way) with people belonging to a certain social group e.g. ethnicity or gender.

institutional conversion factors work out differently for (different groups of) people (see exposure to institutional dysfunctions).

- Even being embedded in individual behaviour, institutional response or family event we consider crucial life events as independent conversion factors, some of which may have a decisive role in widening or narrowing down the choices one has in certain situations.

4 Methodology

In the following chapter, we provide information on the methodology of our research, including data collection methods, definition of target groups, and analytical methodology used to obtain the results in the report to ensure that our work is replicable and maintains standards of validity.

The research in WP3 in Pécs was based primarily on interviews that included local experts and policy implementers and 40 young people (20 of them are currently between 15-29 years, while another 20 was in this age group around the financial crisis starting from 2008 and are currently between the age of 30-43).

4.1 Interviews with policy implementers/experts:

The interviews with local experts and policy implementers were essential to gain a deep understanding of the local resource space but also to create the basis for critical interpretation of the interviews with young people, in order to identify the gaps between their perceived and real opportunity spaces.

During a two-years research from October 2020, we carried out a total of 22 expert interviews, mainly in person and partly via video call.

- The experts included housing market actors: Municipality of Pécs as the owner and operator of the public rental sector; Family Emergency Shelter, which provides residential care for abused parents and their children, and AVM (A Város Mindenkié - The City is for All), which is an association of homeless people and their allies.
- We mapped the local education system by interviewing some of the directors of those primary and vocational schools that were mentioned the most by young people. We also managed to interview the representative of the regional Vocational Education and Training Centre, a school social worker, and heads of two 'tanodas' (organisations that help students with learning difficulties in after-school programmes).
- Employer interviews were conducted with a representative of one of the two actors of the local public work programme, a representative of a company considered to be the largest employer in the city, a representative of a recruitment agency, and an accountant and a pastry chef who have employees under the Youth Guarantee programme[6].
- In addition, we contacted organisations who provide social services as part of the system as a whole. These include the Málta Charity Organisation, which is very active locally, and the Family and Child Welfare Service of the local municipality.

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[6] Unfortunately, we did not have access to the deconcentrated unit of the state Employment Office, as after several inquiries we did not get an opportunity for an interview.

4.2 Interviews with young people

During the data collection, 20 current youngsters (aged 15-29) and 20 formerly youngsters (currently aged 30-43) were interviewed. The interviews, all of which were implemented in person except for one telephone interview, were conducted primarily with the help of gatekeepers in the education and social services, and secondarily using a snowball sampling method. We used the latter mainly in cases where our interviewees mentioned characters in life situations that had not yet been explored in our data collection process. To be confident in our expectation of generating a sample with as diverse life situations as possible, we used quotas to certain sociodemographic variables. Criteria for currently youngsters and formerly youngsters separately were based on sex, ethnicity, residential location, age, and number of children. Nevertheless the main selection criteria was that the interviewee must be in a vulnerable position either currently or at a certain point of his/her life in at least one of the three major domains of UPLIFT (e.g. living in social housing, generating debts, being undereducated, having a precariat working position).

Table 2. Distribution of interviewees

		Currently young people	Formerly young people
Gender	Female	14	13
	Male	6	7
Ethnicity	Roma	8	9
	Non-Roma	12	11
Location	Eastern part of Pécs (e.g. Meszes, Györgytelep, Hősök tere)	8	5
	Kertváros housing estate	3	7
	Gyárváros	1	2
	Suburbs of Pécs (e.g. Patacs, Vasas, Somogy)	4	2
	Functional Urban Area of Pécs	4	4
Age groups	15-19	8	
	20-24	6	
	25-29	6	
	30-34		8
	35-39		6
	40-43		6
Number of children	None	10	8
	1-2	5	7
	3+	5	5

The interviews were conceptualized as life course interviews, so we started by briefly informing the interviewee that our research focuses on education, on labour market and on housing, however, we emphasized that we were interested in all aspects of their life journey. We thought it essential to do this because, although we had prepared an interview guide (which was the same in all 8 WP3 locations), we tried to keep an open attitude and to use the interview guide more as a reminder to help us review whether we had obtained all the information we needed. During the interviewing process we tried to get as complete narratives as possible from the interviewees, but given the limited time available, sometimes we still had to structure the interviews more strongly to our questions.

The interviews were conducted in an average time slot of 1.5 to 2 hours, which resulted in narratives of varying depth and detail depending on the attitude of the interviewees. An alternative approach would have been to work with fewer interviewees but for a longer period of time. The risk of bias implied with more, shorter interviews was considered as an acceptable trade-off to be able to make more grounded reflexive policy recommendations based on a more comprehensive knowledge of the local context revealed by more cases. During the interviews, audio materials were recorded, from which verbatim transcripts were taken and these transcripts were analysed further on.

4.3 Analysing the interviews

The method of analysis of the interviews was developed through an iterative process. The analysis had a strong starting point thanks to our analytical framework (presented in chapter 3), which is well grounded in theory. This framework was transferred to a matrix (attached in the Annex) into which we imputed all our young interview cases. As part of this process, we decided to separate the narratives and life events to identify the differences between the options and choices perceived by the interviewee and the options arising from the life events. It is important to note that the separation was not intended to challenge the reality of the interviewee or the veracity of the life story as told.

Based on the framework, we separated *chosen functionings* as "facts", *strategies* as narratives, and *perceived opportunity space* and *conversion factors* that appear also in the narrative. This separation was indicated in our analytical matrix, and subsequently applied to the Maxqda software, which mainly helped us to systematically process the interviews and detect possible conversion factors in the transcripts. Overall, the whole multi-level code system used for the conversion factors (attached in the Annex) was developed during the analysis of the interviews.

After using Maxqda to review the interviews, the coded information about our interviewees was summarised in the analytical matrix with a focus on comparability. In our spreadsheet, we can see side by side how the facts in the life story and narratives in the interviews relate to each other. We also identified some gaps between the perceived and real parts of the resource space. In addition to the gaps or lack of them, we could see the conversion factors and we could formulate hypotheses about the role of these factors in the resource space.

However, based on the analytical matrix, we found that we could only unpick and analyse the role of different conversion factors in case we define individuals' starting points and their current positions. By putting these positions into a data-visualised form (MIRO board) we could identify typical pathways (see later in Chapter 5), and were able to find potential conversions between diverting life paths.

4.4 Group meetings

4.4.1 Youth Town Hall Meeting

The Youth Town Hall Meeting was organised prior to the interview process with young people. The goal of the meeting was to understand more about young people' life situations to ensure that their experiences were reflected properly in the interview guides. The aim was also to get to know young people, who could become interviewees in the research process. The event took place on the 25 of June 2021 in a community centre, in one of the segregated areas of Pécs. In the event 30 young people in total participated and shared their experiences on housing, employment and education. The meeting was separated into two group discussions, the first took place only with the younger age cohort (16-20) and the latter one involved young people at the age of 21-29. We kicked off this meeting with a game called VoxPop developed by the Foundation for Democratic Youth (Hungary) to get into personal experiences and attitudes of participants through having discussions around certain statements on housing, education and employment.

4.4.2 Storytelling workshops

While the Youth Town Hall meeting can be seen as the starting point of WP3's empirical research, the storytelling workshops (23-24 of June 2022) can be seen as its final events, which were organized after completing most of the interviews with current and former young people and with local experts, with the aim of validating or refining the main conclusions of the field research before completing the case study report on Pécs. The workshops were organized in three groups: we organised a discussion with our 5 current or former young interviewees, as we felt it was important to provide them with the opportunity to contribute to final statements, based on their narratives. We had intended to invite a diverse group, but the composition of the group ended up being quite homogeneous, all young women aged between 20 and 30, and all but one of them were either pregnant or a mother, hence they were adults in the advanced stages of establishing their independent lives.

In addition to the meetings with young people, we also organized two expert roundtables with local education stakeholders and actors in the local housing market. Educational experts came from schools, social services and special NGOs that assist vulnerable students with learning difficulties. Three focal points were identified for the discussion: the capacity of the local education system to create opportunities, cooperation between schools, and early school leaving in late adolescence. The group with local housing market experts and stakeholders identified the local social housing system as an issue and discussed how the system is not

transparent not only for families trying to access social housing but also for the ones who have the duty to help vulnerable inhabitants. (Read more about the storytelling workshop in a blog post here)

5 Findings

5.1 Outcomes: what have vulnerable young people reached

As outlined in chapter 4.2 we intended to engage with a diverse group of vulnerable young people (either currently young or formerly young) in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and localities. In taking this approach, we hoped to work with interviewees with a range of different types of vulnerabilities

This chapter outlines the current position of the interviewees with regard to their housing, education and employment, which helps us assess their current vulnerability level. Understanding the current position of our interviewees is crucial as it creates the context to the identification of the conversion factors and the elaboration of recommendations for a Reflexive Policy Agenda.

5.1.1 Housing

There are three interviewees, who, at that time of the interview, were living in an institution: two in a Temporary Home for Families and one in a homeless shelter. 14 interviewees lived in social housing, among those ten with their current families[7] and four with their original families, relatives. Ten of these families lived in segregated[8] areas (five in Hősök tere or György telep, three in Meszes and two in Gyárváros) and only four of them lived in Kertváros (a housing estate), which is theoretically a non-segregated area, however the perception of Kertváros, according to some of our interviewees, has been changing to a negative one.

Seven of our interviewees live in a private market rental flat, among whom one acquired the flat with the help of a programme specifically targeting long-term homeless people ("Kiléptető lakásprogram") and one also receives financial assistance to rent from a local NGO that is helping homeless people.

16 of our interviewees live in an owner-occupied home, which in most of the cases means that a relative from the original family owns the property, house, and the young adults can stay there. Most of the properties are family houses, either in a very bad physical state or are located in the suburbs or outside of Pécs. Only three among the 16 interviewees inherited or bought their own house with the help of the current homeownership subsidy for families and market loan from a bank. One person lives with his mother in a temporary structure (built out of wooden, used materials) on a property he probably has bought. He is also in contact with a homeless shelter and social workers visit them on a weekly basis.

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[7] Current family is with whom the interviewee lives at the time of the interview: partner, husband, wife, children, friends and so on, while original family refers to family from birth until independence: parents, foster parents, grandparents, siblings and so on.

[8] We define areas segregated in case they are named as "segregated areas" in the Integrated Urban Development Strategy (2014) of the city of Pécs

Table 3. Distribution of interviewees according to their current housing form

		Total	Aged 15-29	Aged 30-43
Tenure type	Institute	3	1	2
	Social housing	14	8	6
	Market rental	7	3	4
	Ownership	16	8	8
Living together	Current	21	8	13
	Original	11	10	1
	Both	4	2	2
	Alone	4	0	4

5.1.2 Education

Half of our interviewees - 20 of them - had maximum 8 classes of educational level[9], in most cases as a result of an unsuccessful experience from secondary education, while the other half of our interviewees have had either a vocational diploma or a maturity exam, some cases both, and four of them with BA/MA degree.

In the table below (*Table 4*) we have included the maximum level of education of interviewees with the additional information whether someone is still in education, either due to their age or because they chose to study at a later life stage.

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[9] In the Hungarian education system, a student attends kindergarten from the age of 3 until the age of 6. Being 6 years old before the 31st of August makes a child obligatory for attending primary school grade 1 to grade 8. After grade 8 a student can go to a 4 or 5 years long vocational or secondary school depending on the specification of the class he or she enrols. A student can also go to 6 or 8 years long secondary education (applying after grade 4 or 6 in primary school). Having 8 classes in this sense, means a finished primary education.

Table 4. Distribution of interviewees according to their educational level

	Total	Aged: 15-29	Aged: 30-43	Female	Male	Failed
Less than 8 classes	4 (1*)	2	2	2	2	3
8 classes	16 (5*)	12	4	11	5	15
Vocational degree	6	2	4	3	3	1
Maturity exam	3 (1*)	2	1	3	0	0
Maturity exam and a profession	7	2	5	5	2	3
University degree	4	0	4	3	1	2
Total	**40**	**20**	**20**	**27**	**13**	**24**

* *Still studying in primary, secondary schools or university*

There are four interviewees who do not even have 8 classes, however out of whom two people belong to the older age category, in which time, it was more common being less educated especially among lower class groups. Among the 16 interviewees who have 8 classes of educational level, three interviewees are attending secondary grammar schools to gain a maturity exam, and two interviewees are attending vocational education to gain a vocational diploma (or a partial one). Consequently, 11 interviewees have already ended up with a maximum of primary education.

Among the 10 interviewees who have passed the maturity exam one is currently attending a university. We have met six interviewees with only vocational diplomas and seven interviewees who have both a maturity exam and an additional professional qualification, among whom one person started university at one point but never finished it. Only three interviewees reached the BA level of a university, and one had an MA on Romology.

Our interviewees have learnt a wide variety of professions including: hairdresser, cook, house-painter, nanny training, car-mechanic, weldor, waitress, maid among others.

It is important to see that altogether 24 out of the 40 interviewees have mentioned that they failed at least one subject during their school career.

5.1.3 Employment

In our 40-interviewee sample, there were five young people (aged 15-29) who were still studying and two who were still studying and attending training programmes. One belongs to the younger, the other to the older age category. We met three NEET youth, out of whom one told us he is constantly looking for a job and working on and off. In addition to them, there were five inactive adults, one between 15 and 29 years old, while four interviewees belong to the older age category. Four out of the five not-working (inactive) interviewees are

female. Altogether four young (aged 15-29) and two formerly young (aged 30-43) women were on maternity leave at the time of the interview.

Five interviewees worked as public workers. Another five interviewees worked part time, two without a contract and three with a contract. Altogether nine of the interviewees (less than a quarter of the total interviews) work full time with a contract. However, it is important to note that seven out of the nine interviewees belong to the older age category.

Table 5. Distribution of interviewees according to their labour market position

	Total	Aged: 15-29	Aged: 30-43	Female	Male
Studying	5	5	0	2	3
Training	2	1	1	2	0
NEET	3	3	0	2	1
Not-working (inactive)	5	1	4	4	1
Maternity leave	6	4	2	6	0
Public work	5	2	3	2	3
Illegal part time	2	1	1	1	1
Legal part time	3	1	2	2	1
Legal full time	9	2	7	6	3
Total	**40**	**20**	**20**	**27**	**13**

5.2 Resources and strategies of vulnerable young people

As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the conversions that lead to individual strategies of vulnerable young people are presented through specific storylines. These storylines are selections of research narratives that focus on certain phenomena in the three major domains (housing, education and employment) that turned to be the most relevant in influencing the choices of our interviewees. Naturally these storylines are selections and are not able to cover all the relevant choices vulnerable young people make in Pécs, but like a drop in the sea, are able to bring to light the major conversion mechanisms in the three domains both from individual, family, institutional and market point of view.

5.2.1 Social housing is a trap: hard to leave and hard to enter

What does the resource space like in the local housing market?

Pécs is the seat of Baranya county, with 138,420 inhabitants (2022) and 73,582 housing units (2022). Despite the fact that Pécs cannot be considered prosperous from an economic point of view, indeed the number of residents is declining, still, being a university town with approx. 20,000 students, the housing market is under pressure, which leads to relatively high real estate prices and rent levels.

Private ownership is the primary form of housing in Hungary (reaching 85% in Pécs according to the 2011 Census). However, vulnerable young people have limited access to private ownership when they leave their family to start their individual life, as it requires at least 20% down-payment, and a sufficient salary for applying for loans at banks, especially where young people do not inherit or receive a substantial amount of money from their relatives. In Hungary, there are seldom any local subsidies for renting homes, but there are substantial state subsidies for buying real estates, mainly in the case of new builds. However these subsidies openly aim for demographic growth, supporting only families who meet strict requirements regarding official status of couples (being married) and the number of children in the family or their future plans regarding having children. Consequently, young people without children, or young couples with children but without sufficient income and/or strong family support do not have the opportunity to access the private ownership sector. (This was the case for the vast majority of our interviewees.) It is important to note, that Hungary was the member state in the EU that had the sharpest increase in real estate prices from 2015 (by Eurostat).

There is no exact number on the amount of private rental units as most of the transactions are not covered by official contracts. (Share of the private rental sector was measured approx. 7% in Pécs in the 2011 Census.) According to the recent prices, renting a standard unit (52m² in a housing estate) is about 300-350 EUR/month without utilities (this amount is about 45-55 % of the net medium income in Hungary, but 90-110% of the minimum wage). For most vulnerable families, mainly where there is a single wage earner, renting a standard flat in the private market is not affordable. It is more common to rent flats of bad quality, without basic amenities or negotiate for favourable rates.

The share of public rental housing (dwellings owned by the local municipality) is currently approximately 5.5% of the total housing stock in Pécs (about 3,900 units in 2022). This share was substantially higher before the change of the regime in 1989 (approx. 37%), but after the compulsory privatization in the 1990s it shortly reached 6-8%. Thus in the last 15 years (which is in the focus of UPLIFT) the public housing sector remained marginal.

According to the decree on the distribution of municipally owned housing units (44/2012) the vast majority of the public housing units can be rented out on three different rent levels depending on the income of the tenant household: 1) for social rent, 2) for medium rent (cost covering rent level) and 3) for market rent. All of these rent levels are substantially below the real market rent levels. About half of the public housing is distributed on social rent, 8% on medium, cost covering rent, and 42% on market rent. Our interviewees, when they lived in public housing, paid social rent.

The mechanisms for accessing the units are different: obtaining a flat based on social eligibility is only possible for those with an extremely low income level (currently approx. 150 euro/head), while over this income level the access is based on a tendering process, which gives higher scores for higher incomes and more upfront costs offered for the renovation of the flat by the future tenant. (Thus, this concept is opposite to social eligibility.)

Before the regime change the housing contracts were unlimited in time, and those who could not buy their units in the privatization process would still have unlimited contracts (about 1,200 contracts). The others, who accessed the public rental sector more lately, have contracts for a specified time scale from 1 to 3 years, or do not have an official contract for various reasons (about ⅓ of the stock)[10]. According to the local government decree on public housing (44/2012) the eligibility for social housing is to be evaluated 90 days before the contract terminates.

High proportion of public rental units are located in segregated neighbourhoods of the city, characterised by the relevant share of the Roma population. According to the Urban Development Plan of Pécs (ITS, 2014) eight neighbourhoods of Pécs are defined as either already segregated or threatened by social segregation, based on indicators of the Census from 2011 and following a nationally set calculation method. Most of these neighbourhoods are located in the so-called Keleti Városrész (Eastern-Pécs) that was a former residential area of minors before the collapse of the regime. Four out of these eight neighbourhoods are covered by some kind of complex rehabilitation interventions, financed mostly from EU funds from 2012.

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[10] The data with regard to the public housing stock is from Pécs Megyei Jogú Város Lakásgazdálkodási Koncepciója, Egyeztetési változat, 2022

Picture 1. Photos of neighbourhoods of public housing (Hősök tere, Meszes, Downtown, Kertváros housing estate)

As this short summary highlights, public housing is meant to be a temporary solution for managing vulnerable situations. In reality, according to the experiences of our interviewees, public housing becomes a permanent solution for most of the tenants (contracts are prolonged easily for 1-3 more years in most of the cases, especially if the family does not have any arrears with the payment of the rents and utilities). This relates not only to their low income - as a significant number of tenants have higher incomes than those who are outside the sector - but due to several other reasons (conversion factors).

How are these opportunities reflected in the UPLIFT sample?

Using MIRO application[11], we visualized the housing position of our interviewees at the last time when they lived with their original family and at the time of the interview, to see how far they had moved from their starting point (figure 2). The first circle at each interviewee shows the last stage when he/she lived with the family before stating their individual life and the second circle shows his/her current position. (The codes of the interviewees contain a randomly generated letter and their age.)

Figure 2. Housing positions[12] of the interviewees at the last place living with their original family and currently
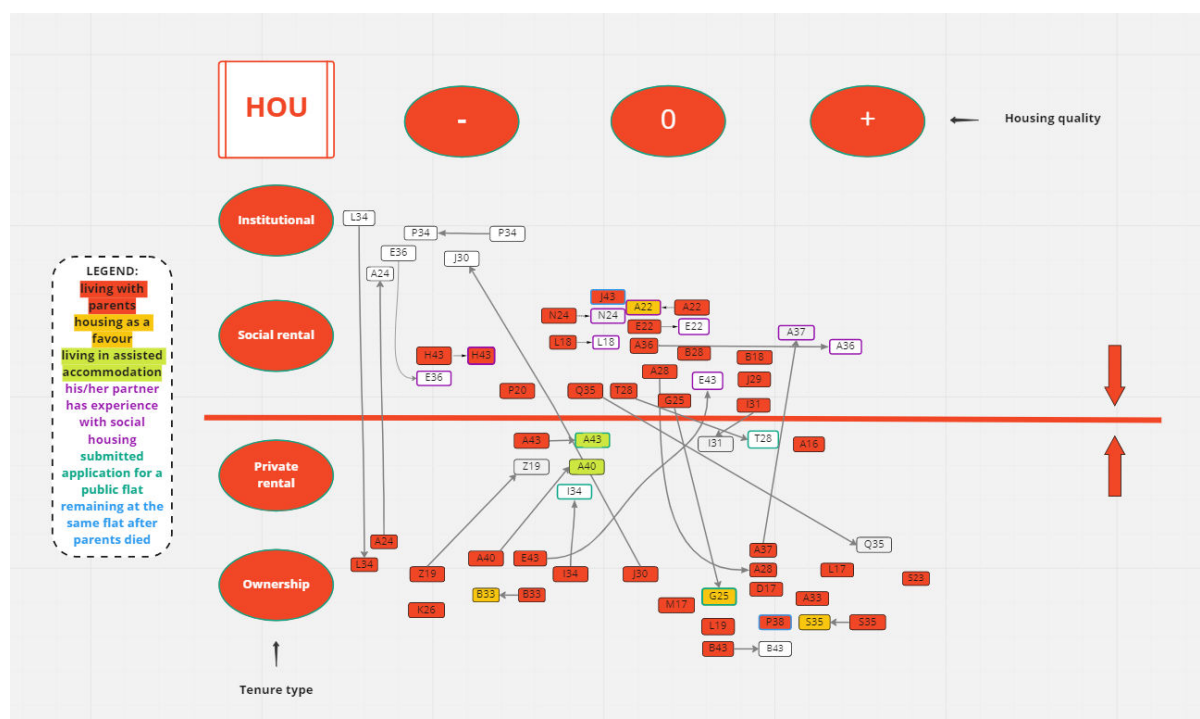

Figure made by MIRO board

From the figure and the interviews we can draw the following conclusions:

- The interviews discovered, that even in case of private ownership homes, the quality of homes are rather weak (e.g. wooden shelters), or are not located in Pécs, rather in poor villages of the agglomerational area. There are very few private properties in the sample, that would be regarded as sufficient quality and high real estate value.
- Most of the interviewees, who lived in public (social) housing at the stage of getting independent, still live in the sector. Many of them moved to another flat, which either

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[11] https://miro.com/app/dashboard/

[12] Institutional tenure includes foster care, families' temporary accommodation and homeless shelters. Assisted accommodation covers mechanisms, in which public entities pay the market rent for vulnerable families taking part in specific social programmes (like Housing First).

has a better quality (e.g. being covered by a wider rehabilitation programme) or at least provides an individual living for the starter family, independently from the parents.

- Some families in the social housing sector are still not individual families, but are living in co-habitation with parents and relatives.

- There are quite few "success stories" about leaving the social rental sector. Two persons could go to private rental units thanks to access to low, "friendly" rent level. One person is living with her boyfriend's family in a private house. One was able to buy a family house with her mother due to a fortunate donation from her family and only one was able to create their own private living benefitting from the state subsidy provided for families with children (as he had three children and sufficient income).

- Only three interviewees could enter into the social housing sector, even though many of the interviewees had extremely low income. Two out of these three got married to individuals who lived already in social housing, and one obtained the social flat 20 years ago after waiting for many years.

- The figure also shows that four interviewees have applied for public housing but did not get it in the last decade. The ones, who applied, also had experience with social housing some time in their life. The ones, who did not have any experience, do not even consider public housing an option.

Based on these observations we can formulate the statement that social housing is a closed housing structure which is hard to leave and hard to enter. In principle, this phenomenon may be logical if we could prove that the people living in social housing are in worse financial conditions - regarding their income and wealth - than those living outside the sector. But according to our interviews this is not completely the case: there are families in the sector who may not necessarily be eligible, and there are others who may be eligible but cannot enter.

Why are tenants stuck in the social housing sector?

There are objective reasons for this, rooted in the resource space, as there is a wide gap between the affordability of social housing and the affordability of private renting or housing ownership. Social rents are about 15% of market rents, while getting a mortgage for private ownership requires at least 20% down-payment and relatively high official income for getting a substantial loan. There were only two cases among our social tenant interviews where the family had a fortunate financial transaction, which generated enough funds to leave social housing and move into private ownership. This capital was not available in any other cases.

Meanwhile, despite these objective difficulties, we could get known families in social housing whose income would have been sufficient for at least private renting, but even in this case they did not move - or moved inside the sector to another unit, but not outside of it. We could identify different reasons (conversion factors) for such a behaviour.

Individual and family based conversion factors:

- Only those people are in social housing currently (and only those ones applied), who have lived in that sector some time in their life, so have personal experiences with this way of habitation. Living in social housing is part of their life strategy, which provides them probably lower comfort but a kind of stability in return. (Despite the fact that many of them have 3-years contracts, many consider it natural that it will be extended. As one woman living in a segregated neighborhood mentioned *"If we pay the rent regularly, then they – the municipality - come to check the house and the bills. They do no check if we got rich or not."*)

- In case of many social housing tenants the neighbourhood has a bad reputation and sometimes a bad physical quality as well (these do not necessarily go hand in hand, some neighbourhoods with a bad reputation has a decent outlook). The tenants have concerns, but still, they cannot imagine their life outside of it, as it is the place they know. Spatial mobility would require a certain level of social capital and self-confidence, which many of these people do not have. (As one young woman, who was born and lived in one of the most segregated neighbourhoods and obtained a separate flat for her new family at the same block, mentioned: *"I do not really feel this neighbourhood a 'home'. As regards my family, yes, but I think it can be much better in order to call it a home. ......I have a partner, and we are just about to move together. ... My mother lives in the middle of the street and we are just two blocks away. .. it is not a big distance."*)

- As new families emerge (e.g. as people get married and have children) the most common approach is to look for another unit inside the social rental sector, instead of going to private rental or ownership. It is very common that the new partners have experience with social housing as well. It is important to note, that these people have knowledge about private rental solutions, many of them have already gained experience as well, but still social housing was a preferred and more familiar solution for them on the long run.

- Living in social housing for many years makes the tenants not only familiar with the form of social living, but improves their knowledge of the system. They gain first-hand information on empty flats and the ways to manage the local administration. (A man who just moved from his family, from a social flat to another: *"Everyone says that in case you write a letter each week and knock on their doors, sooner or later you will get a flat."*)

- Tenants (and other interviewees) have a very strong mental map: preferring certain areas of the city while rejecting possibilities in other areas. This creates barriers for mobility inside the social rental sector and outside of it. The most rejected neighbourhoods are: Meszes and Hősök tere (neighbourhoods inhabited by a large share of Roma communities). What is interesting to see, that even Roma people from other parts of the city refuse to move to these areas. Consequently, even if private rent might be relatively affordable in these areas, people even from the social housing

sector are reluctant to move there. (A woman living in a segregated housing complex in a deteriorated flat, for whom a much bigger flat with better amenities was offered in Meszes: "*I do not go to Meszes, for God sake! … My partner insists on the current neighbourhood, he was born here….I do not know Meszes, I am not familiar with it ….There are places where it is not suggested to live.*").

Institutional conversion factors:

Related to the local government:

- We had quite a few interviews with social tenants where the probability of breaking the local legislations (e.g. subletting the apartments, living in other tenants' apartments, making new contracts under other tenants name, occupying the flat illegally - breaking into walled-up apartments) seemed to be high. This is known to the local government, still, as there is no proper database on the units with regard to their physical state, people living there and their contractual conditions, these law-breaking behaviours are not properly followed up.

- As the distribution of social housing is not transparent (clients cannot get information about their place in the waiting list, the points they may get for different selection criteria), even the social workers cannot determine why certain clients get social housing while others do not, individual decisions are overruling the general legislation. (As one representative of a housing NGO emphasized: "*If a system does not work, a new scheme steps into it. There is no vacuum.*"). Under these circumstances, the individual and the institutional interest for keeping the status quo and working with the families who are already in the sector, no matter if they are eligible or not, becomes the major rule. This fact prevents new tenants from entering the sector, as it is filled in with those who are already there. (One of the interviewees who submitted an application for a public rental flat mentioned: "*Many are in the que, but I am asking, how I can progress? He – the officer at the housing department – told me, that you are already ahead as you accepted the Eastern part of the city. He told me that orally, but did not put it on paper. So what is the factor with which you can progress from the 100th place of the waiting list to the 50th ?*")

- Civil organizations tend to (had to) follow these rules: support their clients, help them present their case according to what is expected and not necessarily what the reality is. (As was mentioned by one of the current social tenant interviewees: "*It depends on your income if you get a flat from the municipality or not. If it is too low, they do not give you, if it is too high, you also will not get it. ….. - from an NGO - told that my partner should not ask for income paper - from the employer - for a monthly income only for the first two weeks.*") By this means the supporting organizations, NGOs are strengthening the current chaos, as they have to "play the game".

- While there are empty municipal flats, including some contracted to interviewees, there are poor housing conditions as well - high density, terrible physical conditions - but the tenants cannot move from one social flat to another, as they

accumulated arrears previously and consequently lost their contract and still have to pay rents based on their income level without the possibility that their debts are somehow managed. On the other hand "everyone knows" in the social rental sector, that someone may get in arrears without being evicted. (In reality the eviction process sometimes starts, but quite randomly.) Consequently, the empty flats are not released and tenants do not live in rental units, which are more appropriate to their physical needs.

- Most of the stakeholders know about these anomalies, but there is a general fear that if the system becomes transparent, then many people will have to leave the sector and this creates social and political tensions, and also the obvious need for additional investments into the public housing sector would become visible.

Market related conversion factors:

- Moving from social housing to a private rental flat seems to be an obvious step if the social flat were to become too over populated/crowded. However, stepping into the private market is not only related to money - but usually requires at least two wage earners due to the rent level and the required deposit. Private landlords implement discriminatory interventions against families with children and families with Roma ethnicity. In the case of children, there is a common belief that families with children cannot be evicted if they fall into arrears. (It is not exactly the legal reality, but still it is a common fear.) Roma are discriminated against in general, both in the labour and in the housing markets. Some of our interviewees had to face strong discrimination in this regard (even by telling their names), but the ones, who were more educated, and could adjust to the public norms of the mainstream society, could more easily cope with discrimination barriers. (As one Roma man expressed: "*My girlfriend - who is Roma as well, but with a university degree - could not imagine, that shit, they do not employ me, just because I am Roma!*")

- Entering into the private ownership sector requires a big jump from social housing, even if someone has children (which the state subsidy system prefers), as it requires the uptake of a mortgage - as practically none of the interviewees had substantial savings in the family - which requires a particular level of official income. There were a few cases where private ownership seemed to be an option, but it seems that commercial banks either miscommunicate the opportunities available or the interviewees did not understand the conditions. (The ones, who finally got or planned to have a mortgage loan, were offered a smaller amount than would have been eligible according to the regulations.)

So to sum up: most of the tenants remain in the social rental sector, as they cannot afford any other options, and even if they would, there are no significant push factors (everyone is favour for the status quo including individuals and institutions) but there are quite significant pull factors (barriers to enter the private rental or ownership sectors).

5.2.2 Path-dependency in educational careers of vulnerable young people

What does the resource space like in education?

Pécs is an educational centre of Baranya county and its closer surrounding, providing a wide variety of educational opportunities in all educational levels: primary schools, secondary schools, both vocational and secondary grammar schools, and tertiary educational opportunities both universities and adult education (OKJ). There are 14 secondary grammar schools and 10 vocational schools in Pécs. Altogether, there are approximately 20,000 students in tertiary education, 4,000 being international students. Besides the state/church maintained institutions and programmes there are locally available programmes, educational opportunities provided by local NGOs to support those who have difficulties in their educational pathways.

As was written in the Urban Report on Pécs[13], the educational system has been centralized since 2011, thus the decisions on the curriculums, salary of teachers, exercise books are centrally coordinated, limiting the room of manoeuvre of localities and educational institutions on making tailor made decisions on the content and schedule of teaching materials. Primary and secondary education was previously managed and maintained by local municipalities, currently, municipalities still own the buildings of schools but the maintenance of the infrastructure is coordinated by local school districts organized under the centralized decision-making apparatus as of 1st January 2016. Vocational education was separated from other types of education (under a different ministry) and a parallel system was built up for its management in 2015. Since then, there have been efforts to restructure and reform vocational education aiming to support dual education (in cooperation with local employers) and to make interoperability possible between vocational institutes and secondary grammar schools. Changes included the reduction of the age for compulsory education to 16 years from 18. This, instead of the intention for facilitating the potential for entering the labour market earlier, in reality did not improve the employability of early leaving students. This rather increased the probability of not attending education nor being employed among 16-18 years old (NEET) (EC, 2022[14]). The Hungarian educational system is a highly segregating one (with regard to ethnicity – Roma students, and lower socio-economic background students), both between and within schools due to various reasons e.g. free choice of school, early selection (Kézdi - Kertesi, 2014[15]). Significant performance inequalities appear early in education, which is further strengthened by the selectiveness of the current educational system. It manifests well if we look at the ratio of disadvantaged students in secondary education: while in vocational education there is a share of 12.96% of disadvantaged students, in secondary grammar schools

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[13] See the urban report on Pécs at: https://uplift-youth.eu/research-policy/official-deliverables

[14] https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/5512967d-66f7-11ed-b14f-01aa75ed71a1/language-hu

[15] Kertesi G, Kézdi G (2014) Iskolai szegregáció, szabad iskolaválasztás és helyi oktatáspolitika 100 magyar városban. Budapesti Munkagazdaságtani Füzetek - BWP - 2014/6: http://real.mtak.hu/15371/1/bwp1406.pdf

this is only 1.35% (OH, 2021 quoted by EC, 2022). This phenomenon is coupled with selection of teachers, usually less educated and less experienced teachers educate the more disadvantaged students, which further decreases the potential for a good educational pathway for disadvantaged students.

The performance of the Hungarian national educational system has been worsening from many aspects. The results of the 2018 PISA study shows that the ratio of worst performing students on one hand increased since 2009 and on the other hand are all above the European average in all subjects: reading, mathematics and natural science (EC, 2022[16]). Moreover, the proportion of early leavers also somewhat increased and still above the EU average (in 2021: 12% compared to 9.7%) This ratio is much higher among the Roma population (62.7%, while it is 9.9% among non-Roma students) (MNTFS, 2022, quoted by the EC,2022).

The educational system in Pécs well represents the overall Hungarian educational system due to the strong centralization, which does not allow local authorities to adapt their local educational system to the local economic and human resource needs. The centrally set national curriculum follows a very strict schedule, putting pressure on schools, teachers and students to keep up with a great amount of material within the given timeline. [17]

The education system in Pécs is highly segregated, following the national trend. There is a territorially reflected difference between eastern and western part of Pécs: the eastern part is considered to be worse than western parts. In spatially segregated areas educational segregation seems to be stronger, especially experienced in the eastern part of Pécs, confirmed by local experts, who emphasized that even though there is a free choice of school, there seems to be a difference in perception of opportunities in the different socio-economic groups of the society: lower educated parents lack resources (time and material) to enrol their children into better schools (better teachers, giving maturity exam, providing extra curriculum), while higher educated parents both have a strong will to educate their children in better schools and have resources to be mobile and take children to further schools or enrol them into private schools. This both enhances segregation and hinders integration attempts. These two parallel phenomena (segregation and integration attempts) just further entrench the problem and seemingly leave the responsibility for schools to counterbalance this effect. Schools, however, do not seem to be able to manage this on their own (due to lacking legal and financial tools).

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[16]   https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/5512967d-66f7-11ed-b14f-01aa75ed71a1/language-hu

[17] There have been ongoing protests in 2022 country-wide for increasing teachers' salaries and to reform the educational system. See for instance: https://english.atlatszo.hu/2022/10/07/hungarian-public-education-is-dead-thousands-protested-in-budapest-demanding-better-conditions-for-teachers/

There are many individual national programmes targeting especially vulnerable groups to give them a chance of educational mobility such as AJTP[18], Dobbantó[19], HÍD (Bridge programmes)[20], and Orientation year[21]. Local experts emphasized two main issues regarding these programmes: they are also segregating e.g. children attending the dormitory programme of the AJTP are physically separated from other dormitory students, and students attending compensating programmes, like Dobbantó and Műhelyiskola got separated into a different building from the main building of the same school with different set of teachers and classmates. There are several critiques regarding the efficiency of these programmes, as they primarily function more to keep students in the system and the society rather than to give them a worthy education. To conclude, we can say that the educational system is very fragmented: schools don't communicate efficiently with each other and there is a lack of systematic solutions for integrating students with a more vulnerable socio-economic background.

In parallel with segregating tendencies, integration efforts also seem to have certain obstacles. For instance, teachers are not well prepared professionally or well incentivised for teaching in a differentiated way, ensuring that all students with different capabilities can keep up with the strict requirements (increased number of children in schools, increased number of compulsory classes and documentation overburden). Students with serious learning difficulties are sent to a committee to be tested for learning disabilities, and those who get an official diagnosis are sent to a separate school, which again is a questionable move, seemingly counteracting integrative measures. Among our interviewees we have met some individuals who ended up in a school for children with learning difficulties who later experienced difficulties achieving a good educational level (we consider good, at least a maturity exam and/or a valuable vocational diploma in the location) and a good position in the job market. Also, the

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[18] The Arany János Talent Support Program targets students living in non-urban areas that are lagging behind to provide them an institutional opportunity to get into the best high schools and gain a higher education. For further info see D2.2 Urban Report, Pécs)

[19] The Dobbantó program targets young people who did not complete primary education to provide them a second chance to do so. This program is combined with Műhelyiskola program, which aim to give at least a partial vocational diploma to young adults. For further info see D2.2 Urban Report, Pécs)

[20] These programs are not implemented at the moment, however it is important to mention that there were endeavors to integrate students under the age of 16, who already finished primary school but did not get into secondary education. For further info see D2.2 Urban Report, Pécs)

[21] The Orientation year is also used as a tool to inform students about opportunities in secondary education. For further info see D2.2 Urban Report, Pécs

responsibility for dealing with vulnerable students is officially outsourced to tanodas[22] saying: "we can't deal with disadvantaged students, please catch them up in after school activities".

It is important to mention that the Gandhi Secondary School is located in Pécs, providing Roma nationality education and enhancing the capabilities of students to gain a maturity exam, which - compared to the national programmes for combating vulnerabilities and functions as a 'web' to keep students in the system -, seems to provide a real opportunity for social mobility.

How path-dependency is built from individual, family and institutional conversion factors?

Our main statement, which we analyse in this chapter, is that the educational pathways are strongly determined and are influenced by family background: social circumstances, family's general behaviour, educational experiences; and by institutional circumstances: schools orientation capacity, knowledge and awareness of other possibilities, opportunities for one to one advice for students regarding the opportunities available to them, which factors in a certain combination results in a low mobility and a path-dependent school choice. It means that from certain elementary schools, future educational choices can be predicted more, than from others. For instance, elementary schools located in segregated areas are less likely to "send" children to secondary grammar schools, rather than vocational schools, that again have lower reputation in Pécs. Interaction between schools, parents and children in fighting for their interest further segregates the educational system and contributes to a greater polarization between socio-economic groups. This practically results in path dependent choice of educational institutes, which we have analysed in the case of our 40 interviewees:

- From an elementary school located in a segregated area where students are more likely to come from families with lower education level, attending vocational education, especially programmes for compensating lack of basic capabilities, are more likely than from others.
- From elementary schools located in non-segregated areas and coming from families with higher educational levels it is more likely for children to go to secondary grammar schools, however reaching a university degree is still constrained.
- Breakout from this path dependency and exceeding the levels of educational expectations/possibilities seem to be possible through specialized institutions such as the exceptional Roma secondary school, Gandhi, which provides an outstanding education with the goal of providing (mostly second chance) secondary education for vulnerable - mainly Roma - children. (Still, in these cases mostly students with a supportive family background are likely to benefit from this opportunity.)

Our hypothesis is that the local school system barely contributes to societal mobility and cannot provide genuine opportunities to tackle disadvantages originating from the socio-

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[22] Tanoda is a method of offering students an after-school help to compensate for their learning difficulties. In many cases Tanodas are also places of socialisation, helping vulnerable students and their families in their everyday problems. Tanodas are run primarily by NGOs or churches.

economic-cultural background of families. The school system, in cooperation with parents, entrenches societal differences, narrowing down further choice of career thus reproducing social inequalities.

Our hypothesis is tested through two major groups of interviewees: 1) in case of currently young interviewees having maximum primary education we try to understand what the conversion factors are behind their failures; 2) in the second group, the ones who reached maturity, we aim to define those factors that lead to a relative educational success.

Currently young interviewees having maximum 8 classes and not studying (altogether seven interviewees out of the 12 currently young people who has 8 classes completed and not studying in secondary school). These are the students, who were dropped out from secondary schools.

> There were three individuals who dropped out from primary school, as such they had not finished 8 classes. Six of the interviewees were still in education: three attending high schools (one attended Gandhi and another AJTP program) and three were attending a vocational school specifically for those who have difficulties with either learning or socialization. The remaining five interviewees belong to the older age cohort, some of them having finished 3 months long vocational education, we will not analyse them in depth.

The main question regarding this group was: what combination of individual, family and institutional conversion factors contributed to their unsuccessful school career, ending up having a low level of education.

Table 6. Basic factors behind educational outcomes among low educated young interviewees (max. primary school and dropped out – the codes contain randomly generated letters and the age of the interviewees)

	Failed (1=yes 0=no)	Roma ethnicity (1=yes, 0=no)	Elementary school	Vocational school	Individual	Family		Institutional
						Education level	Attitude/ financial support	
L19	1	1	Segregated	Sásd	-	low	+	-
P20	1	1	Segregated	500	-	low (dad vocation)	+ attitude but - behaviour	-
K26	1	0	Non segregated	József Nádor	-	low	+ but, - financial	+
N24	1	1	Segregated	?	-	low	-	-
A24	1	1	?	MIOK	-	low	-	-
A28	1	0	Special*	Csokonai	-	low	+	-
Z19	1	0	Segregated	Pécsvárad, 508 (Simonyi)	-	low	+ tried to help, not successful	-

*Special school for students diagnosed with multiple learning and/or mental difficulties e.g. ADHD and so on.

There are important **individual aspects** of path dependency**,** such as the perception of opportunities regarding secondary education. There were young people among our seven interviewees who seemed to underestimate the significance of the maturity exam, and value vocational education, as it was more useful for them in the local labour market. (In fact, it turned out from our labour market analysis that having a maturity exam was an important factor for a successful employment position, but these seven interviewees did not consider it so.)

"I think the maturity exam is not really a useful thing. I don't know if it's good if you have only a maturity exam but not a vocational diploma. I do not think it would make much sense. Vocational diploma would be needed besides a maturity exam. (19 year old NEET young men)

"… but the maturity exam does not give you much, if you have it, it is worth something only abroad, in Hungary it definitely is not worth anything." (19 year old woman on maternity leave)

Among the younger interviewees (aged 15-29) in two cases women became pregnant early, while studying, and men left school due to individual conversion factors: lack of motivation to study and preference in earning money rather than staying in school even though in most cases they got paid for having training in workshops within dual education.

"I don't even know. I did not even think about this, that I should stay to have the scholarship." (20 years old young man, dropping out from vocational education)

"Yes, but besides that, I did study, just unfortunately did not finish it. Only half a year was left, I did go to study to become a cook in Sásd. I even practiced in the field. Truly, I left school because of it (apprenticeship). I rather went to work, but not even that worked out as I wished so, because, how to say, there was a lot of work for a small amount of money and it was even hard, so it was not worth it." (19 years old woman, currently on maternity leave)

Conversion factors regarding the **family background** of interviewees : there were two main factors that seem to contribute to the educational outcome: 1) almost all parents (when there is information on that or on the occupation of parents) have a low level of education 2) there is either no relationship with parents, toxic relationship, or in those case where parents appeared to be helpful, there were financial or educational capability barriers.

"Well, the problem was - I even lived with my grandma for a while - when I moved back, my parents could not financially help me, so that's why." (26 years old young woman currently in public work)

*"Yes, and I said, okay, I'm gonna go, I will not abort my daughter. Then, I went to school, it was a Friday, and I said to my teacher 'see you next week' and she was like, what are you talking about? I stared at her, saying why? She said, what should I do, you cannot come, your mother took you out of school" (*24 years old mother currently living in a shelter for families*)*

Institutional conversion factors in all cases seems to be a key: schools do not seem to have the tools or the interest to keep problematic students in school due to the already high number of students in one class, and the overburden of teachers who have to deal with all students according to their capabilities. The responsibility of continuing or not continuing their studies is exclusively put on young people and their families. Especially among students with families lacking financial resources, the choice between studying or working can play an important factor in leaving education at the age of 16. Among institutional conversion factors, the discriminatory behaviour of the school and the training place is also among the narratives.

"I was studying to be a cook but unfortunately I failed one subject even at the retake exam, and for my last year, I could have repeated it, but I did not, because there was not any income. And they said that the scholarship will be halved, but they took more than half of it, so I could only buy my monthly transportation pass." (26 years old young woman working in public work)

"I studied to be a house-painter here. I was studying to be a painter-masolue-paperhanger but I quit it. Unfortunately, my boss was a hick and also I had a child in the meantime. It was mostly my boss. My master, I would rather say. (…) Roundly saying he was racist. He was continuously poking me, he called me by my surname, not my first name, he was poking me. He was snooping all the time." (24 years old man, currently working irregularly on a daily basis)

Another very important institutional factor seems to be the lack of or insufficient orientation (helping students with choosing secondary education), especially on an individual and more tailor made level. This potentially contributes to lack of information regarding the real

possibilities available to the young individuals, so the perceived opportunities will be narrowed down to what information students have through their families, social networks.

"I finished 8 classes here, then I applied to be a policeman. I spent one year in Pécsvárad. I did not like it at all. None has told me what goes along with choosing a profession. To choose when you are 14 what you will become as an adult. I find it stupid. I did not really find my place there (...) I even failed there." (19 years old pregnant young woman)

Not only the lack of orientation, but the normative approach on orientation in our example appeared. One of our interviewees attending the Éltes elementary school (it is well-known that only those go there who has serious diagnosed learning difficulties) reports that at grade 8th she has received a paper which listed the secondary schools that are offered for her, which she felt was a limitation of her own choice, moreover, limitation in choosing better schools.

*"They did not even give us a chance. So, there was this paper, listing all the optional schools (...) So they did not even give a chance to those who would like to choose differently to make their lives better. This was very difficult for me". (*A 28 years old young woman with two children)

We can say that the combination of lacking individual skills, having a family background that does not provide sufficient support for achieving a good educational level, and also the interest of institutions and the lack of capacity to orient (give counselling for students for studies after finishing primary school) according to individual capabilities and needs of students where these young people go, together play a role in predicting a lower educational outcome. Also changing the maximum age for compulsory education from 18 to 16 years with the combination of the urge to be active in the labour market to either have financial independence from parents or to contribute to the household budget reinforces early leaving and results in low educational level.

However, among our interviewees there were three students, who are currently attending a special school where students enrolled in support programmes either to finish their primary school or to gain partial vocational education. A teacher from this school mentioned: "*Even if they (student attending Dobbantó and Műhelyiskola programmes") are there (succeeding) they do not believe in themselves, and this is just terrible*".

"I did feel it, that I am not able to do it (technical drawing class) and my stepfather was telling me that I will not succeed, I will fail it." (17 years old student attending a support programme)

"I don't even know why, my cousin was coming here, so his/her mother helped me to enrol here." (18 years old student attending a support programme)

Another important institutional conversion factor is the role of teachers they play in the educational pathways of students. Teacher's appear in many ways among the narratives of our interviewees, but it can be basically grouped in 2 major categories: 1) supportive, paying special attention to the interviewee 2) discriminative, dismissive, not only does not pay attention but also acts against the individuals. Usually having the first type of experience coupled with better educational outcomes e.g. reaching to maturity exam, or not dropping

out from vocational education, however only this factor in case of low-educated, dysfunctional family dynamics is not necessarily enough for educational achievement, still is very important. While the second appeared more frequently among those who have dropped out from school, or failed from subject(s).

"She, truly, always told us speech, or how to express myself. So she always encouraged us, to study, be better and compete and to show to the other two classes that we are the best." (...) I feel like she paid attention to me, if I had a problem, or I had to go somewhere she allowed me to go and did not give me "missing" for that."

"There was a teacher. I don't know. There was a teacher for Hungarian (literature and grammar). I disliked her and she also did not like me. I don't know what the reason was. " (..) There was a math teacher, I did not get along with him, he was not cool. Always hazed us. (...) the whole class, a lot of people failed."

As it is clear from *Table 6*, all of our young interviewees failed at least once at least from one subject. Failure often mentioned as a breaking point in education because of many things: 1) failure means an individual failure and can potentially cause a false belief of ability, 2) it happens because of missing classes due to sickness, and there seems to be a lack of ability to provide individualized solution for that 3) in one case someone even left school due to the shame 4) it is narrated as not fair, potential reasons among others: discrimination against Roma, or simple dislike of the teacher 5) in one case instead of failing the student in grade 8 the teachers gave better grades to the student to get rid of her. So rather than giving her extra help with the subjects she had difficulties with, the teacher/school rather gave her better grades, which seems to be a good compromise from both sides, however competences and skills are not well improved as a result of this.

"I was in 9ᵗʰ grade. She, (the math teacher) was my math teacher as well, and two of us were Roma in the class. At the end of the year she said she sorts out the waste. When she failed me. I felt bad for a while (...). I got into a class with a young class teacher, she loved us, we loved her, she was very devoted, but unfortunately I got the same math teacher, who failed me. (...) I went to grade 10, she failed me again. That was the point where I decided not to continue this school, because the only subject, not only the subject but the feeling that was in me, that I am not good enough to be enrolled here." (An interviewee at the age of 22)

Graduation from secondary grammar school (maturity exam)

Among the 40 interviewees, there were 14 interviewees who have graduated from secondary grammar school, among those only a few started university and only 4 have gained a BA/MA degree. In some cases, the highest educational level stops at this level because the results of the graduation and the lack of language exam were not enough to get into university. Still, among vulnerable young people, reaching a maturity exam can be regarded as an educational success, the factors behind which are worth analysing.

Table 7. Basic factors behind educational outcomes among higher educated interviewees (at least high school graduation – the codes contain randomly generated letters and the age of the interviewees)

	Age	Elementary school S - segregated N - non segregated	Educational level	Individual	Family	Institutional	Education level of family members	Attitude/financial support of family
J43	43	S	Maturity exam and profession	+	+	+	Low educated	Very supportive, lacking financial resources
B33	33	N	Maturity exam and profession	+	+	-	Both vocational diploma	Financial support
G25	25	N	Maturity exam and profession	+	-	+	Low educated	Support from grandmother, but not from parents
L19	19	N	Maturity exam and profession	+	+	+/-	Medium education	Family expectations on university diploma
T28	28	N	Maturity exam, ongoing adult education	+	-	-	Low educated	General neglecting attitude
S23	23	N	Maturity exam	+/-	+/-	+/-	?	Supporting but general violence issues
I34	34	N	Maturity exam and on-going university	+	+	-	Grandma maturity exam, no one else	Generally bullying but high requirements regarding school
Z30	30	N	Maturity exam, profession and BA degree	+	+/-	+	Vocational education - father	Family support up to vocational school, social network support for further study
A36	36	S	Maturity exam and BA degree	+	+	+	Low education - miner	Motivating, supporting
I31	31	N	Maturity exam and peofession	-	+/-	+		Mother helpful, father alcoholic
A33	33	N	MA degree and adult education	+	-	+/-	Low educated parents	Toxic environment
S35	35	N	Maturity Exam and adult education	+	+	+		Parent's helpful, supporting maturity exam

							Parents have	Parents did not
A43	43	N	BA degree, and profession	+	-	0	low education	have time to help, came home later from work
B43	43	N	Maturity exam and profession	+	-	+/-	Parents have low education	

As opposed to those who have maximum 8 classes, the perception of having a maturity exam, namely that it is a must to have in our society nowadays, seems to be a quite common and important **individual conversion factor**.

"Because, everywhere…. I mean, the maturity exam is a minimum to have, minimum, so it was a must to do so. I even did feel the strength, I don't even know where I saw the opportunity to apply for evening school to finish the maturity exam…" (A 33 years old formerly young woman who failed from one class and dropped out of school, but later did take the maturity exam)

Why did interviewees stop at the level of a maturity exam? The university appears to many as an unachievable goal, which seems to be a strong **individual constraining factor**, in that the interviewees did not believe they could get in and did not apply, or in two cases, they did apply but did not get into the university.

"I also wanted to go to university, but I was not accepted, so these things were letting me down. Whatever, I always wanted in life what she (her sister) had in life, so for instance, she attended university, I also wanted to go, but I did not succeed. And I firmly believe that a person is a human being, only if he or she has a university degree." (A 22 years old NEET woman)

"Well, I was even thinking about going to university, to the faculty of economics, to choose finance and accounting. Then I was not accepted, so I was thinking about getting into the state financed position, but my maturity exam results were not good enough, I messed up two subjects, so I was not accepted, so there was only the adult education left to get finance and accounting qualification there." (24 years old woman who has a stable full time office job)

In most of the cases the individual conversion factors correlate with **stronger family background**: even if parents have a lower education level, there is someone in the close social network (a friend or a partner), or among relatives (a grandparent or an aunt) who has either a higher educational level and or can provide substantial support for the young person to progress well in education. What is important to note is that there were very few interviewees who could gain maturity without the support of his/her family: practically everyone was supported in some way and the institutions were able to build on the efforts of the individual and the family, but were not able to counteract their influence when it was not supportive.

"As I said, my grandma, she was very smart. She had more qualifications, she even had a maturity exam and everything. She wanted me to continue my studies and do what I would like to do." (A 33 years old woman, single earner while having 2 children)

In two cases, university is viewed as a potential for earning more money. However in both cases there are financial constraints, in one case the university refused the individual a diploma, and in the other the interviewees has had to keep postponing (as she is still attending) her studies because of difficulties with paying the tuition fees.

"That was the worse, in my whole life regarding work, that I was never able to save money, because of this, especially with children (she has 2 children) and that I was commuting and living in market rental, so, you know continuously living in market rental, it is not possible to save money. I truly regret this, in my age (she is 30-35), that I have two children but no savings. This is very bad. This is why I decided to do the university. So, maybe a better salary will allow me to save money. I do not enjoy living day by day." (A 34 years old woman, single earner while having 2 children)

"...In the meantime I started the university in 2007, in parallel with a vocational training (..) studying informatics engineering, there were only 2 semesters left. Unfortunately the family got into financial trouble, I had to go to work, so I unfortunately have chosen to work, but if I would have decided to finish university studies, I would not work as a turner now, but probably would work in the field of informatics or a similar engineering." (A 43 years old formerly young person, having a stable full time job, working in his profession)

The Gandhi secondary school seems to have a special role in Pécs for Roma people. The interviewees, who held a bachelor degree in all cases graduated from the Gandhi Secondary School. However, in all cases Gandhi was only the second choice of school after having to leave the state funded secondary school in one case due to lack of family resources and failure in the other. In all cases there was an important social relationship with someone who recommended Gandhi and motivated the interviewees to enrol.

"We met, she was a cousin of my mom, she was already teaching in the Gandhi secondary school at that time and my mom told her what had happened. I have never wanted to attend Gandhi but she offered that I could enrol, I do not even need to write an entrance exam (...) So I did 4 years in Gandhi, it was not easy, I never felt cosy there, but I got a lot." (A 36 years old woman, having a BA degree, but not working in her profession)

"I didn't even know there was Gandhi. So in grade 8 in elementary school, when there were these open days, teachers were douchebags - sorry - they did not even mention it." (A 30 years old young man, having a degree)

Gandhi has a special role not only being a so called "first chance" for Roma graduates, and a "second chance" for many who were unsuccessful in other educational forms, but also as it represents a **positive institutional conversion factor**: a supportive, tailor made educational

form that is able to create strong attachment to studying and strengthens the individual talent in students.

However, the segregating nature also appeared among our interviewees. One of our interviewees applied to a secondary grammar school and even though he had similar results for the application as other non-Roma students, the director without consultation has sent his application further to the Gandhi school.

"I think the director was a type of person or director who does not like Roma people. So we were not accepted, not because we did not have good results, so that we did not succeed, but because it was known very well that we are gypsies." (A 33 years old woman, currently working full time)

5.2.3 Pathways to inactivity and exclusion processes in the labour market

What does the resource space like in the labour market?

Pécs and its agglomeration is a post-industrial region with a lagging developmental pathway, however, by the end of the 2010s economic indicators were more favourable than before the 2008 economic crisis thanks to the overall upward trends in the European economy. The employment rate followed a quick recovery by 2016, and the economic activity rate grew to 72.6% by 2019. As it has been written in the Urban Report on Pécs, the economic upturn following the 2008 crisis has provided a relatively stable and sufficient number of job opportunities in and around Pécs, but the main concern for youngsters is finding a job, which provides decent payment and working conditions. Labour market fluctuation is high due to low wages and poor working conditions from employees' perspectives; and due to the low skill and competency of workers from employers' perspectives.

One of the things that makes Pécs' position special among Hungarian cities is that Pécs relies heavily on the public sector: about half of the employment positions are in education and public services. As regards the open market, it is SME-based: there are few foreign direct investments, innovative actions, few large industrial and service employers. The results of these two are somewhat lower average wages, higher share of low paid employees compared to other major cities, and continuous outmigration from the city.

The most important actor in labour market policy is the Baranya County Government Office (Baranya Megyei Kormányhivatal). On the one hand, the Employment Office Department of the County Government Office (hereinafter referred to as EO) administers the passive job market measures, such as unemployment benefit for 3 months. 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. The conditions for receiving unemployment benefit is to have an employment (or entrepreneurial) contract. On the other hand, the Employment Office Department implements centrally planned active labour market programmes that provide 1) trainings for jobseekers and 2) subsidies for employers in employing the registered unemployed. The Government Office acts more as an authority than a service provider, and thus the Málta Charity Organisation is a key player, actively reaching out to vulnerable

residents in Pécs 'járás' (district) who are not even registered jobseekers, and try to involve them in various programmes. This type of activity is largely absent from the public employment service system. There is also a Pécs Labour Market Pact, which has been worked out to generate cooperation between employers and institutions, with the following actors, covering Pécs "járás": Municipality of Pécs, Baranya County Government Office, Hungarian Charity Service of the Order of Malta ("MALTA") and Pécs City Development Ltd.

Another important factor influencing the local labour market is worth mentioning: the early childhood care system is also part of the local institutional system that has a significant impact on labour market opportunities. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that early childhood care institutions are not prepared to deal with the epidemic, and the dysfunction of the system, which was originally intended to help parents, has had a restrictive effect on parents' employment opportunities.

The following figure displays positions of the interviewees with regard to their conditions of employment and wage.

Figure 3. Change of employment position of the interviewees – the codes contain randomly generated letters and the age of the interviewees
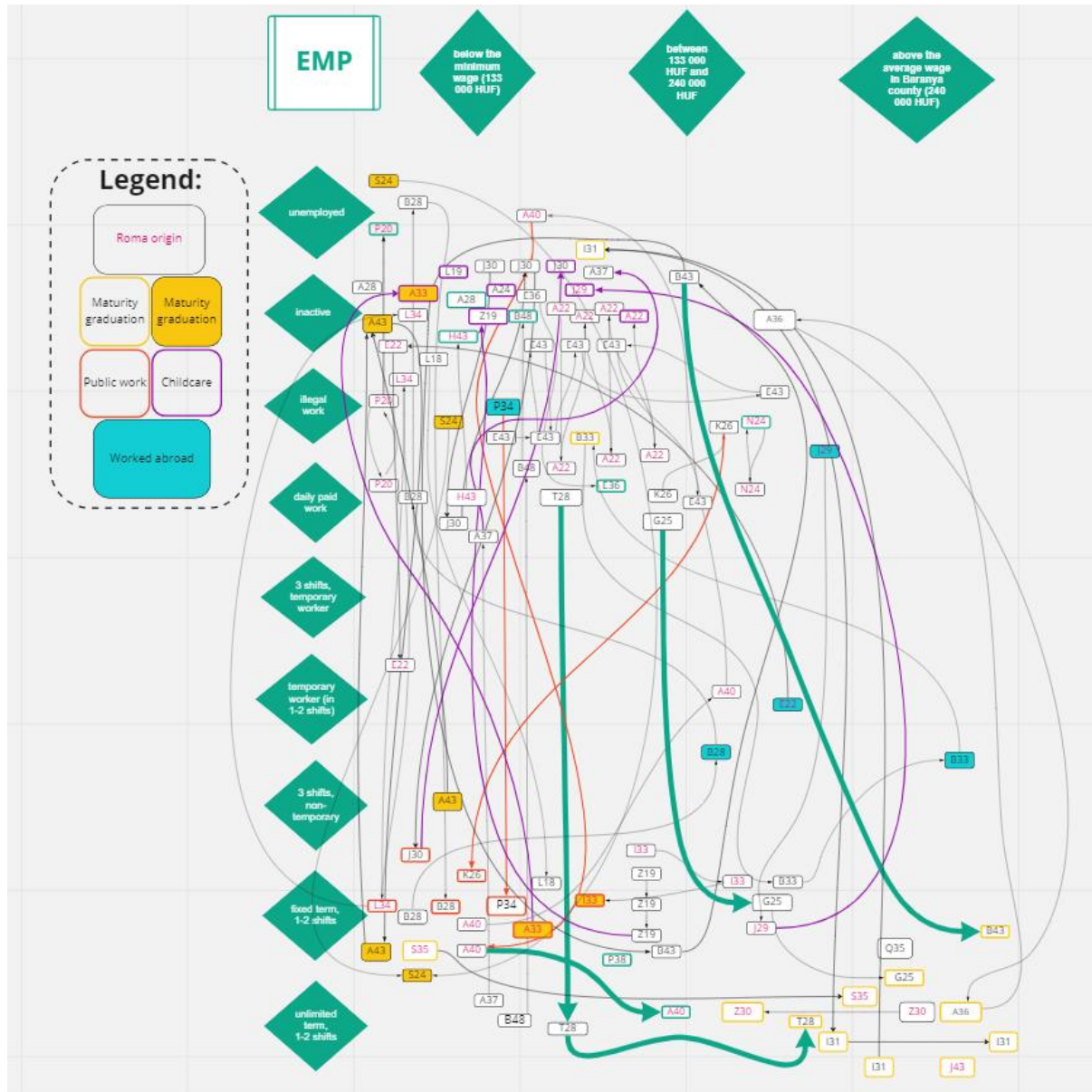
Made by MIRO board

Using the chosen functionings of the employment history, we have observed the following phenomena:

- Unemployment, and especially long-term unemployment is not widespread, thanks to the fact that the study was conducted at an economic peak, which made employment as high as possible.
- The mothers with children in our sample are mostly all stuck in inactivity in the labour market for long periods of time or only leave it with short interruptions.

- For most of those who have ever been public workers, this is not a temporary but a long-term condition.
- There are very few Roma among public workers in our sample.
- Jobs with a good working condition and decent payment are only available for those interviewees, who have at least a maturity exam.

Based on these outcomes we can formulate a statement that the labour market in Pécs is a precarious world, in which unemployment is marginal, but only the maturity exam has a real protective effect. It does not necessarily mean that the "maturity paper" alone is the one which is decisive, but it may also mean that those skills and conditions that lead to maturity are the ones that may lead to a more successful employment position. The increased search for stability in the absence of maturity creates a structure in which even those institutions that originally were intended to be transitory, such as public work and childcare benefit, cease to be permanent.

Our main focus, which we analyse in this chapter is inactivity in times of economic conjuncture and discriminatory processes. We focus first on how women were trapped in inactivity, and then on who among the Roma experienced or perceived different kinds of discrimination.

The traps of inactivity

Inactivity in the labour market of mothers appears to be a strategy, so one of the key questions of the labour market chapter of the Pécs case study is what are the conversion factors that discourage people from working after having children and what are the factors that nevertheless push them back to the labour market. Among the latter, which constraints and which enabling factors are present, and what are the possible enabling factors that remain hidden outside the perceived opportunity space.

The outcomes show that one pregnant woman is NEET and six mothers with children are stuck in inactivity. There are five women in the sample who are currently on maternity leave, two of them without any working experience and three of them from the formerly young part of the sample with two to three years of working experience at most. Only seven women with children – out of the 18 - are currently working.

Our research shows that the noticeable presence of mothers at risk of inactivity is a complex problem, reflecting labour market imperfections, male-centredness, the mechanisms of the patriarchal family model in society and the economic conjuncture that plays a crucial role in the emergence of this situation.

Table 8. The factors potentially influencing the employment position of mothers (currently working mothers are highlighted in light yellow and cases highlighted in strong yellow are considered clear success stories with stable jobs – the codes contain randomly generated letters and the age of the interviewees)

	Info gathering abilities	Social network	Parental background		Partnership	Boss' / Employer's attitude	Employment Office
			Father	Mother			
Currently young mothers:							
L18	NI	NI	+	+			+ –
Z19	–	+	–	–	+ –	–	
A22	+	+ –	+	+	+	–	
A24	NI	–	–	–	–		NI
A28	NI	NI	–	+	–	–	NI
T28	+	+	+	–	+	+	
J29	+	+	–	+		–	–
Formerly young mothers:							
J30	NI	–	–	–	–	–	+
I31	+	NI	–	+	+	+	
A33	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
I34	+	+	–	–	+ –	+ –	–
A36	+	+	+	+	+	+	NI
E36	+	NI	–	–	–	+ –	NI
A37	NI	+ –	+	+	+ –		
H43	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
A43	NI	–	–	–		–	
E43	+	–	+	+	–	+	NI
B43	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

What are the factors that make mothers inactive?

Individual and family based conversion factors:

- **Education level**: One possible starting point for inactivity in the labour market is dropping out of school and having children young. Four out of five interviewees in this situation are still predominantly inactive and three completely inactive. We can also observe the impact of education if we look at it from the opposite perspective and we specifically focus only on the cases identified as success stories: We can be seen that they all completed their secondary education at Gandhi Secondary School.
- **Partnership:** In the course of our interviews, we observed that interviewees who have a balanced relationship with their partner are those who are able to be integrated not only successfully but also permanently into the labour market. The position in current family appears to be a key factor, which can be approached through two dominant models from a labour market perspective:

- In case the partnership is based on a culturally patriarchal family model, the woman's labour market activity is restricted. This can be maintained as long as economic constraints do not intervene and the father/husband becomes unable to support the family alone, making the possibility of a single-earner family model unattainable. (In some cases the income level of a one-earner model household is strikingly low, still, the women are not working or looking for a job.)
  - Some of our interviewees have experienced abuse by their partners, which in all cases manifested itself as the man's drive to control the women. In each of these cases, it is the male partner's effort to discourage the woman from social contact, including work.

- **Information and help:** One of the main factors of staying inactive seems to be having or not having an extensive support/social network so that you can go to work even when it is not an economic constraint. The table shows that in all cases where there is no long-term inactivity, there is an extensive social network. This variable can be referred to as a dividing line, since there is no contra-example in which an extensive social network is available but the interviewee is facing a situation of being stuck in an inactive role in the labour market.
  - A social network (whether or not is within the family) helps to find a non-precariat job in the labour market environment threatened by precariousness. The informal network can help in some cases to find flexible jobs and in other cases to broaden job opportunities through help with childcare.
  - The most relevant example where there is no push for work, rather an individual ambition, comes from one of the interviewees, who could moderately live on her partner's salary, but because she is very well informed about labour market opportunities and has support from her sister, who can help her with childcare, she is able to return to work in the absence of constraints, simply to live a better standard of living. (Given the few flexible jobs that can fit in with mothers' schedules, this often means that spending time with children requires considerable sacrifices.) *"I used to work in the factory until recently, but my sister has started working now, so she can't help looking after the baby, so I can't work here anymore."* (A 22-year-old woman who used to supplement her maternity care with unregistered work, but is currently not supported to do so.)

- **Health status**: those inactive mothers that belong to the older age group tend to face serious health issues due to the life style they lived (had to live) for decades, and this health status does not make it possible for them to take a job.

Institutional conversion factors:

- **Information loss**: Mothers did not generally experience effective interventions by the Employment Office. It seems that the Employment Office was unable to provide jobseekers with jobs, retraining or meaningful information. Moreover, in the case of delegating one mother to a workplace, we observed a mismatching process, the

Employment Office provided wrong information: *"There was a job that I was offered, and I went into a shop and the guy told me why I came here, they were looking for a man. The Employment Office sent me there."* (A 34-year-old Roma woman who is currently working as a public worker in a childcare centre and also doing additional jobs.)

- o In the case of another mother the Employment Office organised training to become a childminder (kisgyermekgondozó), but did not inform the participants that they would not be able to work in kindergartens, because it would require a university degree: *"Wow, that was awful! They didn't tell us that. If we knew that, we wouldn't have started this training because three quarters of the class applied because they really wanted to work in this field, which they won't actually be able to do with this qualification."* (A 33-year old woman who is now officially unemployed, but who studies almost every day as a hairdresser in a hairdresser's shop and occasionally earns money by cleaning.)

- **Working environment**: Among women with children, vulnerability not only to the personal network, but also to the work environment and especially to the employer, appears to be a striking factor. Work experiences and perceptions of the workplace were quite mixed, mostly negative, with stories of discrimination and to a lesser extent positive experiences. The gap between the two experiences was explained mostly by education, the group with at least a maturity exam seemed to have good work experience and have positive relations with employers, while almost all of those without a maturity exam had negative employer experiences, which, in many cases, further ruined (or impacted on) their labour market prospects.

"My boss flirted and then tried to get closer to me and told me that if I didn't go for it, I could leave, and that's how I got out of here." (A 30-year-old woman who is currently on maternity care and living with her children in a mother's shelter.)

- **Working conditions**: Even though there was an economic upturn and labour shortages, workplaces still did not adapt to the needs of mothers in terms of employment conditions. There were no jobs with flexible schedules that were not very precarious. In precarious conditions, networks create the safety net that ensures longer-term planning in the absence of secure contracts (and rather than precarious contracts).

"When I went to the doctor (...) They put me on sick leave, because there was any chance of me losing the baby if I lifted myself even a little bit – and it wasn't hard there. After I went on sick leave, I was constantly harassed by my workplace to either go back to work or resign, even though they knew the reason I was staying at home. Not two days went by that I didn't get a call telling me to go or not to come back. It lasted about a month, and then I had had enough." (A 19-year-old NEET woman who is currently pregnant and have health issues.)

- **Transport infrastructure**: The time constraints of mothers who can only find housing in the outskirts or in the vicinity of the city due to limited financial resources are intensified by the fragmented transport network, which further reduces the time available for work and increases the need for more flexible working conditions.
- **Cyclical effect**: After the end of the economic upturn, it is a realistic scenario that a significant proportion of families who currently operate in a single-earner family model will be forced to switch to a two-earner model, in order to make their means of subsistence. This threatens a vision of difficult employment for women due to their inexperience in the labour market, as well as a risk of being forced into precarious jobs.

Perceived and real discrimination against Roma people

After having previously presented discrimination against women as a possible constraining factor, we now focus specifically on discrimination processes in the case of Roma ethnicity, which is a phenomenon that appears in all labour market surveys. In the case of Roma people, we find that almost all have experience of discrimination and only three have positive experience of the labour market. Perceptions vary greatly along the lines of who has what kind of education, working conditions, capabilities and disabilities.

Table 9. The factors potentially influencing the employment position of Roma people, who have already working experience (cases highlighted in strong yellow are considered clear success stories with stable jobs and in light yellow are the precarious stories with outbreak potential -– the codes contain randomly generated letters and the age of the interviewees)

	Education level	Info gathering abilities	Social network, partner	Boss, colleagues, employer's attitude	Employment Office	Other institutions
Roma currently and formerly young men:						
P20	primary	NI	+ −	NI	−	+
N24	primary	+ −	+ −	−	−	+
Z30	diploma	NI	+	−	−	
L34	primary	NI	+ −	−		+
S35	maturity + higher education	+	+	+	NI	
J43	maturity + vocation	NI	+	−		
Roma currently and formerly young women:						
A22	primary	+	+ −	−		+
J29	vocational	+	+	−	−	
I34	maturity	+	+	+ −	−	−
A33	diploma	+	+	+	−	
A36	diploma	+	+	+	NI	
A40	primary	−	−	−	−	+
H43	pre-primary	−	−	−	−	+

In contrast to the table detailing the factors that potentially determine the position of mothers, it is remarkable that there is an extensive social network among our Roma interviewees, almost without exception. If we focus exclusively on success stories, the table highlights the importance of educational attainment and a strong social network.

The success stories include both men and women, but there are differences in educational attainment and labour market exit trends (see previous chapter focusing on education). However, the interviews suggest that the female member of the family faces different labour market discrimination than the male member of the family. If the woman faces discrimination, the family is more likely to incorporate it into its functioning and to adapt more readily to the woman's long-term inactivity in the labour market than in the case of the man, who is positioned as the "main earner".

We can also see that success stories were mainly identified among older interviewees which is congruent with findings from the literature that young people are more vulnerable in the labour market. This may be due to the fact that the formerly youngsters generally have a longer working history as a result of their age. However, another possible reason may be the fact that while the young interviewees were almost exclusively reached through institutional gatekeepers, the sampling of formerly youngsters has become more and more snowball-based, and it is presumably easier to find success stories through personal recommendations than through the involvement of institutional actors.

Individual and family based conversion factors:

- **Educational level**: Our interviews show that those who have had positive experiences are overwhelmingly those who have at least a maturity exam and excellent communication skills. Therefore, adaptation to the way the majority society communicates seems to be a crucial factor to avoid discrimination in the labour market. Such adaptation seems to be able to conceal the stigma of being Roma.
  - Furthermore, the interviews show the interplay between educational attainment and the social network, and there are cases that reveal the role of education in the labour market more from this interplay. In these cases, it appears that discrimination is not tackled through high qualifications and improved communication skills accumulated through the school environment, but through the valuable social network as a capital gained through time spent in education.

    "Even though I have two degrees and a profession in finance, I don't even get called for an interview. I think it's because they can see I'm Roma in my photo. (…) I got this job and the previous one through my relations from the college for advanced studies. These are jobs that are in the middle of my interests, I like doing them, but I can only do them as a public worker at very low wages." (A 33-year-old woman with a diploma in Romani Studies who is currently on maternity leave.)

- **Behavioural trade-offs**: Form of communication appears as potential driver of discrimination. However, several interviews outline the duality between the different habits required to succeed in the labour market and to succeed in the maze of bureaucracy. Certain forms of communication are discriminated in certain situations in an institutional environment characterised by abundant informality, while in other situations they open loopholes[23].

  "We talked on the phone, I talked to him nicely, gave him some useful technical information, and threw in a few good jargon when appropriate. And the response was: >>okay, come in, sure, you're hired.<< When I went in to sign the paperwork, they said sorry, no hiring. We discussed it on the phone, but when they saw me in person, they refused." (A 30-year-old man who besides working as a public worker in a Roma Association, manages the family-owned businesses.)

- **Coping strategies with stigma**: During our interviews, we also encountered attitudes that overcame the stigma of being Roma by overcompensating with self-deprecation, which had become a barrier to access better position in the labour market.

  "I did for him the programming, the machine setup, everything. He says I can start tomorrow for 650 HUF net hourly wage, which was above the minimum wage at that time. (...) After a year I got 700 HUF net hourly wage. The people who were hired then and didn't know half as much as I did, only how to operate machines, came to work there for more hourly wages than I did. There was an older colleague there, from whom I could learn a lot professionally, (...) who stood up for me. One, because of my Roma origin, and two, because my professional knowledge exceeded that of his boss at that time." (A 43-year-old skilled craftsman who is now back in his profession after a long break.)

- **Social network**: In a poorly functioning institutional social system the ability of self-advocacy/self-assertion and the search for loopholes is valued, based on the family and social network. The importance of these alternative, loophole-seeking approaches lies in the fact that without institutional support, this remains the only way to cope with the discriminatory processes that pervade the labour market. This implies that informal pathways not only allow us to survive without institutional support, but that informality also appears to be more effective than the Employment Office in our cases.

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[23] Better self-expression, select wording, fluent speech and lack of any dialect are all elements that help to conceal the stigma of being a Roma. In contrast, in some situations, it is precisely the defiance of such social expectations that opens up loopholes.

Institutional conversion factors:

- **Institutional dysfunctions**: Although it is striking how much more visible the Employment Office is as an option for Roma interviewees in comparison to non-Roma, the operation of the Employment Office seems completely dysfunctional perceived through the eyes of a Roma person. The Office still offers job opportunities to non-Roma people, but not to Roma people, and in the case of our only one Roma interviewee that have got offer from EO, there was a mismatch of delegation.

   - Earlier, we mentioned the case of this woman, whose case we presented as a case of misinformation. However, the mentioned mismatch can also be imagined as a case of discrimination in the workplace, where the Roma applicant was rejected by a disclaimer (according to this narrative, the responsibility lies with the Employment Office). *"And there were places where I went and they said they weren't looking for anybody. Then there were places where they said the job was already filled. Then there was one where they told me I had no chance here, because I didn't have that kind of profession, so I didn't understand why they were sending me to such jobs."* (A 34-year-old woman who is currently working as a public worker in a childcare centre and also doing additional jobs.)

   - As we have no insight into the functioning of the Employment Office (as we did not get an opportunity for an interview), we do not know whether the disadvantage itself is due to a lack of communication between the actors of the institutional system, or an adaptation to the discriminatory way of functioning of the market actors, or a discrimination within the Office by the administrators, or something else.

- **Information loss**: The Employment Office is not able to provide jobseekers with jobs, retraining or meaningful information, and especially in the case of Roma people, it is striking that they are able to obtain jobs and training through alternative routes, which in some cases can actually open up new perspectives.

   "People at the Employment Office were not helpful, however, I found a training opportunity for young mothers from EU funds on the internet, with scholarship. Now what I said, what I found on the internet and I'm taking part in it, this seven-month training, it's actually really cool, because they also give me a scholarship if I complete it. They'll give me a portion of it first, and after I pass the exam, they'll give me the rest of it." (A 29-year-old woman who is currently on maternity leave.)

- One of our interviewees gets public work through informal contacts instead of the formal route through the Employment Office. His working history was rooted in an illegal framework, so the Employment Office was not even considered as a possible way to find a job, it was not on the horizon at all. At the point where he faced with the potential for stability through the public work programme as opposed to illegal work,

there was no role of the Employment Office (responsible for organising the public work programme), instead he found work through informal routes.

- Fragmented opportunities provided by GONGOs and NGOs to replace dysfunctional authorities such as the Employment Office: MÁLTA, Homeless Care Foundation, Public Foundation for Homeless, Élménytár Tanoda. A recurring example in our interviews is that while the Employment Office cannot provide job offers, Málta or Élménytár Tanoda can. In other cases, the Employment Office was not even considered, but it was the homeless care foundation that were able to find and place the job-seeking client in work. *"After four years, I said enough is enough. Let's get a job. And that job came when I went to the shelter of the homeless care foundation and the person was the second boss. We went in and I said we had nothing, we had nowhere to go. He immediately arranged a job for me at the company that organises public employment."* (A 34-year-old man who is currently caring for his mother and is currently inactive.)

6 Discussion points for (a potential) Reflexive Policy Agenda in Pécs

Reflexive Policy Agenda (RPA), according to the interpretation of the UPLIFT project, is a co-creation method, in which welfare policies are planned, implemented and evaluated with the active and intense involvement of those social groups to which policies are targeted. In the case of UPLIFT, this social group is the vulnerable young people.

Based on the experiences of the UPLIFT project we have the assumption that Reflexive Policy making may have a significant impact on two major policy streams: 1) on policy making that concerns local decisions and legislation, and 2) on the ways local or central policies are implemented locally, the way people and institutions behave in the local policy environment. We do not see so far, that centrally set systems (like centralized education or government subsidy schemes) can efficiently be influenced by Reflexive Policy making, as the distance between the target group and policy making is very big, and the target group itself may be more diverse than a group of people from a specific location. (In our case from Pécs).

Based on these fundamental insights local Reflexive Policy making has limitations, and while it cannot realistically influence the basics of welfare policies, it may result in changes in local legislations and the ways institutions behave and people create their own life strategies.

Building on the outcomes of chapter 5 about the analysis of conversion factors that divert vulnerable young people to live the life they value to live or they may theoretically have the opportunity to live, we found five main impediments that RPA should cover in the three domains (housing, education, employment):

- There are wide gaps between different solutions, which makes it impossible to make smooth transitions between the different stages (the widest gap is in tenure forms in housing, schools and achievements in education, the less in employment forms). RPA may concentrate on encouraging the creation of transitory solutions.
- Interventions are made too late, when the problems are accumulated. RPA should concentrate on strengthening early, preventive interventions.
- Life strategies are primarily determined by the family background. RPA should concentrate on involving not only the vulnerable young person, but his/her family into the interventions.
- Decisions are made, policies are implemented in an atomised institutional structure. RPA should concentrate on strengthening the cooperation between stakeholders.
- Information is lost in the welfare system, not only the target group (vulnerable young people), but also the policy actors lack the information about each other's strategy, activities and real opportunities the system would be able to provide. RPA should strengthen the communication between stakeholders and with the target groups of policies.

6.1 RPA in public housing

Reflecting on the main issues described previously, our "offer" for Reflexive Policy making in Pécs in the field of housing is the following:

- Creating transitory solutions: as the condition and the amount of public housing is dramatic due to the lack of financial resources of the local government, and it can not be improved substantially without huge amount of additional funds, it is advisable to create a housing stock that is located in between the public housing and the private rental stock, that would need limited amount of public funds, still provide lower than market rates for the tenants. These housing forms can be organized by Social Rental Agencies - public organizations, that rent out private units under market level and sublet them to public tenants, while safeguard contractual relations towards the owner and the tenant and provide social services to tenants if needed. (In practice there are such assisted housing forms already existing, as part of EU financed homeless programmes, implemented by TÁMASZ Foundation in Pécs.)
- Early interventions: serious arrear problems occur when high debts are accumulated before any intervention is taken by the local authority, and when debt management, if it happens at all, comes too late. Early recognition of arrear problems, definition of conditions and provision of social help might prevent people from losing their contractual title and being evicted. In addition, the cautious management of debts might also prevent non-payment to become a norm among certain tenant groups.
- Institutional cooperation: housing and social issues are strongly interconnected, and the related organizations are in contact with each other, but rather on a case-by-case basis, which cooperation should be increased to structural level.
- Information loss: more transparent management of the housing stock (updated database, cautious debt management, transparent conditions and evaluation for getting social apartments and lengthening of contracts) may lead to a more optimal distribution of the small public housing stock.

All these issues can be handled within the framework of the current setup of public housing but may require local legislative changes and certainly procedural changes. By involving the institutional actors (departments and organizations of the municipality, NGOs) and implementing a cautious co-creation process with the current and potential tenants, the outcome would be based on lived experiences and would legitimize the changes, which anyhow would create some tensions.

6.2 RPA in education

Currently the educational system is managed by the state, however the vocational education system belongs to a different ministry and is managed in a more decentralized way on a smaller territorial level. Currently local governments have no maintenance and decision-making roles regarding education; they only have ownership of school buildings. Thus the main question of Reflexive Policy making is what can be changed and improved on a local

level, through the involvement of students into planning and implementing local educational policies. Reflecting on the five main issues identified for RPA our suggestions are the followings:

- Reducing the gaps between educational forms: There is definitely a gap in the educational system between those who go to vocational schools after finishing 8 classes and those who go to schools or classes which (in some cases besides the vocational diploma) give a maturity exam. This gap may be reduced by making shifts between classes available, or work out special courses that help students to prepare for small jumps in the educational system, or providing tailor made help to those who are willing to come back to education in a later stage of their lives. Specific solutions can be worked out by means of a co-creation process with those 16 years old for whom education is officially not obligatory anymore and either are about to fall from the system or already have failed.

- Early interventions in education: It is clear as segregation and given socio-economic background seem to be a rather strong factor in predicting the educational potentials of an individual, then early prevention and working on the socio-economic circumstances of the primary socio-cultural environment is essential. It involves the early support of families (pre-school interventions) and keeping the constant connection with the families by involving them into the life of schools and keeping them informed and motivated in the further career of their children.

- Creating cooperations between institutions: Having made interviews with the local actors in education, also a group discussion, we have sensed that there is a lack of communication and cooperation between the institutions to find and provide adequate and up to date information for students in case of choice of secondary school or in case of learning and integration difficulties. Cooperation between different institutes and segments of the school system, moreover between the social policy sector could be improved and provide a more efficient solution in case of educational difficulties of individuals.

- Improving the information stream towards the students: There is clearly a lacking orientation for all elementary school students about all the available options in Pécs, which can be provided by the closer cooperation of educational organisations, as was mentioned above, as closer cooperation means also a smoother flow of information about educational possibilities between schools. In addition, information flow also means information between students and teachers, which goes beyond the regular teaching material. We have seen from the interviews that certain teachers had a great impact on their students not only due to their knowledge on their subjects but also on their supportive and accepting attitude. This attitude can be created if there is trust between the teachers and their students, that can be strengthened by out-school activities, where both the students and their teachers can get rid of their hierarchical relations.

- +1 For a successful RPA, participating teachers, educators, and social workers could be offered training on how to work together with students and change perspective (if needed) "from a care oriented to an empowerment approach".

6.3 RPA in employment

It is difficult to give advice on reflexive policy implementation in case of employment, given that the existing main institutions involved in labour market integration belong to the competence of the central government (e.g. Employment Office, educational institutions, etc.), and local governments are known to be underfunded. However, there are some existing institutions, that belong to the competence of the municipalities and may be able to have an impact on the effectiveness of labour market integration.

- Greater focus in retraining as a transitory solution: Today, as part of the employment service system, there are no institutions that provide real retraining possibilities. The existing retraining opportunities are not fulfilling their role or are not practically available through the Employment Office. In their absence, there are no transitional institutions to serve as an intermediate step towards successful integration into the primary labour market.

- Early interventions: In the operation of the Employment Office those activities are crucially missing, that would actively seek out and systematically engage vulnerable residents, who have not registered as jobseekers themselves. Such an engagement programme could reduce the chances of long-term unemployment, which is known on the basis of literature to be one of the major threats in the labour market.

- Institutional cooperation:
  - The separation of the Vocational Education and Training Centres from other educational actors has further hindered communication between institutions. Also, the storytelling workshop and the expert interviews showed that the Vocational Education and Training Centre in Pécs was not able to use the separate institutional system to establish meaningful cooperation with local employers. Cooperation with employers in any institutional setting would be essential (and in theory would be an important element of the Pécs Employment Pact).
  - Fostering cooperation between existing institutional actors in adult education in order to minimise disruption to the pathway to the maturity exam, which our study shows to be crucial for achieving a better labour market position, would be essential. It would be important to ensure that if an adult education course, that has been started, is interrupted in one institution due to drop-outs, it can be automatically continued in another institution with such a course without any bureaucratic obstacle for those who have not dropped out.
  - Family-Institutional cooperation: Employment Office and Family Support System should act as service providers, playing the role of creating a gateway and providing information to families and jobseekers. The institutional system

should be prepared and offer coping strategies to specific vulnerable groups (e.g. young people, mothers, Roma people).

- Information loss: Our interviews repeatedly pointed to a lack of information about opportunities from the Employment Office to job-seeking clients. The mismatches and information gaps in the functioning of the Office have to be identified and handled.

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8 Appendix

A simplified form of the Pécs analytical tool (matrix in an Excel table)

Admin		Code of the interviewee	
		Date of the interview	
		Interviewer(s)	
Individual characteristics		Age	
		Gender, sexual orientation	
		Health status	*Eg. Long-term illness or mental disorders*
		Disability	*Eg. Has learning difficulty; Has physical disability*
		Nationality/Ethnicity (incl. his/her partner)	*Eg. Roma, foreign, migrant background etc.*
Education	Chosen functionings	Current and previous positions	*Evaluation of the current situation (what has the individual achieved, which education level he/she has). It also should contain the vulnerability level of the choice and risks*
	Strategy	Narratives about the past strategy	*Individual educational strategy reflects why someone has chosen a certain solution. It shows in a condensed way how local policies were able to influence individual considerations under different circumstances. (It is important to note: Strategies can change over time.) E.g. Leave school as soon as its possible to get a job; Study as much/long as possible*
		Narratives about the future strategy (way to the desired functionings)	*What objectives, desires and functionings the individual wants to achieve in the future and how the individual sees what he or she can do to achieve them.*
	Capabilities	Real opportunities	*The real opportunities the resource space and the conversion factors awarded to the individual*
		Perceived opportunities	*We are interested in which real opportunities the individual identified, which he/she could choose from.*
	Gaps	Gaps between perceived and real opportunities	*What are the elements that appear to be available possible actions, whether or not they are part of the real opportunity space (see: illegal actions), and what are the elements that remain hidden even though part of the individual real opportunity space.*
	Conversion factors	Individual factors	Supportive
			Hindering
		Family background	Supportive
			Hindering
		School	Supportive
			Hindering
		Social/Institutional	Supportive
			Hindering

Labour market	**Chosen functionings**	Current and previous positions	*Evaluation of the current situation (what has the individual achieved, which education level he/she has). It also should contain the vulnerability level of the choice and risks*
	Strategy	Narratives about the past strategy	*Individual employment strategy reflects why someone has chosen a certain solution. It shows in a condensed way how local policies were able to influence individual considerations under different circumstances. (It is important to note: Strategies can change over time.) Eg. Stable job but less money/fragile but more money*
		Narratives about the future strategy (way to the desired functionings)	*What objectives, desires and functionings the individual wants to achieve in the future and how the individual sees what he or she can do to achieve them*
	Capabilities	Real opportunities	*The real opportunities the resource space and the conversion factors awarded to the individual*
		Perceived opportunities	*We are interested in which real opportunities the individual identified, which he/she could choose from*
		Gaps between perceived and real opportunities	*What are the elements that appear to be available possible actions, whether or not they are part of the real opportunity space (see: illegal actions), and what are the elements that remain hidden even though part of the individual real opportunity space*
	Conversion factors	Individual factors	Supportive
			Hindering
		Family background	Supportive
			Hindering
		Workplace	Supportive
			Hindering
		Social/Institutional	Supportive
			Hindering
Housing	**Chosen functionings**	Current and previous positions	*Evaluation of the current situation (what has the individual achieved, which education level he/she has). It also should contain the vulnerability level of the choice and risks*
	Strategy	Narratives about the past strategy	*Individual housing strategy reflects why someone has chosen a certain solution. It shows in a condensed way how local policies were able to influence individual considerations under different circumstances. (It is important to note: Strategies can change over time.) Eg. Long-term rental then ownership; immediate ownership; long-term market rental*
		Narratives about the future strategy (way to the desired functionings)	*What objectives, desires and functionings the individual wants to achieve in the future and how the individual sees what he or she can do to achieve them.*
	Capabilities	Real opportunities	*The real opportunities the resource space and the conversion factors awarded to the individual*

		Perceived opportunities	*We are interested in which real opportunities the individual identified, which he/she could choose from.*
		Gaps between perceived and real opportunities	*What are the elements that appear to be available possible actions, whether or not they are part of the real opportunity space (see: illegal actions), and what are the elements that remain hidden even though part of the individual real opportunity space.*
	Conversion factors	Individual factors	Supportive
			Hindering
		Family background	Supportive
			Hindering
		School	Supportive
			Hindering
		Social/Institutional	Supportive
			Hindering
Family characteristics	**Chosen functionings**	Current position	*Evaluation of the current situation Eg. Alone; With partner (with or without children), with parents; abuseive relationship etc.*
	Strategy	Narratives	*Individual family strategy Eg. Early childbirth, move separately from parents early*
Household budget	**Chosen functionings**	Current position	*Evaluation of the current situation Eg. Wealthy or poor; has assets or liabilities, is indebted or not*
	Strategy	Narratives	*Individual household budget strategy Eg. Saving startegy, what do the household do with income and or wealth*

Simplified format of the coding system for conversion factors for the Pécs case study report (structured in maxQDA software)

	Type of conversion factors	Education	Employment	Housing
Individual	**Psychosocial**	• Physical/mental health • Trauma • Personal life events • Personality	• Ambition • Physical/mental health • Family anamnesis • Trauma	• Physical/mental health • Trauma • Personal life events e.g. relationship events • Personality
	Social network	• Social network • Relationship with peers	• Social network • Relationship with employers • Relationship with boss and colleagues	• Social network
	Capabilities	• Language codes • Learning performance • Learning abilities • Info gathering skills	• Adequate educational level • Information access • Adequate working experiences	• Info gathering skills
	Given material resources	• Ability to pay the costs of education (income) • Spatial factor • Time schedule	• Spatial factor • Indebtedness	• Indebtedness • Income level, ability to pay bills and rent
	Values, believes, attitudes	• Aspiration to earn money • Values, attitude • Wish, interest	• Attitude/perception towards job opportunities in Pécs • Attitude/perception on working abroad • Interest/wish • Needs in a position • Attitude towards possibilities • Attitude towards certain professions • Work ethics	• Attitude towards home • Individual spatial preference • Attitude towards paying bills in time/at all
Family	**Psychosocial**	• Position in the family system • General behaviour of family members • Coping with trauma	• Position in current family system • Position in the original family system • General behaviour of family members	• Position in current family system • General behaviour of family members including problems, conflicts • Childhood experiences with living situation • Unexpected events
	Values, believes, attitudes	• Attitude of family members towards education	• Family's attitude towards working (condition, professions etc.)	• Expectations towards children when and how to move out

		• Educational level of family members	• Family's working experience	• Attitude towards housing solutions
	Material resources of the family	• Providing adequate circumstances • Paying for education	• Financial/other support from family	• Wealth • Indebtedness
Institutional	**Behaviour of an institute**	**School:** • Communicating with students • Openness of after school activities • Help with career guidance • Informal discriminatory practices • Attitude of school • Rigidity/flexibility of school	**Workplace:** • Working conditions • Interest of employers to participate in programmes • Discriminatory process when hiring or later	**Housing market:** • Discriminatory processes in accessing housing • Unexpected events • Bank's attitude
	Attitude	• Attitude of classmates • Attitude of teachers	• Employer's general attitude	-
	Psychosocial	-	• Bosses/colleagues general behaviour	-
Other institutions		• Dormitories • Foster care • After school programmes, experience with NGOs	• Employment Office • Tanodas • Training places	• Municipality • NGOs • Childcare institutions • Temporary home for families