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Introduction. Cultural migrants?
The consequences of educational mobility and changing social class among first-in-family graduates in Hungary

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The focus of the special issue of these papers is the investigation of the consequences of education-driven upward mobility of first-in-family graduates in Hungary. All papers except one draw on the findings of a 3-year research project that aimed to explore the int as 'first-generation intellectuals ersectional effect of class, race and gender on the outcome and the price of different mobility trajectories of first-generation intellectuals.[3] They address the question of whether there are significant differences regarding upward educational mobility trajectories and their consequences for academically high achieving Roma and non-Roma men and women. We call our study group academic high achievers or first-in-family graduates – none of whose parents have a degree and who are designated as 'first generation intellectuals' in Hungarian mobility studies (among others Ferenczi 2003, Mazsu 2012).

Our theoretical stance in this project is that upward social mobility cannot be seen as an individual project but needs to be understood and analysed in the wider context of social inequalities. In this sense, scholars of educational sociology like Diane Reay (2018), an academic of working-class background herself, speak about

the 'cruelty of social mobility'. That is, individual successes of upwardly mobile people occur at the cost of collective failure:

> "At the collective level, social mobility is no solution to either educational inequalities or wider social and economic injustices. But at the individual level it is also an inadequate solution, particularly for those of us whose social mobility was driven by a desire to 'put things right' and 'make things better' for the communities we came from and the people we left behind." (Reay 2013: 674)

According to this line of thinking, the promise of social mobility, the concept that 'everyone can be a winner' (Lawler – Payne 2018) is a kind of 'Cruel Optimism' (Reay 2018, drawing on Berlant 2011). Berlant who coined this concept argues that cruel optimism exists when something we desire is, in reality, an obstacle to our flourishing. Cruel optimism "entails the fantasy that our relentless efforts will bring us love, care, intimacy, success, security and well-being even when they are highly unlikely to do so because in doing so we are forming optimistic attachments to the very power structures that have oppressed us, and our families before us. Social mobility is one such optimistic fantasy that ensnares and works on both the individual psyche and collective consciousness." (Reay 2018: 146). Therefore, argues Reay, social mobility is not a cure for social ills, but on the contrary, it can harm both the socially mobile individual and the communities they grew up in. What is more, the promise of social mobility allows highly unequal capitalist societies to justify and maintain social inequalities (Lawler–Payne 2018, Payne 2018, Reay 2018).

In Hungary, some first-generation intellectuals recounted the same cruel and painful personal experience of their own upward mobility trajectories. Among them is Szilárd Borbély, a famous poet and novelist who poignantly writes about his journey from a marginalised, closed peasant village to Budapest, the seat of the capital's literary cultural elite, using the metaphor of a homeless cultural migrant:

> "After the death of my father, I had long been thinking of how and when I became a traitor. I believe they consider me a traitor, despite the fact that they incited me to become a traitor. In the beginning when I went home to visit them [my parents], I could easily leave behind the new language and manners that I put on as a disguise in my new life…I talked to them in the old manner, I used the same words, the same tone and put on the same ragged clothes and socks with holes that they did, that I used to do. But after a while, I did not feel at home, and I could only mimic the feeling of belonging to them. I did not recognise it, but they did. And from then on, they started to feel ashamed that they had put on their socks with holes and ragged clothes…Even though I had become a relatively successful migrant, I was [still] a peasant and I stayed a peasant. But according to them, those who betrayed the community of the subjugated and became one of the educated gentlemen [úrak] committed an unforgivable sin…Those who

leave the village people, betray them…I am a cultural migrant. First-generation migrants do everything to forget their past, their language, the place they left. They have to forget all this to become successful migrants." (Borbély 2013)

Our research findings that we present in this thematic issue resonate with this account. Many of our study participants, especially from socio-economically disadvantaged Roma families voiced their frustration about the 'responbilisation' (Leyton 2020) of individuals as to their success or failure in life. Some recounted how angry it makes them feel when people ask them why if they made it (to get a degree, against the odds), others (from immobile, marginalised Roma communities) could not? Some respond to these questions with a widely accepted phrase, "because a few people can climb Mount Everest, it does not mean that it is not extremely difficult and impossible for many" (see also Pogácsa 2021).

Following this theoretical thread, this issue challenges public dialogue about social mobility in Hungary (such as in many other European countries) that has recently been dominated by the myth of meritocracy[4]. These dialogues use a neo-liberal vocabulary of aspiration, ambition, and choice, considering mobility as an individual project of self-advancement by moving up in social hierarchy (Lawler–Payne 2018). In this discourse social mobility is the new panacea against wider historic and social ills, and the answer to increased classed and racialised inequalities. Instead, this collection of papers deploys the sociological perspectives of social ascension and asks how education-driven upward mobility works, what this mobility means for those experiencing it, and what the consequences of changing social class and traveling long or not so long distances through social space in fact are?

Mainstream and 'marginal' studies of social mobility

This thematic issue addresses personal experiences of the process of education-driven upward social mobility. Most of the papers explore the way how classed, racialised and gendered past of an individual matters throughout her mobility journey and how and through which mechanisms the destination of the social ascension of the individual is affected. Many of the contributors apply an intersectional lens when explaining the consequences of upward social mobility, be it in the realm of intimate partner relationships (Dés 2021, this volume) or in the case of the divided habitus[5] (Nyírő–Durst 2021, this volume). This concept (coined by Crenshaw 1991) is helpful in illuminating the overlapping systems of intersecting forms of domination – those based on race, gender, class, sexuality, ability and so forth – that affect an

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[4]   We call 'myth of meritocracy' the belief that individual success can be explained by 'merit' alone. (See also Lawler – Payne 2018, Friedman–Laurison 2020).

[5]   The literature uses several synonymies of Bourdieu's (1999) divided habitus or habitus clivé, such as 'emotional costs' (Reay 2005), or 'emotional imprint' (Freidman 2016) of mobility; 'habitus dislocation' (Christodoulou – Spyridakis 2016) or 'splitting of the self' (Lahire 2011). For a summary see Naudet (2018: 7-10).

individual's life chances, opportunity structures and social hardships (Desmond–Emirbayer 2009).

Our aim is to attempt to expand the scope of mainstream social mobility analysis with 'marginal studies' (Lawler–Payne 2018), that is, our case studies. We agree with Michael Young's (2000) statement that in an ideal view of sociology, we both need surveys and individual experiences when studying social phenomena (see also Friedman–Laurison 2020). "But surveys of random samples were (and are) needed. The individual's experience has to be put into a context to show how far anyone's experience is, in some way, typical or not. Without random samples, one cannot normally generalise about anything; without picking out individuals, the results of the random sampling can be lifeless."[6]

By oversimplifying somewhat, we can delineate two major ways of thinking about intergenerational social mobility in mainstream qualitative sociology. Firstly, the most common approach conceives social mobility as a shift from a lower-status profession to a higher one. It is not so much the income derived from the profession but its power and prestige that matters (Goldthorpe 2013, Erikson–Goldthorpe 1992). It takes the labour market as strictly segmented into real professional classes (Loury–Modood–Teles 2005). This globally adopted standard mobility analysis proceeds by aggregating individual occupations into 'big social classes'. Researchers then match people's class origin (in terms of their parent's occupation) with their class destination (in terms of their own occupation) and measure the movement or mobility in between (Friedman–Laurison 2020). This method of creating standard mobility tables makes it possible to do cross-national comparisons and address the question of whether social mobility in a given country is increasing or decreasing.

The second approach, following the same logic, measures intergenerational mobility by comparing the highest educational achievement of parents and their children. This approach presupposes that education is an important vehicle for social mobility through the process of status attainment (Blau-Duncan 1967, Róbert 2001, 2019).

All mainstream social mobility research has traditionally been interested in how open or closed a society is, that is, to what extent people can move or fail to move up or down the social hierarchy (Lawler–Payne 2018). It differentiates between absolute and relative mobility. The absolute mobility rate, in an intergenerational perspective, refers to those whose social position has changed compared to those of their parents. Absolute mobility depends on how far the socio-economic and occupational structure of society changes. If the proportion of different social groups change from one generation to the next, it increases the degree of mobility. Relative mobility measures, on the other hand, provide information on mobility processes while filtering out the effects of structural changes. In this respect, relative measures

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6   Michael Young obituary for Peter Willmott in The *Guardian*, 19 April 2000, cited in Lawler–Payne 2018.

of mobility are much more suitable to shed light on how and to what extent equality of opportunity has changed in a society, i.e., how much a society can be considered open or closed (Andorka 1982, Bukodi–Goldthorpe 2019, Huszár et al. 2021).

According to the latest mainstream mobility studies in Hungary, both absolute and relative mobility showed a decreasing trend in the period of the last 30 years (Róbert–Bukodi 2004, Róbert 2019, Huszár et al. 2020, 2021). Parallel to other Eastern and Central European countries, Hungarian society typically moved towards closure since the regime change 1989–90 (Jackson–Evans 2017). In the past decade, Hungary even became one among the most closed countries in Europe (cf. Eurofound 2017, OECD 2018, Bukodi–Paskov 2020, Éber 2020). This closure means that the chance of changing one's social position relative to that of her parents is getting smaller and smaller.

Most of the mainstream quantitative social mobility research has a limited conception of time (Friedman–Savage 2018). The standard mobility table compares the origin and destination class of individuals, measuring it in two points in time, and with a single occupation-based variable. The table uses identical classificatory categories for both origin (parent's occupation) and destination (the observed individual's) class. This method is invaluable in offering an exact and internationally comparable way to assess the ratio of how many respondents have moved between classes compared to their parents. It is used to unravel some key features of mobility in the respective countries. However, as Friedman–Laurison (2020) argues, qualitative approaches, outside mainstream mobility analysis can be important and innovative through bringing life into survey data or exploring the workings of hidden mechanisms.

Following this perspective, a relatively new line of social mobility studies investigates personal accounts of upwardly mobile people to understand the diverging outcomes and processes of the different mobility paths. Scholars from this tradition argue that Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual tools offer a great deal of analytical insight into the study of social mobility (e.g. Reay 2005, Friedman 2016, Thatcher et al. 2016, Friedman–Savage 2018, Ingram–Abrahams 2016). According to this argument, Bourdieu's analytical concepts are fruitful because of his habitus concept which connects on both the structural and the individual level; his sensitivity to time and temporality, his interest in (capital) accumulation, his awareness of the cultural and subjective, as well as the structural components of mobility. These analytical tools offer a highly productive way to understand the social trajectories of upward mobility (Freidman–Savage 2018). What is equally important for our purpose here, is that adopting a Bourdieusian perspective allows us a more multidimensional understanding of class position. As Friedman and Laurison (2020) argue, this approach makes it possible to register the resources, or 'capitals' that individuals carry with them on their mobility journey and into their occupations (Nyírő–Durst 2021, Boros–Bogdán–Durst 2021, this volume). It stresses that both the origin and

the destination of the mobility path can only be fully understood as the sum total of different forms of economic, cultural and social capitals at a person's disposal (Friedman–Savage 2018). Through this Bourdieusian lens, we can unveil the emotional imprint (Friedman 2016) of one's social background, that is, the effect of the 'long shadow of class origin' (Friedman–Laurison 2020) on her mobility trajectory. Our research project on the consequences and outcomes of education-driven social mobility among Roma and non-Roma first-in-family graduates in Hungary, whose findings this special issue builds on, follows this line of thinking. This long shadow of class origin was succinctly summarised by two of our (majority, non-Roma) first-in-family graduate research participants:

„I can easily recognise the first-generation intellectuals from a distance. They have their shared experience of lack of self-confidence. One can observe on them the constant search for the judgement of their environment. They arrived at a new world, they do not speak it's language, do not know it's cultural codes, it's jokes, and it's references. Therefore they are in constant fear of an imposter-syndrome [of being unveiled as a fraud][7]" (Eszter, 55, founder-director of a charity).

"Even if I have my habilitation, I will always lack the feeling of self-confidence that my colleagues and friends from multigenerational intellectual families from Budapest possess. And it is not only because of the lack of foreign language competency that one needs to acquire to be recognised in our discipline. Even if we consume the same cultural products, go to the same theatre plays, we will never be one of them [the perceived elite]. We were not socialised as part of the elite but we were embedded in a social milieu where we recognised that we are a fighter with a calling. It is only our children who have a chance to accrue self-confidence... I can see it in my first-generation intellectuals friend circle that many of us tried to get the feeling of 'being at home' as a newcomer in a new world through an unconscious marriage strategy. We married a first-generation partner who comes from the same social background, who understands our world. I do not feel compeer to someone who has travelled the world, plays the piano, and who is full of self-confidence." (Zoltán, 52, research professor).

Social mobility and race/ethnicity

There is no representative data available about the first-in-family graduates and the changing rates of social mobility in an ethnic dimension, that compares the majority (non-Roma) and minority (Roma) populations in Hungary. However, there are extensive quantitative studies about the disadvantaged situation of Roma in

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7   Imposter syndrome, also called perceived fraudulence, involves feelings of self-doubt and personal incompetence that persists despite one's education, experience, and accomplishments. https://www.healthlien.com

education and the discrimination against Roma in the labour market in Hungary (Cf. Hajdu–Kertesi–Kézdi 2014, 2021, Kertesi–Kézdi 2016).

Hajdu–Kertesi–Kézdi (2014) studied the educational situation of Roma students after the regime change. They compared the educational attainment of the cohort born in 1971 with the cohort born around 1991 at the age of 20-21. They identified two trends. On the one hand, there has been a significant catch-up in the successful completion of primary school and further education in secondary school. (The latter typically means vocational school for the Roma children). On the second hand, the gap between Roma and non-Roma students in the case of completing secondary school and participation in higher education has significantly increased.

According to the results of Kertesi and Kézdi (2016), the gap between the educational attainment of Roma and non-Roma students arises at the level of secondary school. Their study analysed the educational achievement of a cohort of students who started secondary school in 2006. They found that 75% of non-Roma students take a final maturity exam while this rate is only 24% among Roma students. The college attendance among non-Roma students is 31% while the corresponding figure for Roma is only 4%. The broad ethnic gap in higher education has manifested also in the 2011 Census data. Where almost one-fifth of Hungarian people possess a university degree, only 1,2 per cent of Roma have graduated from a higher education institution according to the latest census in 2011 (National Statistical Office 2015).

Kertesi and Kézdi (2016) also found that the disadvantage of Roma students is due to social differences in income, wealth and education of parents, and ethnic factors do not have an important role. The authors identified two mechanisms that are responsible for the ethnic difference in high school attainment. Firstly, Roma children's home environment is less favourable for their cognitive development compared to those of non-Roma children. Secondly, the educational environment of Roma children is lower quality than those of non-Roma children. They also emphasise that the ethnic differences in the home environment of students can be explained by social differences, that is, ethnicity does not play a role in it. The educational environment of Roma children is less favourable because of ethnic segregation. Most of the Roma students study in classrooms where there are many pedagogical problems that makes teaching very difficult. The reason for this selection is residential inequalities, selection by social disadvantage, and ethnic exclusion mechanisms.

Small scale ethnographic data suggests that education-driven upward social mobility chances for Roma have practically stalled in recent decades (Zolnay 2016). Our interviews with leaders of various educational support programmes confirm the tendency of shrinking chances of educational mobility for Roma children and youth from socio-economically disadvantaged family backgrounds. (Cf. Boros–Bogdán–Durst 2021, this volume).

Part of the reason for the stalled mobility of the Roma, beyond the above-mentioned factors is that the post-socialist transition destroyed most low-skilled workplaces, and resulted in a drastic drop in the employment rates of the low-educated Roma. By the early 1990s, the ethnic employment gap reached 40 percentage points (*Kertesi–Kézdi 2005*). The deep occupational crisis of the early 1990s likely contributed the most to the intergenerational transmission of disadvantage and poverty (Kertesi–Kézdi 2005), while the political and economic changes following the regime change may have generated greater movements in the upper segments of society (Szelényi –Tóth 2019).

Some of the papers of this special issue argue that among other factors, and on top of the above-mentioned reasons, the social process of 'racial domination' (Desmond–Emirbayer 2009) also contributes to this huge ethnic gap in educational achievement between the Roma and non-Roma in Hungary. Desmond and Emirbayer (2009) delineate two specific manifestations of racial domination: institutional racism and everyday interpersonal racism. As a historically embedded, systematic White domination of People of Colour[8], institutional racism withholds from People of Colour opportunities, privileges, and rights that many Whites enjoy.[9] Informed by the workings of institutions, racial domination manifests in everyday interactions and practices too.

In the same line of thinking, critical Whiteness scholars define racism not as individual race prejudice but as encompassing economic, political, social and cultural structures, actions and beliefs that systematize and perpetuate an unequal distribution of privileges, resources and power between White people and People of Colour (DiAngelo 2011, Yosso 2005). This unequal distribution benefits Whites and disadvantages People of Colour overall as a group. Although Whiteness studies were born in the U.S, their structural approach makes the concept of Whiteness a heuristic analytical tool also in the context of Romany Studies, relating to Europe's biggest and most discriminated racialized minority (Kóczé 2020). While previous scholars did not use this particular term in their analysis of the reasons behind the multidimensional disadvantages of the Roma in Hungarian society, they indeed followed the same line of thinking when they shed light on the social process of an 'ethnic ceiling' (Szalai 2014), or "ethnic penalty", be it in the education sector (Szalai 2014, Kertesi–Kézdi 2016), or on the labour market (Kertesi–Kézdi 2005).

As Nyírő and Durst (2021) explore in this volume, belonging to a racialised (stigmatised and discriminated) Roma minority group has a significant influence on the subjective experience and on the price of upward mobility. Neckerman–

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8   Critical race theorists such as Yosso (2005) call 'People of Colour' (or racialized minorities) the visible minority groups who are often stigmatised by race.

9   As Nyírő and Durst (2021, this volume) reminds us, for Whiteness scholars the term 'Whiteness' and 'White' is not to describe a discrete entity (for example, skin colour alone) but to signify a constellation of social processes and practices (DiAngelo 2011). It delineates a location of unearned structural advantage, and race privilege (DiAngelo 2011). In this sense, Whiteness as an analytical notion, refers to the specific dimensions of racism that serve to elevate White people over People of Colour.

Carter–Lee (1999) and Shahrokni (2015) suggest that the persistent salience of discrimination in educational and labour market settings, along with the importance of interclass solidarity with co-ethnic members of one's community of origin, with those who are 'left behind' create unique mobility dilemmas for upwardly mobile, racialised minorities. Being one of the few members of a visible minority in an elite setting also has a psychological cost largely unknown to those from a majority background.

Previous research shows that among academically high-achieving Roma the most common upward mobility trajectory, contrary to the common belief of assimilation, is their distinctive minority mobility path which leads to their selective acculturation into the majority society (Durst–Bereményi 2021). This distinctive incorporation into the mainstream is close to what the related academic scholarship calls the 'minority culture of mobility' (Neckermann–Carter–Lee 1999). The three main elements of this distinct mobility trajectory among the Roma are the followings. Firstly, the construction of a Roma middle-class identity that takes belonging to the Roma community as a source of pride (Kende 2007, Neményi–Vajda 2014), in contrast to the widespread racial stereotypes or Romaphobia (McGarry 2017) in Hungary (and all over Europe) that are closely tied to the perception of Roma as a member of the underclass. Secondly, the creation of grass-roots Roma organizations. Thirdly, the practice of giving back to their people of origin relegate many Roma professionals to a particular segment of the labour market, in jobs to help communities in need. (Nyírő–Durst 2018). This minority mobility trajectory helps the upwardly mobile Roma mitigate the distinctive price of their changing social class and make sense of the hardship of social ascension.

The socioeconomic, educational and labour market characteristics of first-generation graduates in Hungary from a survey perspective

Previous studies on particular segments of first-generation university students in Hungary commonly found that this group has a disadvantaged position, compared to those students who come from multigenerational college-educated families. They not only lack material capital but are also deficient of the incorporated forms of cultural capital (Ferenczi 2003, Bocsi – Pusztai – Fényes 2020).

In the following, we describe own findings of the target group of this thematic issue: (Roma and non-Roma) first-in-family graduates, and compare them to the total Hungarian graduate population, in terms of only two dimensions of socio-demographic characteristics: that is the choice of study fields in higher education; and the women's number of children.[10]

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[10]   For detailed description of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of first-in-family graduates in Hungary see Nyírő 2021.

Data on Roma graduates and the total population of Hungarian graduates have been accessed through the 2011 census, while data about first-generation graduates[11] has been provided by the 2016 micro census.[12] We define Roma graduates as having obtained Bachelor's (BA), Master's (MA) or doctoral degrees and having self-identified as Roma[13] at the 2011 census.[14] According to the latest census, the number of graduates was 1 440 000 in Hungary in 2011, among whom 2424 respondents (1.7 percent) identified as Roma (and Hungarian).

For the purpose of this special issue, this introduction draws attention only to two main findings of our secondary data analysis. Firstly, that at the time of the census in 2011, first-in-family Roma graduates had a distinctive concentration in the field of studies in higher education in humanities and arts. Garaz and Torotcoi (2017) reported similar findings in the case of Roma graduates supported by the Roma Educational Fund in Eastern and Southern Europe).

As Figure 1 shows, Roma graduates significantly deviate from those of the two other groups in the case of three fields of study. While approximately every tenth Roma graduate (11%) completed their degrees in the humanities and arts, the same ratio is less than 5% among first-generation graduates and the total graduate population. Roma graduates are overrepresented in subjects related to health and social care (11%) compared to first-generation graduates (7%) and the total graduate population (8%). The most striking differences are in the fields of technical, industrial and construction training: only 10% of Roma graduates completed degrees in this field, in contrast to a fifth of first-generation graduates (19%) and 17% of the total graduate population.

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11   Those respondents are regarded as first-generation graduates who are 20-years-old or older and have obtained a university degree and completed the supplementary "Social stratification" questionnaire in the 2016 micro census, having indicated that both of their parents' highest educational attainment is lower than Bachelor's degree (BA).

12   As the 2011 census does not contain questions regarding parents' educational attainment, data concerning first-generation graduates has been complemented via the 2016 micro census. However, this data is not sufficient to compare first-generation graduates and first-generation Roma graduates. Although the questionnaire did include data on first-generation graduates by nationality, due to the low number of first-generation Roma graduates (as the unweighted data suggests), the dataset is not representative of this population. Therefore, the two databases were used together to characterise the studied populations.

13   The Central Statistical Office used several questions for nationality self-identification in the 2011 census besides nationality itself, such as questions regarding mother tongue or the language spoken among family members/friends. Previous academic findings suggest that the self-identification of multiple nationalities and identities is more easily grasped by two or more, equally important questions. Accordingly, the Central Statistical Office uses four questions to determine respondents' nationalities. If a respondent indicated a nationality in at least one of the four questions, they were considered as self-identifying with that nationality (besides Hungarian). Source: Central Statistical Office (2011) http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/docs/modszertan.pdf

14   As mentioned above, there is no available data regarding first-generation Roma graduates, therefore this research is limited to the features of the Roma graduate population. However, based on the results of a previous qualitative research among 53 participants (Durst–Fejős–Nyírő 2014) and a study on 124 Roma higher education students participating in advanced colleges (Lukács 2018), we assume that the majority of Roma graduates are first-generation graduates. Thus, and given the lack of more comprehensive data, statistical interpretations regarding Roma graduates in general are presumed to be representative of first-generation Roma graduates.

Figure 1. *Distribution of the total graduate population, first-generation graduates and Roma graduates by field of study, by percentage*
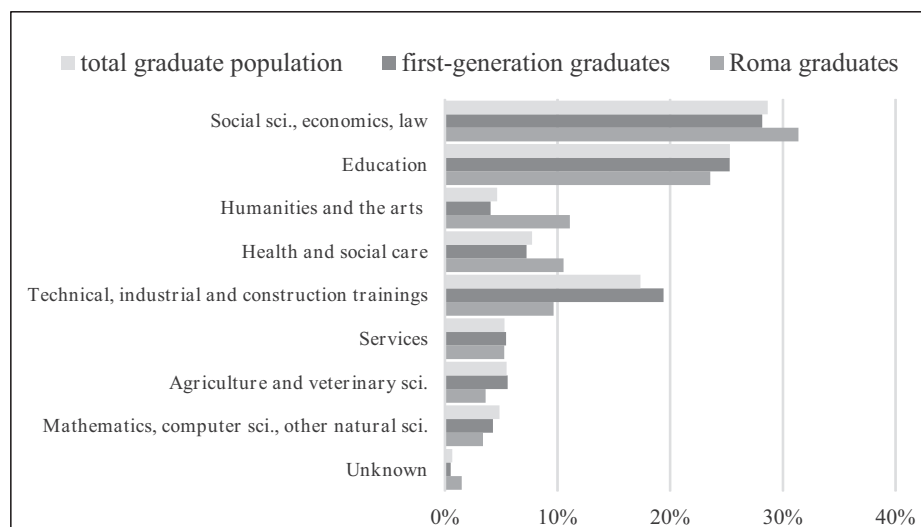
Source: Central Statistical Office, 2011 census, 2016 micro census, own calculation

The distribution of the most popular fields of study – Social Sciences, Economics, and Law – by specialisation shows that the distribution of Roma graduates and first-generation graduates differs significantly in the case of several specialisations, too More than a third of first-generation graduates attained their highest level of education in Economics (35%), while only a fifth (19%) of Roma graduates studied in this field. The fields of Sociology and Cultural Studies, as well as political and civil society studies are overrepresented among Roma graduates (16% and 9% accordingly) compared to first-generation graduates (7% and 3% accordingly). Contrastingly, ratio of the fields of finance, banking and insurance is considerably higher among first-generation graduates (8%) than among Roma graduates (4%). (Figure 2)

Figure 2. *Distribution of first-generation graduates and Roma graduates in the field of social sciences, economics and law by specialization, by percentage*
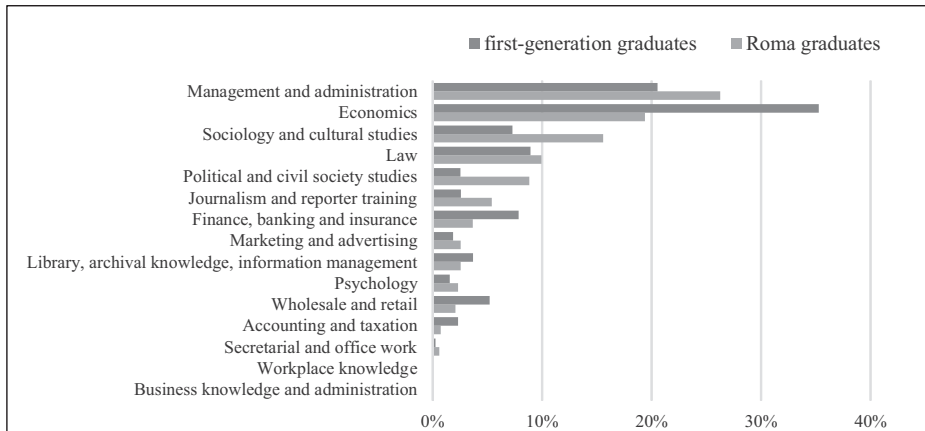
Source: Central Statistical Office, 2011 census, 2016 micro census, own calculation

Secondly, we found a significant difference in the ratio of childless women among Roma and the total female first-in-family graduates. The percentage of childless women is highest among Roma graduates (41%), with significantly lower rates of childlessness in the total female graduate population (34%) and among first-generation graduates (28%). This finding resonates with our empirical result based on the interviews with the study participants that one of the 'hidden costs of upward mobility' (Cole–Omari 2003) for first-in-family Roma graduate women is the difficulty of selecting a partner with whom they can start a family (see Dés 2021, this volume and also Durst–Fejős–Nyírő 2016).

Layout of the thematic issue

Nyírő and Durst study how upward mobility through education and the movement between social worlds affect the habitus. They reveal the most important factors that contribute to the destabilization of the habitus by using narrative interviews with first-in-family Roma and non-Roma graduates. The paper emphasizes the intersectional effect of class and race/ethnicity on the subjective experience of upward mobility. It also explains why class origins matter more in some areas of the labour market than others.

Dés illustrates how structural inequalities appear in interpersonal relationships and how the costs of social mobility influence intimate partner relationships between individuals. By using narrative interviews with Roma and non-Roma women, she demonstrates the consequences of upward mobility via education on

partner selection and maintaining a relationship. The article reveals why Roma origin and upward social mobility make it difficult to find a desired partner, why upwardly mobile women often feel that they are in a 'no man's land' in the context of intimate relationships, and how the conflict between expected gender roles and their ambitions influence their relationships.

Boros, Bogdán and Durst provide a critical discussion on the mainstream interpretation of the Bourdieusian cultural capital as white (mainstream, non-Roma) middle-class cultural resource. Instead, they show that one of the main contributions of the Roma educational support programs pertaining to the social mobility of the Roma is that they have been creating Roma (non-white) cultural capital for their mentees. In their interpretation, Roma cultural capital is a set of resources that middle-class, upwardly mobile Roma youth can deploy to make meaning of their Roma identities, recast it, in order to forge networks of belonging and counter their marginal status, given Hungary's racialized power relations. Through this, Roma educational support programs that offer a complex approach, contribute hugely to mitigate the price of their mentee's upward mobility.

Bereményi and Durst examine the self-narratives of first-generation college-educated and highly resilient Roma women focusing on their meaning-making and social navigation processes through their mobility journey. They identify the *resilient mobility trajectory* when the 'emotional cost' of upward mobility is minimal and describe the role of social and physical ecology in the process of resilience.

Papp Z. and Zsigmond study the consequences of educational upward mobility on different areas of life among minority Hungarians living in neighbouring countries by using a survey methodology. In order to reveal the outcomes of mobility, the authors compare first-generation graduates to multigenerational graduates in the field of social and cultural reproduction, integration into the university, organisational and community life, political attitudes and identity politics.

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Racialisation rules:
The effect of educational upward mobility on habitus

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Abstract: This paper explores the subjective experiences of education-driven upward mobility among first-in-family majority and minority (Roma) graduates in Hungary. The central question is how social ascension through educational mobility and the concomitant movement between different social worlds influence the habitus. Under what conditions does the habitus become destabilised as a result of upward mobility?

The paper benefits from the empirical results of a 3-year study during which our research team has conducted 153 life history interviews with first-generation graduates in Hungary. The inclusion criteria for the sample of our study was that respondents had to complete college or university despite none of their parents have had a university degree. We identified the most important factors that contribute to the destabilisation of the habitus, either temporary or permanent. We examined the social and geographical range of our respondents' education-driven mobility; the speed and the destination of their mobility (field of occupation); their belonging to the majority or a minority group; and the mobility aspirations of their family of origin (or the lack thereof). We explore the effect of these factors through an intersectional lens. We demonstrate that the unique combination and intersection of these factors greatly affect the subjective experience of mobility. However, some biographical conditions and contingencies also play a role in the outcome of upward mobility. According to our results, the dislocation of habitus is a particularly common experience for our Roma interviewees, at least at some stage of their mobility trajectory. This is because they have to carry the psychic burden of race in a society where institutional racism is permeated in many areas of everyday life and the question of loyalty to their group of origin is more complicated for them.

Keywords: social mobility, habitus, Bourdieu, higher education, race, ethnicity, class, Roma, upward mobility.

Introduction

In a neoliberal context embedded in various social fields, public dialogue about social mobility in many countries is dominated by the myth of meritocracy, using a neo-liberal vocabulary of aspiration, ambition, and choice and viewing mobility as an

individual project of self-advancement by moving up in the social hierarchy (Lawler–Payne 2018). In this discourse social mobility is the new panacea against wider historic and social ills, and the answer to increased classed and racialised inequalities. This paper, however, challenges this widespread public and political discourse by systematically analysing the personal experiences of social mobility, and asking how education-driven upward mobility works from the individual's perspective in a context where social inequalities are rising and social mobility has been declining (Huszár et al. 2020), and where institutional racism against the country's biggest and most discriminated and stigmatised minority group, the Roma has long been widespread (Neményi–Szalai 2005, Szalai 2014, Kóczé 2020, Bogdán 2018, Máté 2015). To put it another way, we are interested in the outcomes of social mobility achieved through educational mobility, with reference to the subjective wellbeing of those who changed class and how this travelling up the social strata affected their habitus.

In the following, we outline and systematically analyse the personal experiences of upward social mobility attained by high academic achievement of first-in-family college graduates from Roma and non-Roma Hungarian families. In Hungary, there is a huge ethnic gap in educational attainment between the majority, non-Roma Hungarian and the Roma. According to the results of the 2011 census, while 17.0 per cent of the total population above 15 years old possess a university degree, only 1.2 per cent of the Roma have graduated from a higher education institution[3]. The scholarly jargon calls these Roma 'resilient students' (Ceglédi 2012, Máté 2015, Patakfalvy-Czirják et al. 2018) emphasising their achievement despite stalled mobility and decreased fluidity in post-socialist Hungary (Zolnay 2016, Róbert 2019, Szelényi–Tóth 2019), and against all social stressors, that is, structural hindrances, be it institutional racism, poverty of their family of origin, or in some cases the counter-ideology or "oppositional culture" (Fordham–Ogbu 1986) of their community of origin that de-valorises formal educational attainment.

The article will proceed in four stages. Firstly, it begins by critically reviewing the theoretical framework in which we embed our empirical findings. Then it moves on to describe the setting of our study, its design and methodology, next the research background is presented. Finally, by close examination of the self-narratives of our majority non-Roma and minority Roma graduate interviewees, we show how social ascension through educational mobility and the concomitant movement between different social worlds influence their habitus. Our main question is under what conditions the habitus becomes dislocated or destabilised as a result of social mobility?

1. Theoretical background

There has been considerable debate in the literature on whether upward mobility has a detrimental and disruptive or a positive effect on the wellbeing of individuals

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3   The used census data: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_iskolazottsag, http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_nemzetiseg

and their social relations. In other words, the question is whether upwardly mobile individuals pay a price for their social ascension and whether it is a smooth process without emotional costs.

According to the dissociative thesis of Sorokin (1959) the upward mobility process is stressful because leaving the milieu of background origin where individuals feel most comfortable can lead to feelings of exclusion, loneliness and isolation. Other scholars (e.g. Goldthorpe et al 1987, Marshall–Firth 1999) disagree, claiming that upward mobility is not associated with negative consequences on the well-being of individuals.

The Bourdieusian concept of habitus offers a helpful heuristic devise for scholars of social mobility to understand why upward mobility may become a painful and stressful process that can result in the isolation of individuals from both their class of origin and that of their destination class. We do not have the space to discuss in detail the concept of habitus here (for an overview see Swartz 1997, Reay 2004, Maton 2008), but we would like to highlight some aspects which are important to our analysis.

Bourdieu writes, 'the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures' (Bourdieu 1990: 53). Later Bourdieu provides this definition of the habitus: 'a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action' (Bourdieu 2016: 43).

He further highlights that 'dispositions are long-lasting: they tend to perpetuate, to reproduce themselves, but they are not eternal' (Bourdieu 2016: 45). Dispositions may be changed by new experiences, education or training (Bourdieu 2016).

On the one hand, the habitus – as a 'structuring structure'- structures how individuals perceive the social world and act in it (King 2000, Yang 2013). On the other hand, the dispositions derive from early socialization experiences when the internalization of objective structures (one's social position) occurs. Therefore, habitus is a 'structured structure' (Swartz 1997).

Against the common misinterpretation, habitus is neither fate nor destiny. Bourdieu underlines that 'the vicious circle of structure producing habitus which reproduces structure *ad infinitum* is a product of commentators' (Bourdieu 2016: 45). First, this closed circle is a specific case where the objective conditions in which the habitus was created and the objective conditions in which it operates are similar to each other. Secondly, the habitus is not a principle of repetition (Bourdieu 2016). The habitus has a generative capacity: 'it is a structured principle of invention, similar to a generative grammar able to produce an infinite number of new sentences according to determinate patterns and within determinate limits' (Bourdieu 2016: 46). That is, habitus creates innovations and improvisations within certain limits

(Bourdieu 2016). Finally, according to Bourdieu 'in all the cases where dispositions encounter conditions (including fields) different from those in which they were constructed and assembled, there is a *dialectical confrontation* between habitus, as structured structure, and objective structures' (Bourdieu 2016: 46). That is, habitus – as a structuring structure – shapes the objective structures according to its own structure while it is restructured, modified – as a structured structure – by the objective structure (Bourdieu 2016). Thus, Bourdieu argues that habitus changes continuously in rapidly changing societies, but this change is limited by the original structure of the habitus (Bourdieu 2016).

Bourdieu emphasises that habitus is the product of one's history (Bourdieu 1990b). Besides a persons' individual history, the entire collective history of the persons' family and class constitutes the habitus (Reay 2004). Bourdieu distinguishes between individual habitus and class habitus. The latter '...could be regarded as a subjective but non-individual system of internalised structures, common schemes of perception, conception and action...' (Bourdieu 1990: 60). Those who belong to the same social class have similar habitus, but not exactly the same because of the particular position within the social class and the singularity of the persons' social trajectory (Bourdieu 1990).

The individual's habitus works with the fewest problems if its environment is the most similar to the conditions in which it was produced (Fáber 2018): '...when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a "fish in water": it does not feel the weight of the water, and it takes the world about itself for granted... the world encompasses me (*me comprend*) but I comprehend it (*je le comprends*) precisely *because* it comprises me. It is because this world has produced me, because it has produced the categories of thought that I apply to it, that it appears to me as self-evident' (Bourdieu–Wacquant 1992: 127). However, in the case of large-scale social changes and (long-range) social mobility, a mismatch arises between the individual's primary habitus and the habitus required in the new field (Friedman 2016). In other words, a hysteresis[4] occurs according to Bourdieu when '...dispositions function out of phase and practices are objectively ill-adapted to the present conditions because they are objectively adjusted to the conditions that no longer obtain' (Bourdieu 1990: 62.) That is, a gap is created between changing field conditions and habitus. This hysteresis – the dislocation of the habitus – may lead to the double isolation of mobile individuals from both their origin and destination class, which often has profound psychic consequences. Bourdieu argues that the misalignment of habitus and field could create a painfully fragmented self, a habitus clivé[5] (Friedman 2016): 'Such experiences tend to produce a habitus divided against itself, in constant

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4   The term is used in physics to describe a retardation of an effect when the forces acting upon a body are changed. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hysteresis

5   The literature uses several synonymies of Bourdieu's (1999) divided habitus or habitus clivé, such as 'emotional costs of mobility' (Reay, 2005), habitus dislocation (Christodoulou – Spyridakis 2016) or 'splitting of the self' (Lahire 2011). For a summary see Naudet (2018: 7-10).

negotiation with itself and with its ambivalence, and therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of self, to successive allegiances and multiple identities' (Bourdieu et al. 1999: 511).

Similarly, Naudet (2018) raises the point that large-scale social mobility may result in a divided habitus. According to him, upwardly mobile individuals experience tension because they face two, contradictory constraints: (1) avoiding the feeling of betrayal of their community of origin (the issue of loyalty) and at the same time (2) minimal acculturation to the new group (the issue of acculturation). The latter is needed since mobility is not possible without a minimal mastery over the strategies of action and perception that are accepted in the new group. These two constraints are contradictory, for example, attachment to the background of origin and acculturation to the new group are contradictory as they involve different ways of speaking, behaving, or thinking.

Acute reflexivity can occur when a misalignment arises between habitus and field. As Naudet (2018: 20) explains it, access to this reflexivity "would be partially facilitated by the between-two-classes position, in which people experiencing social mobility find themselves, and which places them in a situation of discrepancy with regard to the world of common sense of their background of origin as well as the attained social group". When someone is forced into a new space then they will not only notice what is novel there but it creates a new lens to look at where they came from (Ingram–Abrahams 2016). As Bourdieu writes: 'It is likely that those who are 'in their right place' in the social world can abandon and entrust themselves more, and more completely to their dispositions (that is the 'ease' of the well-born) than those who occupy awkward positions, such as the parvenus and the declasses; and the latter are more likely to bring to consciousness that which, for others is taken for granted, because they are forced to keep watch on themselves and consciously correct the 'first movements' of a habitus that generates inappropriate or misplaced behaviours.' (Bourdieu 2000: 163; cited by Ingram–Abrahams 2016: 145)

Bourdieu did not elaborate the concept of divided habitus thoroughly since he believed that its occurrence is rare (Friedman 2016). However, several empirical studies (e.g. Reay 2002, Friedman 2016, Naudet 2018) highlight that the divided habitus is more common than believed by Bourdieu.

Although Bourdieu does not apply the habitus concept to the analysis of racial and ethnic disadvantages, several authors (e.g. Reay 2004, Bonilla–Silva et al. 2006, Sallaz 2010) have extended his concept by introducing a racialised or ethnicised habitus. Richards (2020) criticises the Bourdieusian analysis of capital, habitus and field because it focuses exclusively on class differences while forgetting the discussion of race and racism and the intersectionality of class and race. According to Richards (2020), Bourdieu's cultural capital theory has a white-centred, class-based master narrative that legitimises and perpetuates 'the assumption that racial differences are secondary manifestations of class-based structures' (Richards 2020:

2). Richards claims that race-conscious studies within the cultural capital framework should apply multidimensional analysis, which recognizes race and class and their intersectional effect.

Whiteness scholars define racism not as individual race prejudice but as encompassing economic, political, social and cultural structures, actions and beliefs that systematize and perpetuate an unequal distribution of privileges, resources and power between white people and people of colour (DiAngelo 2011, Yosso 2005). This unequal distribution benefits whites and disadvantages people of colour overall as a group.

For Whiteness scholars, the term 'Whiteness' and 'white' is not to describe a discrete entity (for example, skin colour alone) but to signify a constellation of social processes and practices. It delineates a location of unearned structural advantage, and race privilege (DiAngelo 2011). In this sense, Whiteness as an analytical notion, refers to the specific dimensions of racism that serve to elevate White people over people of colour. Therefore, whiteness refers to a set of social, political and cultural practices that are historically produced and shaped. These practices are usually unmarked and unnamed and are inseparable from systems of injustice (for Hungary see Kovai 2017, Horvath 2012). They are intrinsically linked to the dynamic relations of domination (DiAngelo 2011).

For the purpose of our study, an important insight of Whiteness studies is that white people are taught to see themselves as individuals rather than as part of a racially socialised group (DiAngelo 2011). In this sense whiteness is unracialised identity. This frees white people from the psychic burden of race in a racialised society (DiAngelo 2011).

Although Whiteness studies were born in the U.S. society, their structural approach makes the concept of Whiteness a heuristic analytical tool in the context of Romany Studies too (Kóczé 2020). We can argue, that although previous scholars did not use this particular term in their analysis of the reasons behind Roma's multidimensional disadvantages in Hungarian society, they indeed followed the same line of thinking when they shed light on the social process of an 'ethnic ceiling' (Szalai 2018), or "ethnic penalty", be it in the education sector (Szalai 2018), or on the labour market.

Apart from the above thesis of the Whiteness studies, we find it unavoidable to use the insights of the theory of intersectionality to interpret our empirical findings. Scholars exploring the process of social mobility argue that in the context of changing class an intersectional lens is crucial (Friedman–Laurison 2020, Lawler–Payne 2018, Payne 2018, for Hungary, see Kóczé–Popa 2009, Kóczé 2010, just to mention a few). There is a bunch of academic studies documenting the distinctiveness and particular difficulty of upward mobility for women and members of racial-ethnic minority groups (Skeggs 1997, Neckerman et al. 1999). These studies vividly demonstrate how class origin 'haunts' (Morrin 2016) and casts a long

shadow over people's lives (Skeggs 1997, Friedman 2016, Ingram–Abrahams 2016). As does gender and race. However, class, gender and race (along with many other aspects of social divisions) do not operate as separate and mutually exclusive axes of inequality. They almost always work together and produce a qualitatively new, intersectional position in the social system of domination. This is basically the key insight of the theory of intersectionality. The term was coined by Crenshaw (1991) and later further developed by black feminists (Collins 1993) to draw attention to the complex interplay between gender, class and race.

Roma academics and non-Roma activists and scholars of Romany Studies also found this term useful to describe the aggravating effect of the intersecting inequalities and structural discriminations that the Roma have to face in their everyday lives (Kóczé–Popa 2009, Vincze 2012, Brooks 2012). Due to the racial domination of white people in both North American and Hungarian societies, there is a tendency in academic scholarship to compare the intersecting inequalities of Roma people to those of black Americans.

However, there are many advocates for a majority-inclusive approach. They argue that by involving not only minority but also majority groups in intersectional analysis (Christensen–Jensen 2012), we can shed light on intra-group differences and inter-group commonalities. With this comparative approach, we can protect ourselves from the danger of exoticising and 'othering' the minority group studied. Our research project follows this line of thinking.

2. Background
2.1. Research setting: The situation of Roma in Hungary

The Roma is the largest and most discriminated ethno-racial minority in Hungary[6]. They are concentrated in the economically disadvantaged areas of the country (Vajda–Dupcsik 2008, Pénzes et al. 2018). Roma are the primary victims of the post-socialist regime change (Kertesi 1995, Kertesi 2000, Vajda–Dupcsik 2008). Their disadvantages have significantly increased with regard to unemployment, to the lack of access to education of good quality, poor living and health conditions, and shorter life expectancy since 1989. Their residential and housing conditions have improved, but their segregation has intensified in the last decades (Vajda–Dupcsik 2008, Teller 2020). Furthermore, Roma are exposed to a variety of forms of prejudice and discrimination in Hungary (Csepeli et al. 1998, Simonovits–Szalai 2013, Feischmidt et al. 2013, Farkas 2014). After the regime change, the willingness to discriminate and exclude Roma was strengthened (Fábián–Erős 1996, Szombati 2018) which was a taboo before 1989 (Tomka 1991). The open prejudice decreased in

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6   Based on the Census of 2011, the Hungarian Roma population counts 315,000. Different methodological approaches estimate the size of the Roma population in different numbers. According to the estimation of Pénzes et al. (2018) the Roma population was 876,000 in 2010-13, while the estimation of TÁRKI was 650,000 heads in 2012 (Bernát 2014).

the 1990s and stagnated at the beginning of the 2000s, but after the economic crisis in 2009, xenophobia and anti-Roma attitudes increased again (Keresztes-Takács et al. 2016).

One of the main reasons for the social exclusion of the Roma population from the formal labour market in Hungary is their very low level of education. According to the latest Census in 2011, 58% of Roma over the age of 15 completed at most primary school, while 23% of them did not complete primary school. 13% of the Roma population graduated from a secondary level vocational school where they do not receive A-level certificates, while only 5% of them completed high school with A-level credentials (Matriculation). Only 1% of them graduated in higher education (Bernát 2014). The school failures of Roma children partly due to their school segregation and the practice of sending them to special classes and schools without good reason where the quality of education is low (Bernát 2014, Kertesi–Kézdi 2016).

There is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with the education-driven upward mobility of Roma in Hungary. Most of this literature focuses on young people who are still participating in higher education (for example Forray 2004, 2014, Kende 2005; 2005, 2007; Bokrétás et al. 2007; Békés 2011, Ceglédi 2012, 2017, Lukács J. 2018). Only a few studies concerned with the process of upward mobility after university years and its outcomes (Székelyi et al. 2005, Torkos 2005, Tóth 2008, 2014, Kóczé 2010, Szabóné 2012, Óhidy 2013, 2016, Máté 2014, 2015). More recent attention has focused on the psychological and emotional costs of social mobility which is caused by difficulties of acculturation to the new social group and separation from the family and the group of origin. (Mendi 1999, Szabóné 2012, Durst et al. 2014, Máté 2015, Lukács J.–Dávid 2019, Nyírő–Durst 2018, Bereményi –Durst 2021, Durst–Bereményi 2021). Our study contributes to this thread of the literature.

2.2. Research methodology and study sample

The empirical base of this paper derives from 153 in-depth life interviews. The interviews were conducted in the framework of the research project entitled *Social mobility and ethnicity: Trajectories, outcomes and hidden costs of mobility*[7] that analyses the personal experiences of those upwardly mobile individuals who are the first in their families to graduate from college or university. In this project, in-depth life course interviews were conducted with a total of 153 first-in-family graduates, in the period between 2018 and 2021. Among the respondents, there were both majority (non-Roma) and minority (Roma) interviewees, the latter of which consisted of those who self-identified as Roma. The research used several channels to recruit

participants: from a snowball sampling method, through public advertisements in social media, to an online survey.

In terms of age, interviewees of this study ranged from 23 to 66 years old. 91 interviewees were female, and 62 were male. 51 of them were non-Roma, while 102 were Roma. The sample included participants both from urban and rural locations in Hungary.

The 153 interviews were conducted by our research team of 14 members (5 men and 9 women), whose ages ranged from 25 to 52. Four of the team members are Roma. The diversity of the interviewers contributed to the avoidance of one-way bias when collecting the interview data.

The duration of the interviews was between one and a half and two and a half hours. We described the topic and aim of the research and all other important information about the research (e.g. voluntary participation, anonymity) before the interviews. In this paper, we use pseudonyms for our interviewees, and for the settlements where they come from. In addition, we use broad categories to describe the major jobs, and workplaces of our interviewees to protect their anonymity.

The interviews consisted of two parts: the first part was the narrative section, while the second part was a semi-structured interview. The latter section covered the following main topics: family background, educational attainment, career path, intimate relationships and children, family relationships and friends, self-characterisation (identity), life satisfaction, and success.

The language of the interviews was Hungarian, and all interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. We developed a codebook based on our theoretical questions and interview guide and some additional categories were also created based on the empirical material of interviews. We coded the interviews by using the qualitative data analysis and research software, ATLAS.ti 8. This software made it possible to analyse this large number of interviews and to compare and create subgroups of our interviewees on the basis of any given code.

Costa et al. (2017) argue that tracing the subjective trajectories of individuals – for example by using biographical interviews – is an appropriate research technique to 'capture' habitus. 'There are limitations to life history and narrative methods, but they allow at least a partial understanding of the operation of habitus, in people's life outcomes, in their attitudes, values, and opinions, their possessions and daily practices, and in the narratives, they construct in the research moment.' (Mallman 2018: 28)

In our study, habitus can be identified when it is reflected in the fact that tension (habitus clivé) arises because the individual feels:

- That they are not fitting into a new field (Nowicka 2015)
- That they do not fit into their old field anymore
- That fitting to his/her old and new field at the same time is problematic
- That his/her old and new field's rules contradict each other or conflict with each other.

When an individual's habitus is 'well-formed', adapted to the field, owns a 'feel for the game' in that field, then their habitus is not reflexive and the person is like 'a fish in water' (Bourdieu 1977). However, habitus becomes reflexive when someone enters a new field whose rules are unknown to them. Bourdieu writes about physical and social 'clumsiness' in a new social context, and that individuals need to learn to 'fit in' by inhabiting a consciousness of awkwardness. Therefore we can capture habitus when interviewees feel that they do not fit in or do not understand the 'rules of the game' or their practices seem anachronistic (Nowicka 2015). Furthermore, habitus can be discerned when interviewees speak about not fitting into their old field anymore because of adapting to their new field, when they feel that belonging to two contradictory fields at the same time leads to tensions as the two worlds collide with each other. These cases also lead to greater reflexivity. That is, habitus can be captured when individuals experience and reflect on their habitus clivé.

Bourdieu writes: "narratives about the most 'personal' difficulties, the apparently most strictly subjective tensions and contradictions, frequently articulate the deepest structures of the social world and their contradictions" (Bourdieu 1999: 511). This paper aims to highlight how the imprints of social inequalities and racial discrimination that have long proliferated in Hungarian society appear as emotional or psychic costs of upward mobility in the discourses of those struggling with habitus clivé. Our study examines and focuses on the role of some characteristics (factors) of the mobility trajectory on experiencing (or not) a mismatch between habitus and field.

3. Discussion and results
3.1. The effect of the different characteristics of the mobility trajectory

Our research results show that education-driven upward mobility is not necessarily associated with habitus clivé (Friedman 2016, Christodoulou–Spyridakis 2016). The mutability of the habitus – the formation of habitus clivé – depends on certain characteristics of the *mobility trajectory* (Friedman 2016). By the characteristics of mobility trajectory, we refer to (1) the range[8] and (2) speed[9] of social mobility, (3) the direction and destination (measured by occupational class) of movement through social space, (4) the person's ethnicity/ racialised minority group (see Friedman 2016), (5) the range of geographical mobility[10], and (6) the aspirations of their family of origin. (See Yosso 2005 on the role of aspirational capital of

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8   This study regards the range of the mobility as long as the respondents 'parents had only completed primary school, at most. On the contrary, if any of the parents has a higher qualification beyond primary school then the mobility path is considered short-range.

9   We consider a mobility trajectory characterised as high speed when the upwardly mobile person has a mobility with a linear, uninterrupted educational path, and it is low speed when there are interruptions in the educational path (e.g. the upwardly mobile person does not attend a university immediately after completing high school but skip a few years).

10 We consider a mobility trajectory geographically long ranged if the upwardly mobile person spent her childhood in a rural settlement and attained a job and therefore began to live in a big city (typically in the capital, Budapest). On the other hand, we call a mobility path geographically short ranged when there is small or no difference in between the status of the settlement of origin and of the destination of the upwardly mobile individual.

parents or background community in high educational achievement among people of colour). The unique combination and the intersecting effect of these factors significantly influence the subjective experience of mobility, but of course, some individual factors (e.g. personality, contingency such as biographical events) are also decisive. Each factor has a different weight in each narrative. However, one needs to emphasise the role of (racialised) minority status: we found that the dislocation of habitus is a frequent experience among Roma interviewees. We speak about the Roma's racialised minority status in Hungary (Kóczé 2020) in the same way that scholars speak about the discrimination of the diverse category of 'people of colour' (Yosso 2005). That is, when people (of colour) face severe injustice in power relations, and also encounter prejudice and discrimination as a group for reasons of race alone.

The upward mobility experience caused serious emotional strain for some of our interviewees. They speak about this tension (that is, habitus clivé) in phrases such as: "schizophrenic life", "living between two worlds", "having two lives", "not belonging to anywhere". Conversely, other interviewees narratives, describe a more or less psychologically smooth journey. Some of our interviewees only experienced habitus clivé at a particular stage in their lives while others reported that it accompanied their whole career path. One of our interviewees, Levente (majority, 25, child protection specialist) described this tension as follows:

'The bad thing is that I am far away from the academic world (…), but I am already far away from my old friends and family as well, so I'm there in something, I cannot behave and talk like a proletarian ('proli'), but I can't find my place in the academic environment either.' (Levente, 25)

In the following section, we discuss separately the identified factors that influence the subjective experience of upward mobility.

3.1.1. Racialised minority status

Our results show that our majority interviewees' educational mobility typically does not cause habitus dislocation. This is not in line with the results of some other studies (Friedman 2016, Naudet 2018), that found that long-range social mobility typically causes dislocation between habitus and field. One of the explanations of this discrepancy can be the fact that they only examined those who have working-class backgrounds and moved to the elite sector (by working in high prestigious jobs) while our sample is not restricted to the elites.

Contrary to our majority respondents, almost all Roma interviewees, with a few exceptions, have experienced a misalignment between their habitus and the field of origin or/and destination. We found that belonging to a racialised minority group has a significant effect on the emotional/psychological price of mobility. Many of the Roma respondents experienced habitus clivé, that is, the feeling of being located somewhere in-between (*lebegés állapota*, in: Mendi, 1999; see Nyírő–Durst 2018). For example, István (43, Roma, communication expert), who has a long-range mobility

trajectory, moved from a large town of a county to Budapest and works in the field of communication in the business sector, spoke about his isolation from both the 'Gypsy and Hungarian world':

> "... when I started university and moved to Budapest I thought that my problem of not belonging anywhere would go away. See, my childhood friends who were Roma dropped out of school when they were fourteen. As for me, I was still going to secondary school back then, carrying my drawings, schoolbag and all. For them I was not Gypsy enough anymore, so to speak. And at school, I was still not Hungarian enough. There they knew I was a Gypsy. I have always been proud of that, and it is one of the things that has been very important to me. However, it caused me a lot of suffering." (István, 43)

Anna (38, Roma, equality expert), who has had a short-range mobility path both in an educational and geographical sense, also experienced the feeling of not belonging anywhere:

> "...if they went anti-Gypsy, I had to raise my voice. After the third Gypsy joke, I usually told people to stop (…). That topic will come up at times, and then I've got to bring arguments for and against, and defend Roma people (…). At the same time, we [college-educated Roma] stand out of the Roma crowd because we don't speak Romani, we don't even look like them – after all, we don't have such a bad life, we live well, we're educated…Therefore in both groups, we're still very different from the rest. This makes matters a bit more complex I think." (Anna, 38)

As stated above, our results show that minority status has a central importance in mobility experience (see Naudet 2018). Several upwardly mobile Roma interviewees feel or felt at some point in their path that they are not accepted or that they are even rejected by the majority society while at the same time they are detached from their community of origin.

This is because (racialised) minority middle-class (college graduated) people have a distinctive problem (Neckerman et al. 1999). On the one hand, the frequent experience of discrimination and stigmatisation prevent many of them from feeling that they fit into their new field. Apart from a few exceptions, all Roma interviewees reported painful experiences of prejudice and discrimination. During their mobility trajectory, they often encountered the situation of 'being the only Roma' in their schools or at their workplace that can be emotionally difficult. The exposure to prejudice and discrimination prevents interviewees from being able or willing to adapt to the new field and contribute to their feeling of being located somewhere in-between. As they explain:

"It is always weird when I get into a non-Gypsy community where I am the only Gypsy, and sometimes I get into communities where there are only Gypsies. Of course, I feel better in a community where there are only Gypsies, but you have to learn and get used to the situation where you are seen a bit like a stranger, an odd one out ('csodabogár') by non-Gypsies, or you are treated like a mannequin in a shop window." (Elizabet, 32)

"I was very humiliated, it was partly due to being a young intern, but I started to realise after one and a half years that unfortunately, it is not just about that. It was also about my origin. The Gypsies were exterminated in front of me, they were desecrated. And really, other students could do everything, and I could not do anything (…) and it hurt a lot and I was accused of stealing and being expelled from the locker room. (…) even the cleaning lady humiliated me." (Ágnes, 30)

On the other hand, the question of loyalty to the group of origin is more complicated for Roma interviewees than for the majority respondents, because it arises in the intersection of class and race/ethnicity while for the majority this question is formulated only in terms of class. Upwardly mobile majority respondents leave their class while mobile Roma interviewees leave to a certain extent their class and have to deal with the challenge of identity and belonging to their race/ethnicity.

Many respondents feel that following their upward mobility, the Roma community[11] in a broader or narrower sense or their family of origin challenges their identity as Roma, while others question their belonging to the 'Roma community'. That is, several interviewees reported that their loyalty was questioned by others (or by themselves). Our respondents reflexively highlight that their behaviour, appearance, value system, speech or lifestyle distanced them from those of their family or background community during their mobility path that can be a source of pain or conflict because it raises the issue of loyalty. The Roma interviewees mentioned the painful moments when their Roma acquaintances and/or family members told them they are no longer Roma, that they have 'become a Hungarian' (elmagyarosodott) (Nyírő–Durst 2018) because of their changed way of speaking, dress style, worldview or value system, that is, because of their habitus (partially) adapted to their new field. Katalin (36), for example, explains the feeling of unease and exclusion:

"My family was happy when I got into college. Even my brothers told me what an achievement it was. But for that same reason, they also excluded me somehow because they thought I had become an educated Hungarian gadje. And this is still the situation today." (Katalin, 36)

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11   This study uses the expression 'Roma community' because the interviewees also use this term. It sometimes refers to their narrower community of origin while others use it as a generic term.

This divergence from the family, that is the adaptation to the destination group, often leads to internal self-doubt or conflict with the family or community of origin. This conflict is especially aggravated for Roma women, many of whom have to negotiate the traditionally expected gender roles with their community of origin (Pantea 2015). This double or multiplied burden (Kóczé–Popa 2009) of being a Roma woman sharply illustrates the intersectional effect of race and gender on the price of upward mobility. As they explain that their life path is divergent from that of their friends or relatives:

> "They [the family] asked me why I am not married yet, when will they have grandchild, they told me you should rather get married and have children. And you know, [at that stage of my life], it was not in my mind to get married and have children. There were many such conflicts." (Tímea, 36)

> "...on my way, as I proceeded, I went home several times and saw my friend who already has three kids, I saw them playing and I was thinking, oh my God, I am here at the age of thirty, I really do not have a chance to have a child yet, I am always looking for someone who would be good to raise a child with, who would be realistic. And she is much happier than I am, it is true that they are very poor, but she is much happier." (Réka, 37)

> "During college, the process of distancing from my family already started. (…) It is already another way of being for you that you continue to study. For example, my cousin, the same age as me, has already earned a lot, and this causes a distancing. That is, you are distanced from your family. You have not gotten anywhere in your life yet." (Valéria, 30)

It is important to note that most of our respondents reported that they have a strong Roma identity and they are proud to be Roma and they feel solidarity towards Roma people. However, at the same time, several interviewees recounted their pain that they do not feel accepted by the 'Roma community' in a narrower or broader sense.

The central importance of the issue of loyalty is shown by the fact that many interviewees reported a sense of responsibility towards the 'Roma community' (Kóczé 2010, Durst et al. 2016, Nyírő–Durst 2018). Unlike their white majority counterparts, who are taught to think of themselves as individuals, Roma interviewees often see themselves as part of a racially socialised group (see also DiAngelo 2011 for white Americans). To offer some of the several examples, let us present Elizabet's (32) thoughts:

> „Now I know it for sure that my responsibility is way bigger than the one I would have if I wasn't Roma. As a Roma woman, no matter if I serve the Roma or the non-Roma community, I always have to stand up for the people. Because, even if I

don't want it, I am considered a Roma woman and a Roma expert... a great burden on the shoulder". (Elizabet, 32)

However, as the quote above shows, this responsibility is important but at the same time, it is a burden as well. Several interviewees feel that this responsibility and solidarity is indirectly expected from them by the Roma intellectuals and by the pro-Roma support programmes (Nyírő – Durst 2018, Boros et al. 2021, this volume). Therefore, those, who do not want to live up to this expectation, and chose a general (not racially directed) career path, struggle with a feeling of divided loyalty. While those, who have a racially directed career work in positions that are emotionally difficult and therefore requires great individual effort and which are vulnerable and offer lower wages and opportunities (Nyírő–Durst 2018).

In sum, Roma interviewees much more often experienced habitus clivé than the majority respondents. The process of acculturation is more difficult and complicated for upwardly mobile Roma because of prejudice and discrimination against Roma. In other words, the interaction and connection with the new environment are more problematic for Roma people because of their stigmatised situation. The issue of loyalty is also a more complex question for Roma interviewees because it appears in the intersection of class and race/ethnicity as well while for the upwardly mobile majority interviewees whose identity is a non-racialised identity, this question emerges only in terms of class. That is, our results also highlight that there is a difficult intersection between class mobility and changing ethno-racial identity (see Friedman 2016). The acculturation to the new group in a prejudiced and discriminatory environment and remaining loyal to the group of origin at the same time creates a particular and complex tension for upwardly mobile Roma.

3.1.2. The range of social mobility
The range of mobility also influences the subjective experience of mobility (Friedman 2016). Our research defined the range of mobility in terms of the educational attainment of the interviewee compared to that of their parents': if the parents have completed at most primary school then the interviewee regarded as long-range socially mobile, if the parents have a higher education than primary school then the interviewee is regarded as short-range upwardly mobile. Those interviewees who underwent long-range social mobility are more likely to experience habitus clivé compared to those who realised short-range movement.

3.1.3. The range of geographical mobility
We found that mobility in a geographical sense also affects the individuals' experience of social mobility. Those who lived in the same settlement since birth or moved back to where they lived as children are less likely to experience dislocation

while those who undergo long-range mobility in a geographical sense (those who move from villages to Budapest or from Hungary to abroad) are more likely to feel it.

3.1.4. Aspirational capital of the family of origin

Those interviewees whose family of origin was ambitious, that is, they had mobility aspirations or had a positive attitude towards mobility and saw education as the most important vehicle for it, usually had fewer conflicts with their family, which makes their mobility trajectory emotionally smoother. Many interviewees reported that their parents (or one of them) wanted to study further, but they had no opportunity, so they fulfil their parents' unfulfilled dreams. The upward mobility of our interviewees is often the result of a multigenerational family project. That is, we found that aspirational capital: the parent's dreams, hopes and high aspirations for their children's future in case of difficult circumstances is a resource (Yosso 2005) that in most cases promotes a smooth upward mobility trajectory.

3.1.5. Speed of mobility

We also found that those whose mobility trajectory is slow and gradual are less likely to experience habitus dislocation even if they travelled through long social distances (see Friedman 2016, Bereményi – Durst 2021, this volume). As one of our study participants who came from a very poor family from a small village, yet made it to the top of the capital's film industry, put it, he "didn't have to fear of tripping over (*megbotlok*) as I didn't have to jump high stairs. I was lucky, by coincidence, to get to a top urban primary school from my village school at Year 3, and since then my rising as someone who is talented at writing, was steady and gradual". (Béla, 43, majority, screenwriter).

Those interviewees, who progressed in small steps and gradually in their educational or professional careers, typically did not experience misalignment between their habitus and the field of their destination. For example, such a small step as getting a high school diploma from a secondary vocational school (*szakközépiskola*) or in an evening school, followed by getting a university or a college degree in a distant learning programme correspondence course. On the contrary, sudden and large steps are more likely to cause a hysteresis effect between habitus and field such as attending an elite grammar school or a highly prestigious major course at a top university. In some cases, our interviewees consciously slowed down the speed of their upward mobility in order to gain time to adapt to the new field (see Bereményi–Durst 2021, this volume).

Our results show that the practice of past mobility or immobility of the family of origin also influences whether the upwardly mobile person experiences habitus dislocation or not. It is easier to negotiate multiple identities for those whose families of origin have also achieved some level of social ascension. In these cases, the interviewee's mobility trajectory is the continuation of the family's upward

mobility path. That is, the speed of mobility is important in an intergenerational sense as well. For example, several interviewees mentioned that their family was the first in their community who moved out from the Gypsy settlement ('*cigánytelep*') to the village, which was a huge step of the family's mobility trajectory. Others reported that their parents or grandparents were the first in the village who possessed a high school diploma.

3.1.6. Destination and attained occupational field of mobility

Finally, we found that moving toward the quadrant of social space and field of occupation dominated and operated by (white middle-class) cultural capital, is more likely to cause habitus clivé than moving toward the economically dominant quadrant of the social space (see Friedman 2016). Those who arrive at occupations where dominant white middle-class cultural capital is required to get on, and who did not acquire the symbolic mastery of it (Friedman–Laurison 2020) in their family of origin or through primary socialisation, are more likely to experience a mismatch between their habitus and attained field. Echoing the work of scholars analysing personal experiences of upward social mobility (Lawler 1999, Skeggs 1997, Friedman 2016), many of our interviewees coming from (formally) low-educated families, reflected on the emotional distress they felt by their deficit of this dominant cultural capital (such as language style, taste, etiquette on formal work events, and dressing code). Their embodied experiences of these subtle cultural distinctions among social classes contributed to their feeling of insecurity, not fitting in, and hitting barriers to get on and succeed in their profession.

In sum, habituses travelling long distance socially and geographically at a fast speed, moving towards the quadrant of the social space dominated and operated by white middle-class cultural capital, and originating from Roma families with low levels of aspirational capital are more likely to experience habitus clivé.

3.2. The intersecting effect of individual factors and the minority, majority mobility trajectories

According to our results, the unique combination and intersecting effect of the six factors presented above greatly influence the subjective experience of mobility. In the following section, we present four cases to demonstrate that it is not the individual factors themselves, but a particular set of factors and the intersecting new position their combination creates, is what is decisive in terms of our respondents' mobility experience. We introduce two common or typical cases: a narrative of a 'minority mobility trajectory' (Durst–Bereményi 2021) of a Roma interviewee who experienced habitus clivé and a narrative of a 'majority mobility trajectory' of a non-Roma majority respondent whose mobility trajectory was without psychological costs. We also explore two rare or atypical cases: a story of a Roma participant of

our research project who had a smooth mobility path; and a discourse of a majority respondent who described a painful 'emotional price'. As mentioned earlier, among the six identified factors or conditions, the most important one is the person's belonging to the majority society or to a racialised minority group, however other factors may override this as we will see from the two rare or atypical examples.

To offer one out of several cases for a 'majority mobility trajectory' without habitus dislocation, let us discuss Éva's mobility path. Éva (56, majority, nurse) comes from a very small village, her parents did not complete elementary school and were agricultural workers in a cooperative farm (*termelőszövetkezet*). During the summer school holidays, Éva had to work in the cooperative. Her father did not want her to go to a secondary school. Instead, he preferred her getting a job because the family needed financial support but finally he allowed her to continue studying. After graduating from high school, she worked in a hospital for a few years and then enrolled in nursing training at a university. Now she is a senior nurse in a hospital in Budapest and performs a great variety of professional activities (e.g. book publishing, charitable foundation management), so she feels quite successful and honoured. Despite travelling a long distance both geographically and socially at high speed, Éva as many majority respondents, did not report 'moments of hysteresis' but her trajectory was psychologically smooth according to her narrative. We argue that it is partly because she chose an occupational field in the quadrant of social space which is not dominated and operated by the middle-class cultural capital. As a nurse, she does not suffer from the lack of the dominant white middle-class cultural capital of her family of origin.

To provide one of the many cases where a Roma interviewees' upward mobility trajectory is psychologically and emotionally painful, let us introduce Bettina's (43) narrative. She grew up in a Gypsy settlement in a small village, her parents did not complete primary school. Her family was not ambitious, but she had an inner drive to read and study since her childhood. She attended an elite high school in her local area which she did not like because she could not fit in. She recalls the unease in this environment; that she did not want to invite her parents to the leavers' ball because of their low education and their visible minority status. Her upward mobility trajectory was gradual: after completing high school she did not start university immediately, but she began to work as an unqualified teacher ('*képesítés nélküli tanár*') in Budapest. After a few years of working, she applied to a university to study teacher training and later she also completed two other majors. She used to work for several pro-Roma NGOs. She is currently working on her PhD and a researcher in a white-dominated academic institute. During her upward mobility trajectory, she felt that she distanced herself from her family. According to her narrative, the question of her belonging was a central problem of her life for a long time. She reported that she is still struggling with an inferiority complex, and she is insecure in herself. In sum, coming from a Roma family with low aspirational capital, travelling a long-range

mobility path socially and geographically and moving to the culturally dominant quadrant of the social space have all contributed to Bettina's experience of habitus dislocation.

After these two common, typical cases, let us turn to the rare, atypical mobility trajectories. As mentioned earlier, most of our majority interviewees did not experience a mismatch between their habitus and field. However, a few of our majority respondents described their upward mobility path as emotionally and psychologically difficult. For example, let us introduce Klára's (45) case. She was born in a small village. None of her parents completed primary school, her father worked as a driver, her mother was a hard-working seamstress. She performed well at the local primary school, therefore she moved to a bigger city to study at a good quality high school. She was admitted to a university in that city to study economics right after high school, and then she continued to study in a doctoral programme. During the years of the PhD program, her first two children were born, so she had to interrupt her studies. Klára became a university lecturer after completing her PhD, but she did not feel at home in the academic world. She suffered from impostor syndrome as she was unable to believe that she is 'good enough' to work there:

> "I was scared of them [our colleagues]. Yeah. Then it came to me again that I'd always been scared of not being good enough, not being able to behave and react well, that my skills are not adequate, that I'm not prepared, not working hard enough, so I've always been scared and lived in constant stress, I've never been self-confident and I've never felt safe (...) Take etiquette for instance, at parties I've never really grasped who should introduce whom, what's the protocol for shaking hands, and I've never known where to stand and what to do, not even how to dress up. I read a book on such customs once, but it was a waste of time - I couldn't remember anything, I felt I wouldn't be able to use it in a real-life social situation anyway." (Klára, 45)

In her case 'the emotional imprint of this dislocation was felt through (...) an internal self-doubt' (Friedman 2016: 140):

> "... I constantly had an inferiority feeling, oh, oh, don't turn out, others don't notice that I don't belong here, I'm not good enough. (...) One of the reasons, for example, was English, that I'm not good enough, I'm definitely not good enough in English, but not necessarily in other things either, I cannot reach this level anymore, somehow I went too far, it didn't work for me anymore, the university degree was okay, but it [teaching at a university] was a too large step for me." (Klára, 45)

Finally, she quit her job and has been at home with her children for years now. When she was asked about why she applied for the interview, she said that she was interested in the reasons for her giving up her academic carrier and believed that she climbed too high on the social ladder and she felt as a 'fish out of water', so she had to leave her job in order to decrease the effects of the hysteresis. (see Friedman 2016, Mallman 2018, Bereményi – Durst 2021, this volume):

> "…I've been thinking about the reasons why I quit my job - it's unusual, and my mind keeps reeling on the causes of why that happened, and one of them was that it felt really hard to live with it, that is, taking such a giant step, that it eventually brought me to a halt. (…) I didn't feel comfortable working as an assistant professor, I didn't feel at home anymore, I felt I didn't belong there, and I was no longer certain about doing my stuff right, and in general, I started doubting that my knowledge was adequate (…) I don't remember having any such problems as a university student, I didn't have any doubts about belonging, taking steps, or knowing what I knew. Back then it wasn't an issue". (Klára, 45)

When she was asked to briefly describe herself, she said:

> "The main problem in my present situation is that I can't find my place in society – in my family, I can, yes, I'm a mother, I'm a wife, but in society, I can't". (Klára, 45)

That is, the effects of hysteresis still influence her life even years after quitting her career.

In sum, most of our majority interviewees had a smooth mobility path but a few of them experienced habitus clivé. In Klára's case, the unique combination and intersecting effect of the examined factors contributed to her painful mobility experience: she travelled through a long-range mobility path at a fast speed, described her family as not really aspiring and supportive, and as one lacking the type of middle-class cultural capital that was needed in her attained class to get on. The lack of this middle-class cultural capital brought from home together with her fast and long-range social ascension and her travelling to that part of the social space (academic sphere) where cultural capital is the dominant resource to succeed resulted in her difficulties.

To introduce one of the few, atypical examples for mobility trajectory of a Roma respondent without habitus clivé, let us discuss Róbert's (43) case. His mother was a factory worker, his father was a brigade leader in the construction industry, later he became an entrepreneur. The whole family worked in the second economy in order to generate extra income. He was born in the Gypsy settlement of a small village and went to the local primary school there, and then he attended a high school in a nearby town. Immediately after graduation, he was admitted to a university in Budapest where he studied to be an engineer.

Róbert offers a narrative about hard-working and very ambitious parents and grandparents who managed to move out from a Gypsy settlement to the village and to provide financial security for the family. He believes that his family made upward mobility possible for him in two senses: on the one hand, by creating the material conditions, on the other hand, by encouraging him to study. Furthermore, he describes that further education at university was his father's unfulfilled wish.

As Róbert explains the great ascension on the social ladder was achieved by his parents and grandparents and not by him:

"Well, there I was, three years old, and people would ask me what I wanted to be, and I'd tell them I wanted to be an engineer (…) now a three-year-old doesn't have any clear-cut ideas of his own and usually echoes what he's told or programmed to. My parents programmed me to want to become an engineer, practically that's how I grew up. And it tells a lot about what a leap I took, and how much my parents helped me. All I reached is down to my parents, and my parents' parents. I come from a family, I come from an environment where the importance of education was understood early (…) I only had to study, that's all. I didn't take such big steps. It was my parents, they took giant steps, coming from great poverty, and my mother's parents and my father's parents managed to create a decent existence, they rose from that deep poverty. My father could build on those foundations, he had a jumping board. And then, me, I could grow up like an average gadjo [non-Gypsy] kid, I had my own room, I had food, I had everything, see? (Róbert, 43)

He describes that his progress was due to his family's attitude towards studying:

"…I started out from a home where I was given the opportunity to study, that's what I got from my parents, even from my illiterate grandmother, and they gave it to me exactly because they saw the disadvantages of having no education. They knew I had to study" (Róbert, 43)

Róbert reported that he did not have any problems with living in two worlds:

"…Gypsies haven't outcast me. Ever. No matter what, high school or university, whenever I was home in Maros I went down to the disco with my Gypsy relatives and friends all the same and met chicks. We sat in a run-down Trabant, and when it broke down a Hungarian kid pushed the car, see? (…) I was on very, very good terms with the Hungarian kids in Maros, too, and they looked up to me. I was kind of like a role model even to gadjo kids. So I've never had this issue, like, that I had to choose between two worlds. Never. Not for a second. At secondary

school, I made a lot of friends, but I also kept my Gypsy and Hungarian childhood friends." (Róbert, 43)

Despite travelling a long distance educationally and geographically at a fast pace, Róbert's mobility trajectory is the continuation of his family's progress. We could say that his mobility trajectory is part of a multi-generational family upward mobility project and that his career track meets with his family's expectations and aspirations which may have contributed to his emotionally smooth path. In sum, Róbert's case is rare since most of our Roma respondents reported that they experienced (at least in a short period of their life) a mismatch between their habitus and field, but he described he never experienced habitus dislocation in his life. As he highlights this was due to the fact that his grandparents and parents climbed high on the social ladder and he only had to take a small step further. That is, Róbert describes that his mostly smooth upward mobility process is due to an intergenerational aspiration capital in his family: to his grandparents' and parents' efforts and aspirations to ascend from poverty. Furthermore, as an engineer, he did not have to struggle with the lack of middle-class cultural capital because it is not the dominant resource needed to succeed in that sphere.

Summary

Our study demonstrated that upward mobility does not necessarily lead to habitus clivé. Instead, certain characteristics of the mobility trajectory make the emergence of habitus clivé more likely.

We found that the subjective experience of education-driven social ascension is influenced by the upwardly mobile individual's range of social mobility, the speed, the destination of mobility and the direction of movement through social space, and also, by one's ethno-racial belonging, the range of geographical mobility, and the aspirational capital of one's family of origin. The combination and the intersectional effect of these factors are decisive on the personal experience of mobility, and some individual factors (e.g. personality, contingency such as biographical events) also play an important role.

One of our main findings is that those interviewees who belong to the Roma minority are more likely to experience habitus clivé than the majority participants of our study. That is, belonging to a racialised, stigmatised and discriminated minority group has a significant influence on the subjective experience of upward mobility. This is because both the issue of loyalty and acculturation is more complicated in their case compared to the majority respondents. The acculturation to the new group is more difficult and complicated for upwardly mobile Roma because of prejudice and discrimination against Roma. The question of loyalty is also a more complex question for Roma respondents because it appears in the intersection of class and race/ethnicity as well while for the majority interviewees this issue emerges only

in terms of class. Many Roma interviewees reported that their Roma identity was challenged by others (or by themselves) after their upward mobility. Furthermore, several Roma respondents described their feeling of responsibility towards their community which was a psychological burden as well. That is, the acculturation to the new group in a hostile (prejudiced and discriminatory) environment and remaining loyal to the group of origin at the same time results in a specific and highly complex tension in the narratives of upwardly mobile Roma.

However, as it was demonstrated, other factors may override the effect of belonging to the majority society or to the Roma minority. That is, there are some Roma respondents who had a psychologically and emotionally smooth mobility trajectory and a few majority interviewees who, on the contrary, experienced habitus clivé. For example, we presented the case of Róbert, who is Roma, however, his mobility trajectory was smooth because his path was not a deviation from his family's journey and in his field of work (engineer) the lack of middle-class cultural capital was not a problem, and it did not hinder his adaptation to his new field.

Although Bourdieu highlights that habitus may change, he acknowledges that these cases are rare and temporary. Our results also suggest that habitus may be subject to change (see e.g. Friedman 2016) when someone enters a new field, in our case when upward mobility is achieved.

The psychological price of social mobility, especially among racialised minority people reflect, however, that even when primary habitus changes, the inequality of starting positions cannot be eliminated by upward mobility through education. Our research shed light on the fact that the social inequalities of the starting positions should be decreased in order to diminish the emotional cost of mobility (Dés 2021, this volume).

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Costs of social mobility in the context of intimate partner relationships.
"It is really easy to be angry at someone who is in front of me and not at the system, which produces the inequalities between us"

Fanni Dés[1]

Abstract: Power inequalities originating from capitalist patriarchy are having an impact on and even determining our personal relationships: gender, class and ethnic inequality are consistently present in our intimate ties as well (Ridgeway 2009). For socially mobile individuals from lower classes, one of the main costs of moving between social classes is to exist in the complex conflict that arises from distancing from the social class of origin in order to integrate into new social spaces (Bourdieu 2005, Friedman 2016). These internal conflicts that are caused by broadened social structures are also present not just in the difficulty of finding a desired romantic partner (Durst at al. 2014) but in the process of sustaining an intimate relationship with someone from a particular social background as well. Structural inequalities are also determinative factors in partner selection, education homogamy and ethnic homogamy are highly present in society (Kamijn 1993, 1998, 2010, Kang Fu 2001). In this paper, through analysing narratives of educationally upwardly mobile women in Hungary, regarding intimate partner selection and looking at intimate relationships themselves, I aim to discover how their narratives reflect upon the hidden costs of mobility. I show how gender, education and ethnic inequalities emerge through the personal accounts of their mobility experiences and to what extent these inequalities determine the process of finding a desired partner or sustaining an existing intimate relationship.

Keywords: social mobility, mobility trajectory, costs of mobility, intimate relationships, gender relations, class relations, ethnic inequalities, homogamy

Introduction

During the process of conducting interviews for our research project, Social Mobility and Ethnicity: Trajectories, outcomes and hidden costs of high educational

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achievement, it was already clear to us from previous research results that socially upwardly mobile women frequently frame the difficulties of partner selection and further, of maintaining an intimate relationship with someone, given the social distances that become problematic and feel insurmountable through educational mobility as well as that ethnicity exacerbates these difficulties (Durst et al. 2014). In the interviews they related that they feel pressure from society to be in an intimate relationship, and they long for those relationships, but to find someone who they are able to get along with, with whom they feel to be understood, represents a major challenge for them.

When I met with Hanna a 29 year old socially upwardly mobile woman to conduct an interview for our research project, we set up our meeting in a community place in Budapest where both of us felt at home. In addition to her master studies, Hanna also works with youths from disadvantaged backgrounds. She comes from a family where both of her parents worked really hard to give Hanna the potential to gain a university degree. We more or less move in the same community, therefore the situations and feelings that she articulated during our interview about and towards her social milieu, were more or less familiar to me. However, when she was speaking to me about these situations in the context of her mobility trajectory, it was nevertheless clear to me that I never had to go through them. I never felt that I should overcome my primary socialisation to meet with the expectations of my environment, in order to feel accepted in it, which would cause constant internal conflict within me (Ingram–Abrahams 2016). The situation was the same when we got to the topic of intimate relationships. She was very thankful that we were also discussing this topic in the context of social mobility, as she felt that her mobility trajectory was, to a large extent, impacting her relationships, and that there is no place to speak about these problems. Inter alia she articulated the following:

> "When I meet someone, my first two questions are what do your parents do and where did you go to school. I don't do a checklist, but I do it in some way. I know it's not the best practice but I do this because then those big surprises can't happen, like I would be surprised about what's happening. Anyway, sometimes it just comes into my mind how nice it would be if I could find for example, a carpenter, who really suits me, with whom I can really get along." (Hanna, 29, non-Roma)

Even though she had not had a partner in the last decade who came from the same background as hers, she highlighted that she feels a person from the same background of origin would be one who would suit her best. She articulated that she still feels identified with her community of origin even though in practice she has partners who come from a middle-class background that is her attained class through her mobility trajectory. She narrated the costs for socially mobile individuals of moving between

social classes in the context of intimate partner relationships: a difficulty that exists in the complex conflict of distancing from the social class of origin, and to integrate into new social spaces as a middle-class environment (Bourdieu 2005, Friedman 2016). She explicated that she would feel more comfortable with someone who came from the same background as hers even though with her mobility trajectory; she chooses partners form her new social environment.

In my paper I aim to analyse the narratives of socially mobile Hungarian Roma and non-Roma women on finding a desired partner and in intimate relationships in the context of emotional costs (Reay 2005) or price of social mobility (Friedman 2016). I am interested in whether partner selection and maintaining an intimate relationship can be analysed in the context of the costs of upward mobility, and in examining the main articulated difficulties for women in partner selection and in intimate relationships through their mobility trajectory, taking into account the pressure from capitalist patriarchal societies to find a desired partner and to maintain an intimate relationship. My paper also covers the differences in the narratives of socially mobile women with a Roma and non-Roma background, as I take into consideration how ethnicity can affect these processes.

Marriage and intimate relationships in capitalist patriarchy

Patriarchy names the social structures that maintain the oppression of women in society through its unequal structures and social institutions (Walby 1990). The social feminist literature defines capitalism as the modern fulfillment of patriarchy, which operates through capital accumulation (Dalla Costa–Selma 1972, Seccombe [1972] 2018, Eisenstein 1977). Unequal power relations in capitalist patriarchies are also present in our intimate partner relationships (Haller 1981). Class, ethnic and gender inequalities are determining them (Ridgeway 2009). Unequal societal structures are determining our everyday life. The phenomenon that the experiences of dominant groups are accepted by society as a universal experience is present in our everyday interactions as well (Ridgeway 2009). In everyday interactions individuals can become the ones who suffer from these forms of oppression and sometimes privileged individuals are the ones who use their socially endowed power over them. Nevertheless, the causes cannot be traced only on an individual level, but can better be explained by structural inequalities of society and the unequal power relations created and maintained by social institutions of capitalist patriarchy (Marion Young 1990).

Within the institution of marriage, power inequalities are constantly present as well and this has its own societal function: capitalism exploits the institution of marriage through the logic of capitalist accumulation. The function of the institution of marriage and family in capitalism is the reproduction of life through biological reproduction and reproductive work that covers inter alia, childcare and housework.

Reproductive work mostly carried out by women on a gender basis, which highly influences the power relations between males and females in households (Csányi et al. 2018). In capitalist patriarchal societies, reproductive work is generally assigned to women and society frames women's wage work as of secondary importance. Through this process household work becomes invisible to society; it stays in the private sphere and it remains unrespected (Fraser 2016). Therefore, the inequalities between males and females in the institution of marriage are not just simply present because of the different social positions of genders in society but also because marriage is one of the most basic institutions of the exploitation of women (Seccombe 1974). Nevertheless, the pressures on women from society and their environment to get married and raise children are determinative (Marion Young 1990). Additionally, frequently lower-class women do not have the chance to sustain themselves economically in a one-person household; consequently marriage is a better alternative for them (Walby 1990). A research conducted in Hungary that examined the situation of women in the country came to the conclusion, that frequently women are not able to quit their relationships, or marriages, because they would not be able to sustain themselves and their children in a one-parent household (Gregor–Kováts 2018).

In Hungary reproductive work is still highly associated with women. During state socialism the state started to involve women in the labour market to a higher extent, though lower-class women were much less affected by the idea of full employment than their middle-class counterparts (Zimmerman 2010). After the economic unsustainability of full employment became clear, state measures started to motivate women to remain out of the labour market in order to stay and work in the reproductive sphere. From the 1970s the state continuously reduced the childcare the childcare benefits (Glass–Fodor 2007) and started to reduce childcare institutions (Einhorn 1993). From the shift to capitalism from state socialism, care work was increasingly pushed to the private sphere and it became the informal work of women in households (Einhorn 1993, Gregor – Kováts 2019). Feminisation of poverty, low employment rates of women, the strengthening of the institution of family, the increased care work falling on women's shoulders became much more determinative in the country than before (Watson 1993).

On the one hand, governmental family policies clearly support upper-class families and are for the most part are gender blind as well (Szikra 2018), on the other hand because of the neoliberal provisions in the country, nowadays the emancipation policies that aim to affect women, do not reach lower-class women. It results in the status quo that lower-class women remain out of the labour market or have to work more shifts to sustain themselves and their families in addition to the care work that they have to carry out in their households for their families. A national representative research showed that for women in the country the most common problem is reconciling wage work and reproductive work (Gregor–Kováts 2019). Consequently, inequalities between males and females are present in the

country to a high extent; additionally, governmental policies in the, last decade are more likely to deepen these inequalities rather than compensate them as well as women became more and more dependent on their breadwinner partners in the households (Szikra 2018).

Even though the proportion of first generation graduated women (58%) in Hungary in 2016 were higher compared to the social mobility of their male counterparts (Nyírő–Durst 2021) there can be barriers that make social mobility more difficult for women based on unequal structures of society and socially constructed gender roles. For example, the different expectations towards them from their family of origin, or the expectations towards them in intimate relationships and marriages to carry out the care and housework work, besides their studies or wage work (Naudet 2018, Durst et al. 2014). For this phenomenon I will bring examples in the empirical part of my paper. In my analyses I will examine the costs of mobility in the context of intimate relationships through the narratives of our women interviewees, given they are much more pressured from the side of society to find an intimate partner, and to raise children, in addition to the expected care and household work they are required to do, based on socially constructed gender roles that can highly influence their mobility trajectory.

The hidden costs of mobility in the context of intimate partner relationships

I understand social class as a group of people who occupy the same position in production, and who have the same position in the social division of labor (Éber 2019). Wright (2003) defines five approaches through which we are able to define class positions: class as a subjective location, class as objective within distributions, class as the relational explanation of economic life chance, class as a dimension of historical variation in systems of inequality, and class as a foundation of economic oppression and exploitation. In Hungary based on its semi-peripheral[2] regional position in the global economy there is a comparable middle class as in centrum countries where there is an economic basis for a wide middle social stratum. In the semi-periphery the economic circumstances of the middle social stratum are much more vulnerable compared to centrum countries (Éber 2020, Huszár–Berger 2020), even though there is a social stratum that cannot be labeled as lower or upper class. Éber (2020) calls this social stratum as "mediator" class. I will interpret the social mobility of our interviewees as a position change in class structures as they cannot be defined as labourers with their movement compared to most of their parents –

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2   According to Wallerstein's world system theory (1972) one is able to examine the structures of capital accumulation on a world system scale, as due to unequal geographical development there are unequal exchange relations between the different regions of the world, which are deeply affects the different nation states internal class structures. Centrum countries are exploiting the countries which are located in peripheral regions, and the semi-peripheral countries are in a dual role in the exchange relations: they are exploited by centrum countries but exploiting the peripheral countries.

and they had and have to prevail in a really different social medium as their parents had to. This paper concentrates on the subjective price (Naudet 2018) of changing position in social class structure in the context of intimate relationships.

The academic literature that concentrates on the costs of social mobility explores how social inequalities determine the everyday experiences of socially mobile individuals (Reay 2015), and how these experiences differentiate from the experiences that society treats as universal, as well as from the common experiences of different social classes (Bourdieu 1984: 97–256). The most highlighted cost of social mobility for individuals is to experience the internal conflict of not feeling that they belong anymore to the background of origin (family, friends) nor to be an integral part of middle or upper-class community that should be the new medium of the individual based on its mobility trajectory. That is, the individual is not able to identify with the common experiences of lower-class people anymore nor with the common experiences of upper-class groups (Bourdieu 2005, Friedman 2016).

Bourdieu (1984: 97–256) uses the term class 'habitus' for universally accepted behaviours within social classes. "Habitus results from early socialization experiences in which external structures are internalized" (Swartz 1997: 103). Class habitus is determined by unequal social structures and offers guidelines for individuals on how to act properly in a given social environment. Within different social classes, different habitus is accepted and appreciated (Friedman 2016). Individuals who have the same life chances in society share a common habitus, that is determined materially, socially and culturally (Swartz 1997: 95–116). Mobility is an ideal phenomenon for the examination of social class habitus as well as for the examination of how individuals deal with the phenomenon that it is expected from them to adapt to a new habitus of a new environment and to become accepted in it. These processes often appear in the internal conflict within the individual between feeling loyalty towards the environment of origin and family, and between the possibilities of mobility (Friedman 2016). Therefore, the process often involves that socially mobile individuals abandon some of their motivations regarding their mobility in order to remain accepted by their community of origin. These are barriers that their upper-class counterparts do not have to deal with. This phenomenon can be understood as a cost of mobility, as it results in a constant internal conflict within the individual (Mallman 2015). Bourdieu (1999, 2000) refers to the phenomenon 'divided habitus' when socially mobile individuals experience an internal conflict between the habitus of their class of origin - which they learned through socialisation - and between a middle, upper-class habitus, which is expected from them during social mobility. This internal conflict can also appear during the process of partner selection as well as in the process of maintaining a relationship with a partner from a given social background (Durst et al. 2014). A lot of our interviewees did not achieve much better economic circumstances for themselves compared to their parents. Nevertheless, with their educational mobility and the distinction of their

primary socialisation in their community of origin, the compliance difficulties in their new, more educated attained group is clearly present in their narratives and results in constant internal conflict within themselves.

Based on the data of the census in 2011, the comparison between Roma college educated individuals (most of them generally first generation graduates according to previous research results) and Hungarian first generation degree holders, shows that the proportion of unmarried individuals is much higher among Roma graduates than among their non-Roma counterparts. 39% of Roma male and 44% of Roma female graduates were unmarried in Hungary in 2011, meanwhile the correspondent data is 27% of male and 29% of female for the total population (Nyírő–Durst 2021). Durst et al. (2014) examined the hidden costs of mobility amongst Roma women, and one of their main conclusions was that one of the most frequently mentioned costs of upward mobility among first generation graduate Roma women was the difficulties of finding a desired partner. Women were aiming to find a partner and to maintain a relationship but they shared that they constantly faced difficulties in the area of intimate relationships. Many of these difficulties can be explained by their mobility trajectory. Furthermore, another frequently mentioned problem was 'socially downward marriage'. Women had partners who were not socially mobile, therefore after a while they felt that their relationships became empty, their partner experienced a feeling of inferiority towards them because of their socially lower status, and consequently the marriage was not sustainable in the long term. Naudet (2018) in his book examines the costs of mobility through the narratives of socially mobile individuals in three countries[3], who managed to step into elite circles. He also provides examples from his sample for whom the difficulties of maintaining a relationship or ending a relationship were explained by the different class socialisation of partners. It will be seen in the empirical part of my study that the intimate relationships of our women interviewees were highly determined by the conflicts which originated from the different backgrounds and different education levels of the partners. They felt on the one hand that if they choose a partner with the same background as theirs, then their partner would not be able to understand their motivations, but on the other hand, if they chose someone from their new status without a mobility trajectory then their partner would not be able to understand their background. As such, they also felt themselves to be in *no man's land* (Durst et al. 2014: 175) in the context of their intimate relationships: their relationship preferences and their conflicts within their relationships were highly influenced by structural inequalities.

The intersectionality of ethnicity and gender will be present as a concept in my analysis (Crenshaw 1989, 1991) since we also conducted interviews with Roma and non-Roma women. The concept of intersectionality was coined by Kimberly Crenshaw

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3   The research was conducted in India, in the USA and in France.

(1989, 1991) to highlight the differences between the everyday experiences of black women compared to white middle-class women that were engaged in the 60-70s women's movement in American society. Intersectionality posits that everyday experiences of women from different social classes and ethnic backgrounds are not the same, based on their different economic and social position (Yuval-Davis 2006). Therefore, women with different class and ethnic backgrounds can have distinct experiences on the relationship and marriage market as well. Lower class and minority ethnic positions can both be present in the unequal power positions in a relationship, through maintaining a relationship with a partner from a given social background in Hungarian society where the discrimination of Roma people by social institutions is highly present (Ladányi 1996, Ladányi–Szelényi 2002, Szalai 2002, Bernát 2014). Despite this, Roma people constitute a heterogeneous group given that people generally, in social reality, are lumped together and are often judged by the majority as a homogenous group in Eastern Europe involving Hungary as well (Kligman 2001). For the Roma women in our sample, an important aspect in partner selection was whether someone had a Roma or non-Roma background. These expectations mostly originated from their bad experiences in Hungarian society from majority groups and from their non-Roma partners. During our research, it frequently came up that the partners had prejudices towards our interviewees. Roma women also felt that their non-Roma partner was not able to understand their everyday realities shaped by discriminatory experiences.

The function of marriage and intimate relationship in sustaining inequalities

It is not just the unequal social structures that determine our relationships but the institutions of marriage and family are one of the most determinative factors in sustaining class inequalities through marriage and relationship homogamy. Additionally, class socialisation happens through these institutions as well and this deepens the boundaries between classes (Haller 1981) and extract class habitus as a phenomenon (Bourdieu 1984: 169–208).

In our everyday life we contextualise love as being unpredictable, emotions would be the only factor that would determine the process of choosing an intimate partner. Society frames finding the right partner as one of the most important indicators of finding happiness in life (Illouiz 1997: 25–48). This framing of partner selection is part of the process of how society frames phenomena and institutions in a liberal individualistic context: this framing suggests these societal phenomena would exist in a vacuum and not in a society that is shaped by unequal social structures (Marion Young 1990). Throughout history, partner selection and marriage always had its societal function. Within as well as without the institution of marriage (Illouiz 2012: 18–59). Even if it is not openly regulated nowadays, partner selection

and marriage still has its function to maintain the status quo and to sustain the inequalities between social classes (Haller 1981, Lőrincz 2006). Despite the fact that from the eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries partner selection is framed in western countries with love being the most significant factor in finding the 'right' partner (Illouiz 2012: 18–58, Fáber 2019). The consequences of the process that society frames love as the foundation of marriage, is that the function of marriage in maintaining unequal structures became much more invisible for society (Illouiz 2012: 18–58, Fáber 2019) but did not disappear in social practice. Additionally there are still several regions in diverse countries around the world where marriage is not framed as a free choice, for example there are numerous countries where forced marriage is a general phenomenon (K.Gill–Anitha 2012: 10). For our interviewees, in the context of partner selection, the dilemma of choosing a partner with the same background that they originate from, or from their new, more educated environment, constantly appeared.

Educational and ethnic homogamy are one of the most determinative factors in partner selection (Kamijn 1993, 1998, 2001, Kang Fu 2001). It is dictated by the circumstance that the myth of free choice in partner selection is limited to choosing a partner within our social class and ethnic group (Haller 1981, Blau et al. 1994). These mechanisms can originate from pressure arising from society, family, community, class socialisation and social segregation, that is from the social process that through segregated social institutions only people from the same class and ethnic groups are able to make contact with each other. Consequently, individual choice and social determination are present in parallel in the process of partner selection (Haller 1981). This determination on an individual level can be attached to class habitus (Bourdieu 1984: 97–256) as it is easier to base intimacy and an understanding relationship with someone who has the same primary socialisation as you and has similar everyday experiences. In addition to this a person's environment needs to be acceptable to her/his chosen partner.

In Hungary homogamy between classes reveals different patterns based on education attainment. The greater the distance between an individual's educational level, the less likely it will be that they will marry. Upward marriage is most likely among females and males who have attained eight grades of primary schooling. Educational homogamy has the highest rates between people who have a university degree or the ones whose level of education is at most elementary school (Bukodi 2002). Family also has a crucial role in homogamy. In Hungary those who have the same level of education as their father are most likely living in homogamy relationships. For females, in contrast to their male partners, if they are socially upwardly mobile, then downward marriage in terms of educational level is more prevalent than homogamy (Bukodi 2002). Literature highlights education as the most prevalent factor in marriage homogamy (Kalmijn 1998, 2010, Kang Fu 2001).

Theories concentrating on ethnic homogamy explore to what extent marriages are homogeneous or heterogeneous in a given society (Kang Fu 2001). There are many social factors that influence how frequent it is that individuals choose partners outside from their social groups. For example, one of the factor is the way a given minority group's social position is defined by the majority society, another one is economic and social position of the group, the third one is the social distance between different social groups. Regional segregation can also be a determining factor, as research has proved that in more heterogeneous cities the rates of mixed marriage are much higher (Tóth–Vékás 2008, Blau et al.1984). In Hungarian society marriage homogamy rates are very high between different Roma groups, which can be explained by the significant social segregation in the country. Based on the census of 2001, 83,1 percent of Roma males and 84,9 percent of Roma females in the country lived in a homogenous marriage (Tóth–Vékás 2008). Other research showed in 2013 that among Roma youth homogamy is a strong preference factor in partner selection (Lőrincz 2013).

Methodology

This paper is an outcome of the research project 'Social Mobility and Ethnicity: Trajectories, outcomes and hidden costs of high educational achievement.[4] Our research group systematically analyses the costs of upward mobility in Hungary from different perspectives through the self-narratives of educationally mobile individuals. The research is mainly conducted with qualitative methods; our methodology is based on semi-structured, in-depth, narrative interviews. Furthermore, we intend to combine in-depth, life course interviews and case studies of mobility aiding support programmes or initiatives, with quantitative data regarding the social group of first generation graduates (Ferenczi 2013). We define first generation graduates during our research as individuals whose parents do not have any higher education degrees and who have graduated from college or university.

Altogether we made 140 interviews with Roma and non-Roma first generation graduates, which gives us the possibility of examining the role of ethnicity in social mobility and also the subjective way in which individuals experience it. Research participants were recruited through snowball sampling. We used different channels to find our participants, we also interviewed first generation graduates who had participated in our former research (Durst et al. 2014), we were looking for participants through making contact with generic Roma and pro-Roma institutions. We used our own personal networks in the research team, and we also gathered participants through online media and Facebook advertisements.

For the purpose of this paper I analysed twenty-three interviewees from our sample with Atlas.ti software, from which all the interviewees were female. From the twenty-three participants, fourteen females identified as Roma, the other nine women come from a non-Roma background. Three of our interviewees were less than thirty years old, eight were in the age group ranging from thirty-one to thirty-nine, another eight were between forty and forty-nine and two of our interviewees were more than fifty years old. We conducted interviews in different regions of Hungary and our sample includes interviews with people from different settlement types. I changed the real names of our respondents so that our interviewees are not recognisable.

During our interviews and our analyses we put an emphasis on partner selection and on maintaining romantic relationships with a partner, given it became clear from the academic literature and from former research (Durst et al. 2014, Naudet 2018) that hidden costs of mobility can also present in the context of intimate partner relationships based on the narratives of socially mobile individuals. It should be taken into consideration that finding a suitable partner and maintaining a relationship even if it is a desire for someone, can have many barriers that are not attached to social mobility, but to other societal or psychological reasons. In my paper I aim to highlight the pressures and barriers attached to intimate relationships linked to the costs of social mobility, but in most of the cases I draw attention to the complex internal processes framed by the pressures of the society one belongs to.

Hidden costs of social mobility in the context of intimate partner relationships through the narratives of socially mobile women

In the following, I analyse the narratives of socially mobile Roma and non-Roma women through different aspects of their difficulties caused by their upward mobility trajectory in finding a desired partner and in maintaining a relationship. I identify these difficulties as a cost of social ascension originating from the unequal structures of society.

Conflicts arising from expectations regarding gender roles

Due to socially determined gender roles in intimate partner relationships, there were several problems which were mentioned during the interviews. The most significant conflict that was present in the narratives was that the partners had different ideas on gender roles, which mostly originated from their learned family patterns. As with all societies, and to some extent in Hungary, socially constructed gender roles in the institution of family are common, for example, the care work mostly falls on the shoulders of women. In his research Naudet (2018) conducted among first

generation graduate in three countries[5] he interprets several narratives where first generation graduate women narrate that their parents were not as supportive of them during their mobility trajectory as they were with their brothers, citing gender as the reason. The women with whom we conducted interviews said that even though they were full time students or active on the labour market, socially determined gender roles frequently caused conflict in their intimate relationships. In several relationships it was expected that they carry out the care work at home in addition to their studies or their paid work.

One of Kata's relationships ended because of unequal gender role expectations from her partner. She highlights that in her family, gender-based roles did not exist, contrary to her boyfriend's family where these roles were framed. Lilla also recounts that one of her partners could not understand her ambitions instead of choosing to serve him.

> "In his family gender roles were totally different than they were in my family. The expectations of the roles of woman and man. For example, when I was preparing for my final exam at the uni, I still had to make dinner for him. I only asked him to clean the table after the dinner. And he answered that he will not, how can I even imagine that a man with a precious hand [he was a musician] would do that? That was when I started to shout…" (Kata, 37, Roma)

> "The biggest conflict in our relationship was, that he did not understand why I still wanted to work and study when he earns that much. He would expect me that when he arrives home the meal should be ready and everything should be done." (Lilla, 41, Roma)

Judit said that she could not manage to fit in to the socially determined gender roles in her relationship and she saw this as a failure. Even though she highlights that she thinks it is unfair that even though they finished work at the same time, her partner still expected her to cook dinner. Enikő highlighted that she was not able to identify with socially determined gender roles, and this had caused a lot of conflicts at the beginning of her marriage.

> „I couldn't always succeed to be in the typical female role a hundred percent. I can tell you an example. We went home from work around seven o'clock. We finished at the same time. And it was expected that I start to cook." (Judit, 41, Roma)

> "I grew up in a family where traditional gender roles were evident. And at the beginning of our relationship there were a lot of conflicts based on that. By the way I am not able to really identify that a woman has to do things because she is

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5 The research was conducted in India, in the USA and in France.

a woman and the man has to do the other stuff. I think a man can cook and wash dishes as well. He can also take care of the children." (Enikő, 43, Roma)

In the narratives of our respondents, it appears that even though women had jobs and/or were studying, their partners expected them to serve them and to do the housework based on socially constructed gender roles in the institution of family that frames house and care work as 'female jobs'. All the interviewees tried to some extent fulfill their 'womanly' role in their relationships, even Kata, who before she started to shout at her partner, still made him dinner, despite the fact that she had to study. The pressure from society to fulfill socially constructed gender roles is significant and widespread (Marion-Young 1990, Walby 1990, Ridgeway 2009). The gender role expectations from women in relationships and households can be examples of how structural inequalities appear and how power imbalance is materialised between two individuals who have different social positions in society. Women with middle or higher-class backgrounds are more likely to work on the labour market than their lower-class counterparts in Hungary, whose work is more frequently performed stays in the domestic sphere. If they are able to be present on the labour market, they are frequently working more shifts besides their care and house work (Gregor–Kováts 2019). It aggravates the situation that governmental public policies also motivate to keep socially constructed gender roles in the household and women to stay in the reproductive sphere instead of counterbalancing these inequalities in the institution of family (Szikra 2018). Expected gender roles in intimate relationships can push women to abandon their motivations of social mobility to be able to fulfill the expectations of their male partner in the household.

The role of mobility in finding a desired partner

In the second part of my analyses I concentrate on how education and ethnic inequalities can determine the process of finding a desired partner on the relationship market for upwardly mobile women. The search for a desired partner caused difficulties for the majority of our female interviewees. In her narrative, Kata related that partner selection is difficult between any two people who have high achieving goals. She points out that the twin goals of building a high achieving career and being conscious about finding a desired partner and planning a family, is not an easy challenge for women in Hungary. Even though she already has a family, she articulated that it was hard to find a proper partner for herself and she really empathised with her friends who had not managed to find a partner yet.

„It's the easiest thing to maintain a relationship. But you are concentrating so much on going forward with your life and with your career, you have to make an existence, you have to learn, achieve things. The competition is awful. And for

planning an enduring relationship, with a family besides, you have to be very conscious." (Kata, 37, Roma)

It was frequently articulated when discussing partner selection that the ideal partner has the same ethnic background and mobility trajectory as the interviewee. Consequently, the ideal partner is one who has the same social mobility experiences so that during the course of the relationship, there are no conflicts based on education differences and ethnic inequalities, or different social experiences in society. Laura, a sixty-year old divorced Roma woman with two children, narrated that her marriage fell apart because she already had two children when she was studying at university and her husband had to take care of the children, while she was studying. He could not understand why studying was so important for her. Afterwards she could not conceive of starting a relationship with a non-Roma partner as ethnicity was an important factor for her in partner selection, her former husband came from a Roma background as well. Nevertheless it was difficult to find someone among the Roma community who had the same education level as hers and she did not want to repeat the failures of her first marriage. She formulated that for someone to choose a Roma partner it is not just an individual choice or preference, it is already a statement towards society as well.

> "A non-Roma graduate male probably will not choose you as a partner as it is already a statement, a societal commitment. It's not just an emotional commitment to marry a Roma woman. And when I was at the Romaversitas there were a lot of graduate Roma men and women therefore it was much easier, a lot of Roma youngsters entered in marriage there." (Laura, 60, Roma)

During the interviews, it was frequently mentioned that being part of a minority ethnic group makes the process of partner selection much harder. Kata stated that being Roma and choosing a Roma partner could cause a lot of difficulties as well, as your family could be more judgmental with your partner. Her parents once banned her from being friends with one of her schoolmates as she had a Roma background and they were worried that she would have a bad influence on her given Kata's family were more assimilated in the majority society. Therefore, she had former negative experiences of her family being judgmental when she engaged with people from a Roma background. As previous research (Kligman 2001) has also reported, this is a frequent answer on the side of Roma people to the prejudices constructed by majority groups to distance themselves from other Roma people or other Roma sub groups under the label that they are "not like them". Even though she states that if you choose a non-Roma partner it is hard to find someone who really understands your everyday reality, who really accepts your background, therefore it was her conclusion that to find a proper partner who you are able to get along with, is difficult anyway.

"There is that thing, if you are a Roma graduate woman and you are with a Roma man there is a family pressure that you can deal with or not. And then you will choose a non-Roma partner. But the consequences of choosing a non-Roma partner are difficult as well, to find someone who is totally acceptable with your background and who is able to integrate to your family. I think it is hard." (Kata, 37, Roma)

Enikő stated that she was not able to explain why it had been important for her to find a partner with the same ethnic background as her own, even though she pointed out that it was very difficult. She got married in her late twenties after a long-standing desire to find a partner.

"I know it is not a good thing but I also chose my partner on an ethnic basis. I know it sounds weird but at that time I felt like I had to choose a Roma man. I don't know why I felt that. And it was really hard to find someone with whom I am able to discuss things, who has the same interests as me." (Enikő, 43, Roma)

The narratives on partner selection clearly show that to find a proper partner on the relationship market is not just framed by individual preferences and goals, but is also framed by the expectations of family. In addition by the need to find a partner who could understand and be supportive about the individual's social position, and who also accepts and is accepted by the individual's ethnic background and her family. The narratives clearly highlight that apart from the interviewee's mobility trajectory, a Roma ethnic background makes it even harder to find a suitable partner. Regarding the last census in Hungary in 2011, only 1,7 percent of the Roma population has a higher education degree (KSH 2011) which can be explained by the high level of social and educational segregation of Roma people in Hungary (Ladányi 1996, Ladányi–Szelényi 2002, Szalai 2002, Bernát 2014). Therefore, to fulfill the need to find a partner from the same, Roma ethnic background as well as with the same education level can be a challenge in Hungarian society. However, as our research sample shows, some academically high achieving Roma managed to overcome this challenge and have gone on to form stable, long lasting marriages from this circle.

Our research participants also highlighted the fact that their social mobility trajectory had caused difficulty in finding a desired partner. The fact that they are not able to serve the social function of partner selection to sustain class inequalities, makes it harder for them to find a desired partner (Haller 1981): on the one hand, if they choose a partner who comes from the same background of origin as themselves but did not also have a social mobility trajectory, then, intellectually they are not compatible. On the other hand, if they choose a partner who does not have the same social position as them and their family of origin, it is equally hard to find someone who will understand their social reality, and who will accept them as well as their community of background.

Education inequalities within intimate relationships

The women in our research sample also narrated the difficulty of sustaining an intimate relationship with a partner who does not have the same mobility trajectory as them. I bring two examples from our interviews. The first example shows the difficulties of a relationship when the partner has an upper-class background. The second example highlights the conflict originating from the situation when a partner comes from the same background as our interviewee but he has no mobility trajectory. Hanna, who only ever had partners who came from a middle-class background narrates that there were several conflicts in her relationships that originated from class differences. Rita explained that her first relationship did not work out because her partner had a lower education level than hers and he could not deal with his "inferiority complex".

"I had a one and half year, a four year, and another one and a half year relationship which were long-term intimate relationships. The conflicts which were coming from class differences were really determinative in all of them. The fact that you came from somewhere else, that you can't speak the language, you are not able to recognise the reference points, you are not laughing at jokes that others do, it is really determining your everyday reality. And a lot of times I became upset and started to blame my partners. It is really easy to get angry at someone who is in front of me and not at the system, which produces the inequalities between us. It frequently happened, it was really typical, that I told them why didn't you choose a woman who is coming from the same background as you? When something painful happens to me it is frequent that I start to blame them, but this is really not conscious. And of course these statements are really painful for them and it is always happening." (Hanna, 29, non-Roma)

"He didn't have a university degree, He had eight grades, elementary school. And it wasn't important for me at the time, I was twenty-one years old. He was my classmate in elementary school. We never had any contact but once we were running into each other in a party and I realised that he is not that bad at all. And something is started between us. And I told him that it doesn't bother me but he was really annoyed by this. Obviously, he had an inferiority complex that maybe was there already, without me. And he was really annoyed by this, that I only had friends who had degrees. But obviously I had friends from my high school; I didn't really have contacts with my classmates from elementary school. And I didn't directly choose friends from high school but it came with my life situation. He wasn't able to understand this. I tried to be more understanding and supportive; I was helping him study to get a high school degree. His parents would be so happy about it as well. Once we decided he will do it but after he gave it up. And I still think that it is not important. But if it is causing that much conflict it is not worth it." (Rita, 42, non-Roma)

Success due to being in a relationship with a partner who has not previously experienced a mobility trajectory earlier, also appeared in some of the narratives. Laura stated that it is highly important for her to have partners who have a higher education degree and she related a story about how one of her partners finally went to university because she motivated him and she framed it as a success in the relationship.

> "It was always important for me. My former partner went to university because of me and he did it…He had only a high school degree and he got the degree for me. Or not for me, just that it motivated him that he was with me. It's important for me to have someone with whom I am able to talk, who is interested in things, who has an opinion and has questions about the world as well." (Laura, 46, Roma)

Rita highlights that she feels guilt regarding the fact that she was upwardly mobile unlike her partner. She feels that she should explain why she has not had lower class friends and she tries to help her partner in his studies. Hanna is angry as she did not have the middle class socialisation that her partners did, and therefore she needs to study what is natural knowledge for them. Bourdieu (1999, 2000) and Friedman (2016), among others, conclude that the same attitudes – anger and guilt – are attached to the divided habitus that many upwardly mobile people experience, and these feelings are also attached to the costs of mobility. Laura also motivated her partner to achieve the same education level as hers, in order to have a partner with a similar mobility trajectory as hers. The narratives clearly show the structural inequalities between social classes and also, that class struggle can appear and cause ongoing conflicts in interpersonal and intimate relationships.

Ethnic inequalities within intimate relationships

Ethnic inequalities also frequently came up in the narratives as difficulties in intimate relationships. Durst et al. (2014) also mention in their paper that a common narrative among their Roma women interviewees is that, after experiencing conflict caused by coming from different social positions and originating from distinct ethnic backgrounds in their previous relationships, women decided afterwards not to start a relationship with partners, who did not have experience of the oppression of minority groups in society as it caused a lot of difficulties in maintaining the relationship. In our sample one of the most frequent distresses that was highlighted by our Roma women respondents was the moment when they had to reveal their ethnic background of origin at the beginning of their relationships. Lilla recalled a conversation that happened in one of her relationships when she told her partner after a few dates that she was Roma and her partner reacted with surprise and with negativity, even refusing to acknowledge the information. Zsuzsa was forced by her

parents to tell her partner that she is Roma as they were worried that her partner would not be willing to go out with her anymore if he found this out.

> - "You what? You are not (Roma).
> - Yes, I am. If you take me to Szigetvár you will see that my mother is that (Roma) as well.
> - Really?
> - Yes. What's up? Should I leave? - But this conversation was at Terecsényi tető. - I should get out?
> - No. You are not that (Roma). - And he didn't speak with me till Szigetvár." (Lilla, 41, Roma)

> "And my parents told me: you should tell him immediately that you are a Roma woman, don't fool him, anyway his parents will not let him go out with you. And I told them okay, and went to him and I told him that I would like to tell him an important thing. And then I told him and he hugged me, he is a very big man, he is around two meters and the way he hugged me with his huge hands and gave me a lot of kisses and he told me that he knew it, but he didn't care because he adores me." (Zsuzsa, 47, Roma)

It was also a frequently mentioned problem during our interviews that individuals originating from minority ethnic backgrounds grew wary of the fact that their partners were not able to understand the everyday harsh reality of discrimination and stigmatisation, on the basis of their ethnicity. They did not understand what they have to face in everyday life as a member of a stigmatised minority group. Juli mentions that it was very difficult when she had a non-Roma partner and she always had to explain what it means to be Roma in Hungary.

> "I had one boyfriend who wasn't Gipsy and it was so hard to explain everything to him. That as a Gipsy my experiences are these and that, and this is racism, this is discrimination. You know, I had to explain everything because he wasn't Gipsy and he never met with this, he had that privilege." (Juli, 30, Roma)

The fact that the fundamental moment that Roma women tell their partners about their minority background causes immense stress for them, clearly points out the enormity of what their background means in their everyday reality. Regardless of the reactions of their partners, whether it confirms these women's fears of coming out with their ethnic origin, or not, their fear shows that it is something that can be problematic, or you can choose to overlook it. In the context of maintaining a relationship with a partner coming from a different ethnic background, a similar problem came up when the interviewees were narrating the conflicts based on class

differences: it is hard to sustain a shared life with someone to whom you always have to explain your social reality.

Conclusions

Our women interviewees clearly pointed out that the consequences of upward social mobility via academic high achievement can appear during partner selection and during the process of maintaining a relationship as well. A Roma ethnic background can also appear as a determining factor in the context of intimate relationships and the intersection (Crenshaw 1988, 2001) of social mobility and ethnicity, or rather racialized minority origin can make it even harder to find a desired partner. The narratives clearly highlight that most of our women interviewees framed an ideal partner as someone who has the same social mobility trajectory and ethnic background as themselves, in order to feel understood. Even though theythey highlight that especially for women with Roma background of origin it is a a challenge to find a partner with these characteristics.

It was also highlighted that socially constructed gender roles often caused problems in relationships, on the one hand because they could not accommodate these roles in addition to their ambitions, but on the other hand, their partners preferred to be served and they could not understand why they chose their ambitions instead of fulfilling these expectations. Therefore, socially constructed gender roles that arise from the oppression of women in capitalist patriarchal societies are able to highly influence the extent of women's social mobility.

Even though the context of semi-peripheral class structures of Hungarian society clearly appear in the economic situation of our interviewees, and despite the fact that they were educationally mobile, plenty of them were not able to reach much better economic circumstances than their parents, other factors induced them to deal with the costs of mobility and with the differences in class habitus of their background of origin and their new, attained social group: they feel that they have to meet the expectations of a very different social milieu. The conflicts originating from a different education level and ethnic societal position emerge as the relationship with an intimate partner progresses, as well. To be with a partner who can be identified with the background of origin can be attached to a feeling of guilt. Conversely, to be with a partner who is part of the new, upper-class social milieu can be identified with feelings of frustration and anger. These feelings can be identified with the phenomenon of divided habitus (Bourdieu 1999, 2000, Friedman 2016), and can be embodied towards someone who is "produced by the system and not towards the system itself".

Our research participants narrated that the consequences arising from their upward social mobility appear as a factor in partner selection and within their intimate relationships, and that they are faced with the costs of social mobility

(Friedman 2016) in finding a desired partner or in maintaining an intimate relationship as well. In their narratives it appears that if you are not able to find a partner who has the same experiences as you, from your social position, you will not be understood, you will have to constantly explain your social reality to your partner, and during the relationship a lot of conflict emerges from these differences. Consequently, upwardly mobile women also feel themselves to be in a "no man's land" (Friedman 2016) in the context of intimate relationships and during a relationship, if they have to maintain it with someone who did not experience social mobility, or who comes from a different ethnic background. It supports the fact that partner selection in capitalist patriarchal societies is highly determined by structural inequalities (Haller 1981, Lőrincz 2006) as if you are socially mobile you are not able to meet with the order to sustain education and ethnic inequalities, you are not able to choose a homogenous partner and it makes it harder to find a partner, to sustain a relationship. These experiences serve as a good illustration of how structural inequalities are constantly present in our interpersonal relationships and consequently how the costs of social mobility can determine an individual's most intimate spheres and relations.

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Accumulating Roma cultural capital:
First-in-family graduates and the role of educational talent support programs in Hungary in mitigating the price of social mobility[1]

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Abstract: Based on 165 in-depth, narrative life story interviews with first generation graduates, fieldwork with educational support initiatives and auto-ethnography, this article contributes to the literature on whether and how structural educational inequality can be compensated by talent support programs and whether and how these programs can mitigate the price of education-driven upward social mobility for those Roma and non-Roma Hungarians who come from socio-economically disadvantaged families.

Upwardly mobile Roma who achieve social ascension through academic high achievement usually travel vast social distances that straddle class and ethnic context. Many of their mobility trajectories are accompanied by a set of challenges that are unique to college educated, racialized, underrepresented minorities. To overcome these challenges, and to compensate for the inequality of life chances that originate from their socially and economically disadvantaged family backgrounds and from an unequal and highly selective educational system, upwardly mobile minority students join educational support initiatives or organisations. This paper, drawing on the narratives of our research participants, argues that particular types of these initiatives or charitable foundations that deploy an ethnically targeted complex approach, can equip their beneficiaries with different types of capital. Amongst these, one of the most important is the Roma cultural capital. The newly gained capitals are necessary for the first-in-family Roma mentees to get through higher education and succeed in the labour market in the context of the specific challenges they face. These initiatives mitigate the price of social ascension the most. The paper uses a case study of Romaversitas to demonstrate its main findings.

Keywords: social mobility, price of upward mobility, Roma disadvantaged students, educational support programs, talent programs, Roma cultural capital, Romaversitas

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1. Introduction

One of the most important tasks of education policy is the mitigation of educational inequalities through facilitating school success for students coming from various socio-cultural contexts. However, the Hungarian education system is highly inequitable and is one of the most selective in the European context (Radó 2018, OECD 2018). Mechanisms of selectivity are highly complex and include both institutional and informal processes (Radó 2018, Papp Z.–Neumann 2021). This selectivity is the general context of the Roma (educational) segregation (Radó 2018). Educational experts have long warned us, however, that policies aiming to facilitate the success of students of socio-economically disadvantaged families who perform poorly in school could increase the low effectiveness of the Hungarian education system (Havas–Liskó 2006, Halász–Lannert 2006, Forray–Pálmainé Orsós 2010, Hajdú–Kertesi–Kézdi 2014, Lannert–Németh–Szécsi 2018).

In Hungary, several formal and informal educational programs were launched in the 1990s to compensate for educational inequality and to foster the educational achievement of disadvantaged students, and in particular, of those from Roma background. The facilitators and donors of the programs that specifically targeted Roma youngsters have mostly been non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In this paper our discussion centres on two questions: 1.) How structural educational inequality can be compensated by talent support programs, that is, how these programs contributed to the upward mobility of first-in-family Roma graduates who were identified as 'gifted' students? 2.) Whether and how these programs can mitigate the price of education-driven upward social mobility? To answer these questions, we draw on the empirical materials of a 3-year wider research project on the outcomes and the hidden costs of education driven social mobility among Roma and non-Roma first-in-family university graduates in Hungary. We systematically explore the impact of those educational support programs that our study participants mentioned that they were beneficiaries of.

The paper proceeds as follows. The first section introduces the theoretical background of our research. Here we use the concept of different types of dominant and non-dominant cultural capital accumulation, the price of mobility and the minority mobility trajectory as analytical tools that we find helpful to analyse our empirical results. The second part presents the research methodology and reflects on the positionality of researchers that we believe has an impact on the lens through which we interpret our findings. The third section offers a typology of educational support programs that our study participants benefited from. The fourth section tackles the question of how talent-nurturing educational support programs affect social mobility and how, if at all, they can mitigate the price of it, using a case study for illustration. Finally, the concluding section summarizes our research findings and its implications for the civic, policy and research fields.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Social trajectory and different types of dominant and non-dominant cultural capitals

If we are to make sense of social mobility from the lower or working class, three Bourdieusian concepts are of particular interest for our study. The first one is the idea of social trajectories. According to Bourdieu's explanation of individual actions, people's movements take place in social space where they live out social trajectories (Mallman 2018). Social trajectories are the series of positions successively occupied by the same agent in successive spaces (Bourdieu 1996: 258). As Mallman explains, these trajectories operate by the function of different, symbolic, cultural and economic capitals, which are not fixed properties. As lives unfold, the types and amounts of capital people possess and operationalise change over time (Bourdieu 1984). It's also important to note that capitals, among them the cultural capital, have the capacity to produce profits and to convert to material gains (Bourdieu 1986).

Conventional studies on socio-economically disadvantaged families where many of the upwardly mobile, first-generation professionals come from, describe this group with economic and cultural capital deficit (Mallman 2018, Friedman 2016). However, ethnographic studies show that there are two core forms of cultural capital at play in the lives of racialized minorities. Carter (2003, cited by Wallace 2016) speaks about dominant and non-dominant cultural capital. That is, the legitimated and alternative forms of cultural capital (Abrahams et al. 2016). She defines dominant cultural capital in keeping with Bourdieu's original definition – that is cultural knowledge, specialised skills and distinct practices (and tastes) inherited and used by privileged classes to maintain high status and reproduce power in mainstream society. Non-dominant cultural capital, on the other hand, refers to the cultural resources lower status groups possess to manage their status within their local communities. (Carter 2003). Those who have access to dominant cultural capital in home and social context such as in school environment, experience cumulative advantage in school (Lareau 2011). It is because formal education inculcates dominant middle-class cultures and only values dominant (white middle class) cultural capital. These are the kinds of cultural competencies that are hard simply to acquire (Bourdieu 1984, Friedman 2016). Therefore, many working-class born, first-in-family graduates feel injustice and uneven competition in workplaces where white middle classes are dominant (Friedman 2016). As Skeggs (1997: 129) puts it, "the inability to trade one's [non-dominant] cultural capital because it has only limited value or is not recognised in the places where value can be accrued is a substantial disadvantage to and sign of being born working-class."

In the same line of thinking, Yosso (2005) suggests, by exploring the educational success of People of Colour (as she calls the visible minority groups, often stigmatised by race), that they are not deficient of cultural capital - they just do not possess the

dominant type of it. Many of these socially marginalised groups rather accrue an "array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts that often go unrecognised" (Yosso 2005: 69). Yosso calls this (by the dominant majority) unrecognised cultural capital 'the community cultural wealth.' Drawing on Yosso's Critical Race Theory approach, Óhidy (2016) speaks about Roma community cultural capital.

Following the same logic, Wallace (2016) suggests the concept of 'Black cultural capital' (in a localised, gendered and generational dimension) as a response to the historically marginalised position of 'Blacks' in British society. According to Wallace, Black cultural capital is "a set of resources both working class and middle-class Black Caribbean youth deploy to make meaning of Black identities, forge networks of belonging and counter their marginal status, given Britain's racialized power relations" (Wallace 2016: 41). Wallace (2018) argues that sociological research too often renders cultural capital synonymous with whiteness.

Here we use the term 'White' and 'Black' as an analytical concept, borrowing this approach from Whiteness scholars. For Whiteness scholars, the term 'Whiteness' (and its relational counterpart, 'Blackness') and 'white' ('black') is not to describe a discrete entity (for example, skin colour alone) but to signify a constellation of social processes of domination practices and race privilege (DiAngelo 2011). In this sense, Whiteness as an analytical notion, refers to the specific dimensions of racism that serve to elevate White people over people of colour. Although Whiteness studies were born in the U.S. context, their structural approach makes the concept of Whiteness a heuristic analytical tool in the context of Romany Studies too (Kóczé 2020).

2.2. The price of upward mobility and the minority mobility trajectory

There is a research tradition starting with Sorokin's (1959) insight that high upward mobility and ensuing rapid change in social contexts can lead to identity-related problems and mental disorders for the upwardly mobile.

A growing scholarship calls it either 'the price of the ticket' (Friedman 2014); the 'emotional costs' (Reay 2005) or the psychological strain of social ascension. Bourdieu even speaks of a 'habitus clivé' in his autobiography (Bourdieu 2008, cited by Friedman 2014), indicating a 'dislocated habitus' or a 'divided loyalty' between one's background of origin and attained class.

Naudet (2018) proposes that this emotional cost stems from a tension that has two sides. One is sociological, the other is a moral aspect. The sociological aspect is related to the different experience for the upwardly mobile of two paths of socialization: the primary one in the field of the family of origin and the secondary one from school (and work) context. The tension arises if these two paths or fields function according to different, or even contradictory principles. Skeggs (1997), in a similar way, speaks about the 'hidden injuries of class mobility.' From her own experience, she explains that for many upwardly mobile people, strained family relations and a divided sense of self accompany the benefits of 'rising above one's station.'

The other side of the tension is its moral aspect (Naudet 2018). For many of those who experience social mobility there is a choice whether they stay committed and keep solidarity with their background of origin, despite their acculturation to the dominant middle-class norms and values through their secondary socialisation in schools. This choice, especially in the case of those belonging to discriminated and stigmatised racial groups, is a moral one and it demands taking sides. And even in the common cases when one tries to stay committed to his background of origin one can be blamed that s/he betrayed her/his class by 'rising above her/his station' (in the case of Roma by "becoming Hungarian", "*elmagyarosodott*").

The common experience of discrimination along with a strong feeling of solidarity towards the group of origin seem to be common in the narratives of upwardly mobile members of racialized minorities across different countries (Naudet 2018). To cope with this distinctive problem, upwardly mobile minority middle classes develop the repertoire of a so called 'minority culture of mobility' (Neckerman et al. 1999), or as we prefer to call it in the case of our Roma first-in-family respondents, the 'minority mobility trajectory' (Durst–Bereményi 2021). A part of this repertoire is the ethos of mobility to 'give back' to one's community of origin by working in a segmented part of the labour market where one deals with 'Roma Issues'.[5]

2.3. Mentoring programs and educational mobility

Widening participation in higher education for marginalised groups has been considered by policy makers as a necessary development in the globalizing world to break the cycle of their transgenerational social exclusion, especially in the context of the 'global knowledge economy' (Morley 2014). Mentoring programmes are seen as successful measures in helping socio-economically disadvantaged pupils and students to achieve better results in school and to create more equal opportunities in education (DuBois et al. 2011, Óhidy et al. 2020). Mentoring can provide huge benefits in socio-emotional, cognitive and identity development of the mentees, and mentors can become important door openers for disadvantaged children (Óhidy et al. 2020). They may also be able to challenge negative views that the mentees may hold of themselves (DuBois et al. 2011). Roma academics and activists argue however, that initiatives facilitating wider access to "merit-based education aiming at effective social inclusion of Roma must be combined with politics of recognition that encourages ethnic pride, belonging and identity" (Mirga–Redzepi 2020: 53).

The number of educational support programs for Roma and/or socio-economically disadvantaged students[6] has increased in Hungary since the second half of the 2000s. It means that it has been mainly our younger interviewees that participated in such initiatives. As Forray (2017) highlights, studies on the impact of these programs are rare

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5   In our definition such jobs are related to the Roma issues which aim at improving the situation of Roma people living in poverty and support the protection of their interests (see also Váradi 2015).

6   For a list of educational support programmes at all educational levels for disadvantaged and Roma students see Boros 2019: 48-52.

(apart from a few exceptions see e.g. Dezső 2013, Arnold et al. 2011). Targeted research on the educational support programs mainly concentrated on the effect of the Roma Student Colleges Network's initiatives on their upwardly mobile Roma mentees' social trajectory. Forray (2017) delineates the history and missions of the Students Special Colleges Network, including the Romaversitas (created by the Soros Foundation in 1993) and the Christian Roma College Network (founded by the Hungarian churches in 2011). She asserts that these organisations originally aimed preparation for important intellectual and public roles at the most talented students. She also draws attention to some common features of these support programs. Firstly, they were aimed at helping their students "appropriate the cultural values and behaviours of the middle class" (by taking them to visit museums, concerts and the theatre). Secondly, apart from accumulating this dominant ['white'] cultural capital for their students, they aimed at contributing to the personal development of their mentees – according to their founder's or donor's ideology/worldview (Forray 2017). This explains why in their narratives some of our interviewees mentioned that after a short discussion one can easily find out 'which box you come from', that is, in which support program one got socialised.

Analysing the personal network of one of these Roma college students, Lukács–Dávid (2018, along with Stanton-Salazar 2004, Bereményi–Carrasco 2017, to name a few,) found that social capital accumulation through these colleges partly explains the successful Roma higher education path (see also Óhidy 2016).

Beyond social capital, Varga et al. (2020) demonstrates the role of these college mentoring programs in accruing and accumulating psychological capital (Luthans et al. 2010), that is, developing positive self-image, self-efficacy, hope and resilience. This positive psychological capital has been proven to significantly increase individual and organizational performances (Luthans et al. 2010).

Bereményi and Giros-Calpe (2021), however, draw attention to the limits of mentoring programs in respect that they are not able to tackle systematic injustice in educational systems. They insightfully demonstrate that in the case study of a Spanish intra-ethnic Roma mentoring project, the mentoring's primary object is 'people to be developed' and not the structure that is to do the developing.

In the following discussion section, we will investigate the impact of the particular support programs and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that were frequently mentioned in the narratives of our research participants as those that help them regarding their educational mobility. But before that we need to introduce our research methods.

3. Research methodology and researchers' positionality

This paper bases its argument on the empirical findings of a larger, 3-year research project that explores different education-driven social mobility trajectories, their outcomes and their consequences on the life and subjective well-being of 165, first-

in-family Roma and non-Roma graduates in Hungary. In this project we conducted semi-structured, narrative in-depth, life story interviews with individuals whose parents did not have a university degree and many of whom came from socio-economically disadvantaged family backgrounds. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and de-identified to ensure anonymity, and coded with Atlas.ti program.

Participants of the project were recruited through snowball sampling. We used different channels - our personal networks, the networks of generic Roma institutions, and Facebook advertisements - to find our interviewees to decrease sampling bias. As the research team consisted of both Roma and non-Roma researchers, our personal networks for recruiting the participants of our study were quite heterogeneous. We considered our interviewees Roma according to their self-identification.

Our research team was concerned with 'epistemic justice' (Morley 2020): Roma researchers were in the position of knowledge producers rather than simply the objects of inquiry. We, the first two (Roma) authors of this paper, were inspired by Ingram and Abrahams (2016) work on how a divided habitus can lead to reconciliation by integrating middle class and working-class worlds. Their work on habitus interruption and on the reflexivity that it brings with itself, resonated with our upward mobility journey through which we have navigated between the two social spaces we occupy: our Roma working-class family background and the middle-class position we attained through our further studying and through our belonging to academia. We believe that our self-reflection on what support programs have meant to us throughout our education-driven mobility journey, will shed light on the role of these initiatives both in facilitating upward mobility by accruing dominant (white middle class) and non-dominant (Roma) cultural capital; and in mitigating the cost of our traveling huge social distances by healing the "hidden injuries of changing class" (Skeggs 1997) and by re-casting our Roma identity.[7]

Julia's parents are Romungros, that is Hungarian Gypsies. They lived in the Gypsy settlement on the outskirts of a small village in South Hungary. They managed to move out from the Gypsy settlement to the Hungarian neighbourhood, among the non-Gypsies when she was young. Her mother has 6 years of schooling, her father has 8. Both had worked as semi-skilled labourers their whole lives.

She always felt different to her cousins, though in primary school she was an average pupil, in   secondary school she started to excel. This was because she had a very supportive teacher who believed in her and thought she had more academic potential than to end up in a vocational school (where most of her Roma schoolmates were advised to go). Her parents were proud of her and they wanted her to be a lawyer, although they did not have a clue what and where she needed to go to study to become a lawyer.

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7   The third author of this paper comes from a very different, white middle class background with a 'migrating' habitus (Thatcher– Halvorsrud 2016). Although she has no personal experience of the effect of educational support programs on mobility, her own social coordinates inevitably impacted the research that this paper benefits from. We believe, along with a few other scholars (Németh 2015, Friedman–Laurison 2020, Kovács–Gárdos–Vajda 2020, Máté 2021), that it is necessary to reflect on our own positionality as it certainly has affected not only how comfortable interviewees felt in sharing their personal experiences of the sometimes-painful road to mobility but also, how we interpreted our findings.

Although she was recruited by a Roma talent nurturing secondary school, the Ghandi Gymnasium, her parents did not let her go there. They said she was clever enough to pull through any (majority, non-Roma) grammar school. She did indeed get into a strong secondary school in the nearby town with the help of a foundation (Amrita) that supported the secondary level education of children from socio-economically disadvantaged family backgrounds. She made strong and lifelong friendships with the other Roma children who were also beneficiaries of Amrita's initiatives.

Since then, she has enjoyed the support of many pro-Roma charitable initiatives. During her grammar school years, she managed to live in the capital city of South Hungary in a Roma talent nurturing dormitory. Here she learnt the most about her Gypsyness, and her minority identity got stronger. Then she met the colleagues of the Kurt Lewin Foundation (KLF) who recruited Roma grammar school students of working-class backgrounds to enrol in their free university entry preparation course. With their help she managed to be accepted onto a social policy course in one of the top universities in the capital, Budapest. Now she believes she did not choose this field of study because that was what she wanted to but because that was what she had the opportunity to do. Later, she became a fellow of the Romaversitas Invisible College. Here her Roma intellectual identity became strongly developed. She felt she was a member of a like-minded Roma community where studying is a universal value for everyone. This was a totally new experience compared to the one she had in her background Roma community.

Péter is from a rural settlement in Northeast Hungary. Although his mother had finished only elementary school, she instilled in him a love for reading from an early age. During his elementary and secondary school years and even at university, the role of non-Roma teachers and intellectuals was decisive in his personal and intellectual development. All his non-Roma mentors of his formative years agreed that he needs to be supported not only because of his socially disadvantaged family background but also because it is important for the whole society that they nurture another Roma intellectual (to add to the very few).

His primary school education was financed by his mother, however, his secondary level studies were supported by different scholarship programs (among others the Soros Foundation) and various Roma NGOs. During his university years he drifted to the world of Roma public life, and he received immense support from them too. After his first year at university, he became a fellow of the Romaversitas. From then on, although he still enjoyed the support of some non-Roma professionals, his life was determined by prominent Roma intellectuals. They are the ones who have shaped him into the bi-cultural Roma intellectual he is today, one who can perform the 'bridge role' between Roma and non-Roma.

These different class backgrounds of the 3 researchers of this paper played an important role in our collaboration of interpreting our data. In the next section we explore this interpretation.

4. Discussion and Results

4.1. The history of educational support programs for disadvantaged students

While there is no doubt that higher education expansion can increase social mobility by providing access to formerly excluded groups such as the Roma in Hungary, much research indicates how inequalities are preserved within and besides an expanding tertiary education in the case of Roma graduates in Eastern and Southern Europe where most of the Roma population are concentrated (Garaz–Torotcoi 2017). One indicator of the well documented historical educational gap between Roma and majority students is the discrepancy between the ratio of tertiary graduates among majority and Roma students. A 2011 UNDP Roma survey, one of the very few datasets providing multi-country statistical data on the educational attainment of Roma in Eastern and Southern Europe, showed that only 1 per cent of those identified as Roma in the observed countries have postsecondary education (Brüggeman 2014). The situation is similarly bleak in Hungary. According to the latest Census in 2011, 23 percent of the Roma population did not even complete primary school. 13 percent of them graduated from secondary level vocational school where they do not receive A-level certificates, while only 5 percent of them completed high school with A-level credentials (matriculation). Only 1 percent of them graduated in higher education (Bernát 2014).

In Hungary, several formal and informal educational support programs and initiatives were launched in the 1990s to compensate for these educational inequalities of disadvantaged students, especially of those from a Roma background. These civic organizations have been financed to implement programs by private donors (for instance Soros Foundation). The main advocacy actors of the programs have been geographically diverse, and have emerged from the civil sector, religious organizations, and minority municipal self-governments. This is due to the fact that arising difficulties have been addressed at a local level following the principle of subsidiarity, given a lack of governmental financial support. Most of the programs started out as pilots or models for further initiatives. However, a common feature is that all support programs have attempted to compensate for the lack of opportunities for children of socio-economically disadvantaged family backgrounds, as schools did not fulfil their institutional function to reduce social inequalities.

Nonetheless, it became clear early on that the supplementary programs outside the field of formal education were not suitable to address the systemic problems – that have been present ever since (in formal education), which determine the future social mobility prospects (more precisely, the lack thereof) of disadvantaged students, the majority of which are Roma.

It became apparent in the mid-1990s that the educational underachievement of Roma students has increased, furthering negative associations amongst Roma

students of studying and school due to their disadvantages originating in their socio-economic status on the one hand and also due to the systemic chaos of primary education (institutionalized segregation and direct and subtle educational selection mechanisms (Radó 2018). This has had a profound impact on their career orientation and study aspirations.

Reflecting on these systemic problems, initiatives emerged in the 1990s to help foster the educational success of Roma students. Among others, the Gandhi High School and College was the first Romani high school established in 1994 by various experts (Dezső 2011). Several scholarship programs were launched that granted financial support for children based on school performance and ethnic origin. Scholarships were initially financed by the Soros Foundation and were later complemented by various governmental bodies and national-level organizations through governmental support programs (Havas 2007, Messing–Molnár 2008). A similar pattern emerged through these initiatives. Students had to apply for the scholarship, so in terms of efficiency, the system was highly selective. The regional coverage of scholarship opportunities has not been extensive and as a result, it has not reached out to all those in need of support. The availability of information depended primarily on the networks of students and their families, on their cultural and social capital. Whether the students were eligible to apply was predicated on the supportive attitude and interests regarding the scholarship in the social environment around the students (mainly teachers) (Havas 2007, Messing–Molnár 2008, Fehérvári–Varga 2018). This thesis is supported by the findings of our research.

Apart from these support programs, several NGOs/civil society actors were set to help Roma students to finish elementary school and advance their studies in secondary schools (often through career guidance activities). Their attempts have facilitated a growing number of Roma students in finishing their elementary studies (Havas–Kemény–Liskó 2002; Kemény–Janky– Lengyel 2004, Hajdú–Kertesi–Kézdi 2014, Varga 2018). Several programs, later known as extracurricular, informal schools or afterschool facilities ('*tanoda*') have been organized for primary school students to compensate for their disadvantages.

Several outstanding innovative initiatives have been launched by teachers intending to develop the educational prospects of Roma students in the Southern Hungarian region (Baranya county) following regime changes. Apart from the set-up of the Ghandi High School, and the Amrita OBK Association's career guidance service, the Collegium Martineum, a dormitory was established focussing on special skill development and identity building programs for Roma students. According to experts and those involved, these emerging initiatives have been launched mostly in a self-organizing way for various reasons. The availability of new financial resources (e.g. one of the key Roma programs by the Soros Foundation) has enabled the conception and implementation of various educational development initiatives, advanced studies for teachers, and the development of student-teacher patronage scholarship systems.

4.2. Prevalence of ethnic/minority or social dimensions in the programs

The ongoing socio-economic changes have brought forward new challenges to the education policy of the 1990s. The policy interventions that had the objective of improving the prospects of Roma students, have been ambiguous and equivocal. Most challenges have emerged from the fact that the government could not firmly decide whether the main perspective in approaching the Roma population was human, minority or social rights, or employment policy (ÁSZ 2008).

In the 1980s and 1990s, Hungarian education policy relied primarily on ethnic policy perspectives. The scholarship program for Roma students, financed formerly by the Public Foundation for Hungarian Roma, and later by the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities, the first Romani high school, Gandhi High School and the first Roma advanced college, Romaversitas have been organized along ethnic lines. The central target group of these types of initiatives have been students of Roma origins.

The parallel processes of regime changes and the popular validation of minority rights have significantly impacted education policy. Ethnic Romani students, as with other minorities in Hungary, have gained minority rights. Ethnic and minority education has started to materialize and the preparation for education in Romani languages (Boyash and Lovari) have been legally enabled. It became enshrined in the law in 2013 through Act 16/2013 (III.1. EMMI) which encompasses directives regarding ethnic school education (Orsós 2015, Boros 2019).

Given the social and economic processes that have taken place in the 2000s, public education policies fostering school success amongst Roma pupils have gradually incorporated a social aspect. The provision of support for disadvantaged groups, including Roma students, has become a focal point of these policies. In this period, target groups and objectives have shifted from ethnic considerations to social aspects by providing support for socially disadvantaged groups. Respectively, programs offering targeted support for Roma students have been side-lined, Roma scholarship programs ceased to exist. Instead, scholarship programs have been established for marginalized groups, such as the 'Útravaló' (*On the Road* Scholarship program). The underlying perspectives behind this move do not indicate that school underperformance is an ethnic issue; instead, they demonstrate that the issue is mostly defined by socio-economic status (Papp Z. 2011). Integrational and skills-based norms have been introduced along this new central objective: social and educational integration in education policy and primary education. "Public education has drawn a strict line in 2002 by introducing IPR [Integrated Pedagogical System] for socially disadvantaged students, combined with multicultural elements that indicate that this move is not colourblind in terms of cultural differences" (Varga 2016: 73). Despite the paradigm change, educational actors that consider disadvantaged students as a pseudonym or synonym for Roma students have still been and remain the majority.

4.3. Typology of the educational support programs

It is not an easy task to create a typology for the programs that have been initiated in the last three decades to support Hungarian Roma and disadvantaged students on their educational trajectory. This is not the focus of this paper, either. However, we find it helpful to systematize the initiatives that our interviewees mentioned in their narratives as a facilitating factor in their upward mobility. Based on this systematic analysis, we differentiate between seven types of support programs.

1. The 'intellectual family model' (extracurricular schools)
Extracurricular, informal school-like institutions have been offering services to students in primary and secondary education since the mid-1990s. In terms of target groups, beneficiaries mostly included disadvantaged Roma students. In the early period, programs were launched by civil organizations specifically tailored to local needs, seeking to improve school achievement, decrease disadvantages and offer leisure-time, cultural activities to compensate and accrue mainstream cultural capital that their mentees did not bring from home. Nowadays, these programs support disadvantaged and Roma students' school performance at both elementary and secondary levels. The following initiatives of this category were listed in the narratives of our study participants: Amrita OBK Association's program, Józsefvárosi extracurricular school, and Bhim Rao Association's program.

2. Patronage/mentoring model
Support programs in this category combine financial support (scholarships) with personal mentoring, and specific school-related support. The patronage/mentoring model compensates for family disadvantages through the presence of an intellectual expert, which is the main strength of the model. The patron/mentor supports Roma students with their knowledge, skills, empathy and help in understanding and achieving better school results; they also help solve any related school or personal life problems. The effectiveness of the model is unquestionable as it appears that the patron/mentor is a determining factor in career guidance and acts as a mediator and translator in the life of the student. The mentor, who is often a teacher, is personally committed or devoted to his/her disadvantaged student mentees. For their services, the patron/mentor receives financial remuneration, while the student is awarded a scholarship. The model creates opportunities that serve as a bridge between the family socialization sphere and the institutional life at school. The following programs can be categorized in this model: the scholarship program of the Soros Foundation, the 'Útravaló' scholarship program and the Roma Mentor Project. All of them were mentioned in the discourse of our research participants on the facilitating factors of their upward mobility.

3. Scholarship model

Schools with the objective of supporting Roma students financially may be categorized as part of the scholarship model. There are mostly two types of scholarships: those that may be used by beneficiaries optionally, and targeted scholarships that finance education fees. Programs are offered by the National Bank of Hungary, by the Ministry of Education and MACIKA. Good academic performance, ethnic identity and being in a socially disadvantaged position are usually prerequisites of the scholarship. All our interviewees who received any of these scholarships during their school careers took part in other, more complex support programs too, for example at the Romaversitas. However, many of them emphasized the symbolic value of scholarship. It was the first time for many members of the Roma community that studying was financially valued.

4. Intellectual community, professional mentoring and social networking model

Colleges of advanced studies, designed for students in tertiary education have become especially relevant in the 2010s. On the one hand, advanced colleges offer professional academic assistance, and on the other hand, they play a significant role in providing participating students with a family-like, mostly ethnic community. Members of the community become intellectuals through the internalization of the community's (the advanced college's) values. Social responsibility and strengthening minority identity are concomitant with academic expectations, and in supporting the Roma population, the community's values and social solidarity, there is an indirect implication that the student will 'give back to the community'. The following organizations were mentioned by our interviewees from this category: Romaversitas 'Invisible College of Advanced Studies', Wlislocki Henrik College of Advanced Studies, Roma Advanced Studies of Gödöllő, as well as the Christian Roma College Network's institutions. The majority of our study's Roma participants were members of one of these Colleges and mentioned them as one of the most influential factors in mitigating the price of their upward mobility.

5. Talent nurturing model

Talent development programs that primarily select beneficiaries based on their school performance or talent in any kind of art or in any academic subject, in elementary and secondary school have been prevalent in all observed periods. The programs support students who are motivated, and whose previous school records indicate that they are hardworking, diligent, or otherwise considered exceptional among their peers with similar socio-cultural backgrounds. Some talent development programs are specifically aimed at making financial and personal provision, for example, by providing a room in a student residence. The Collegium Martineum Gypsy Talent Development Residence (1996-2008) and the János Arany Talent Development Program (2000-) are examples of this type. Others like the New Start Foundation

(*Új Start Alapítvány*) Roma talent program offer monthly scholarship, identity building, mentoring and summer camps – all of which contribute to facilitating social mobility by accumulating cultural and social capital and creating community among like-minded talented Roma students from socio-economically disadvantaged family backgrounds.

6. Second chance school's model

Second chance secondary school programs improve the educational progress opportunities and elementary-secondary graduation prospects of Roma students within the boundaries of formal education. The central emphasis of the model is placed on minority identity and compensation for disadvantages stemming from the low socio-cultural background of students. The programs may also be perceived as a second chance or a 'new opportunity' as without these, students who dropped out early from formal education would most likely reproduce generational deprivation and would not be able to break out of cyclical disadvantages without a profession. These initiatives stem from the realization that most educational support programs do not reach those who are most in need. Our research confirms this thesis: among our 165 study participants there were none who came from a marginalized and ethnically segregated small village rural neighbourhood, or from a segregated school. From this category our first-in-family graduates only mentioned the Dr. Ambedkar Secondary School as a facilitator of their education-driven upward mobility.

7. University entry preparation programs

Various civil organizations and higher education institutions have implemented university entry preparation programs since the 1990s. One third of our middle-aged research participants had benefited from a university preparation program facilitated by the Kurt Lewin Foundation (KLF). Many of them mentioned in their narratives that without the support of the KLF, they would have never been admitted into higher education, partly because of their feeling of the lack of self-efficacy (see Ligeti 2001, Nyírő–Durst 2018). KLF's program for secondary school students from poor family backgrounds operated from 1995 to 2007. The aim of this initiative was to promote the social integration of disadvantaged students, by facilitating their access to higher education (HE) and supporting them psychologically and professionally throughout their HE trajectory.

Another formative, educational support program that came up in the narratives of our research participants was the Roma Graduate Preparation Program (formerly known as the Roma Access Program at the Central European University (CEU), that was initially supported by the Open Society Foundation (OSI). Few of our interviewees recounted it as one of the most influential support programs on their educational mobility path. As Ella (35, a project manager in an international foundation) put it: "It was the place for my intellectual awakening. It gave me community; I found my

best mate here. Together with Romver, it hugely strengthened my identity. At last, I have found my place in the world as a Roma intellectual" (see also Kende 2007).

However, there were a few current students of this program who shed light on the dilemma that many of our respondents articulated who were former beneficiaries of Roma educational support initiatives/organisations but did not want to work in Roma oriented professions (the so called 'Roma issues' (Nyírő-Durst 2018). Eszter (24, studying social sciences) summarised this feeling eloquently:

"There is a dilemma. It's good that I'm in this program. It helps me immensely in getting over my feeling of inferiority, it equips me with the cultural capital that I did not bring from home, from my primary school educated parents. But at the same time, it made me develop a burdensome feeling of responsibility. I feel that I am one of the selected few who had access to the knowledge and skills that could be channelled towards helping the situation of the Roma. And it feels bad that I feel pressure that I always need to deal with Roma [Issues] whether I want to or not…I became a bit alienated in this program. For me this academic context is too dry, too abstract. I'd rather go closer to real communities, at least to an activist space where the struggle against oppression is more practical. I think I would feel even more sceptical if the leader of this program was a white guy. It's good that the director is a Roma woman, coming from a similar, poor background of origin than many of us, participants."

4.4. *How talent-nurturing support programs affect social mobility and mitigate the price of it*

Our research on the different trajectories and outcomes of education driven social mobility shows that support programs played a significant role in the upward mobility of first-generation Roma professionals. As one of our Roma interviewees reflected on his educational journey, he said smilingly that he considers himself partly the "product of the support programs." Although this statement cannot be generalized for the first-in-family Roma graduate population in Hungary, given though our sample is numerous for a qualitative study, it is not representative of the whole group. Also, one of the biggest limitations of our study like many of this kind is that we could only reach a very few (5) of those first-in-family Roma graduates who fully assimilated into mainstream society and would not want to participate in any research. These assimilated first-generation intellectuals typically avoid ethnically oriented or affirmative support programs (Pantea 2015).

However, this finding of our purposive sample of upwardly mobile Roma (and non-Roma) participants who completed tertiary level education is in line with the results of previous studies about Roma students in higher education in Hungary (Varga 2018, Forray 2015, Varga et al. 2020, Mirga–Redzepi 2020). Namely, that the vast majority, 83 percent of our Roma interviewees took part in one (or more)

educational support programs at different stages of their mobility trajectories. On the contrary, these programs did not have a significant role in the upward mobility of our majority, non-Roma respondents, as only 13 percent of them reported that they had been a beneficiary of any of these initiatives.

One of the main findings of our research project on the psychic or emotional price of upward mobility is that those interviewees who belong to the Roma minority are more likely to experience 'dislocated habitus' or 'habitus clivé' than the majority of the participants of our study (Nyírő 2021, Nyírő–Durst 2021, this volume). That is, belonging to a racialized, stigmatised and discriminated minority group has a significant influence on the subjective experience of upward mobility. This is because upwardly mobile, racialized minority people, such as the Roma in Hungary face a distinctive problem. Unlike their 'white' majority counterparts, who are taught to think of themselves as individuals rather than as part of a racially socialised group (see also DiAngelo 2011 for white Americans), Roma graduates, many of whom rose from poverty, carry the psychic burden of race in a society where institutional racism permeates in many social fields, especially in education and in the labour market context (Nyírő–Durst 2021, this volume). As one of our interviewees puts it:

> "Whether I want it or not, they consider me a Roma woman, a Roma expert. I would like to be just another human being, but I know that during these times [when the Roma still experience social disadvantage and discrimination], I cannot afford to do that. This is a big burden on my shoulders." (Anita, 40, social scientist and a voluntary youth worker).

This type of burden originates from the unjust and unequal power relations and distribution of social and political resources between 'white', majority Hungarians and the Roma. Many of our Roma participants reflect on their emotional (and practical) fight against the embodied message of the majority society about 'white superiority'. Some of their narratives speak about how one cannot avoid internalising this message from an early age, from a primary school context where Roma students were underrepresented.

The other type of this psychological burden of race for Roma first generation graduates stems from the fact that many of them feel that the dominant society assigns different (inferior) roles to their stigmatised community of origin. This assignment already starts at elementary school level. As one of our respondents reflected on his early age negative school experience:

> "By year 7, I gave up studying. Although I had the nicest handwriting in my class, my Hungarian literature teacher never gave me a better grade than 2, or rarely

a 3.[8] For us, [darker skinned] Gypsy kids, we had to perform three-four times better to get the same grade as the [white] Hungarian children. The idea that they could support Gypsy students to carry on studying at secondary level, did not even come up in our teachers' minds. No one from my Gypsy settlement had ever studied further, before me." (Jenő, 42, teacher).

Because of this unjust inequality and oppression, many who made it against the odds to succeed to a higher educational level, develop a collective responsibility toward their oppressed community.

"8 years after finishing primary school, working in a factory and then being unemployed, I came across the Amrita Association and then I got connected with the founder team of the Gandhi Secondary School. They helped me enrol in the Workers' High School and I finished with a maturity (A-level) certificate. During my high school studies, I even won a competition on the subject of Hungarian language. Me, the Gypsy kid, that the teacher failed in primary school. And these supporting teachers at the Gandhi made me believe that I should study further. They made me realise that I can speak very good Boyash – which was a given for me. They taught me that because my parents cannot read or write but I'll probably have a university degree, I'll have long range mobility, and this is a huge achievement. They made me realise that I am the first with an A-level certificate in the whole Gypsy settlement and with my sister the first-in-family graduate. That was the first time I realised what an outrage it is against my Gypsy community that they are discriminated against in the education system, and they do not have access to further study, even at secondary level. This was a turning point in my life. This inclusive, supportive social environment, the pedagogists team in Baranya who welcomed and fostered the desire of the Gypsy kids to further study was the force behind my career path. I soon realised that if we want systematic change in education, that is, for our Gypsy children to be treated like equals in schools, we need to enter political life. Which meant, in my case, that as the first secondary school graduate from the Gypsy settlement, I founded the first local Roma government in my village, with the help of my sociologist friends. I called an assembly in the Gypsy settlement and told them, if I win, I will not distribute donations or food parcels, I will not organise Gypsy balls, but I will launch a further learning program." (Lali, 38, founder-director of a second chance secondary school).

This excerpt strikingly summarises the distinctive problem that upwardly mobile, racialized minorities have to face during their mobility journey (Neckerman

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8   The best grade in the Hungarian schools is 5, and the worst is 1.

et al. 1999), unlike their non-racialized, white counterparts. Namely, it shows the persistent salience of discrimination in not only educational settings but in everyday life, along with the importance of interclass solidarity with co-ethnic members of one's community of origin, with those (mainly relatives) who are 'left behind'. Given this distinctive problem of upwardly mobile Roma professionals, the educational support programs that proved to be the most influential, according to the narratives of our Roma study participants, are the ones that offer ethnically targeted and complex programs to foster education-driven upward mobility for the Roma. Through their identity building programmes they managed to convert non-dominant cultural capitals into legitimised, valuable ones - in the case of Lali, previously taken for granted attributes of his Romaness such as his fluency in the Beyash language was converted into a valuable cultural asset. Other respondents even managed to convert their non-dominant cultural capital, their fluent speaking of Romani language into a profitable dominant cultural capital, thanks to one of the educational support initiatives, the establishment of the Romologia department in a university in South Hungary.

> "I cannot tell you how I felt, the professor came to visit me in the Café where I worked during my BA studies and asked me to teach the Romani language at her new Romologia department. A famous professor, can you imagine? Later she convinced me to pass the advanced exam in Romani language, I did as it was useful to get my BA degree in social policy." (Leila, 46, assistant professor).

One of the ethnically targeted, complex educational support programs was/is offered by the Romaversitas Foundation – an 'invisible, advanced student college' that came up in many of our first-in-family Roma graduate narratives as one of the most significant protective and facilitator agents of their mobility journey. Romaversitas was the first comprehensive support and training program for talented Roma youngsters in higher education in Hungary. Established in 1996, for the past more than twenty years Romaversitas (Romver) has supported over 300 Roma students throughout their academic studies, to enable them to successfully graduate and become highly skilled professionals in their chosen field.[9]

Our study participants emphasized that Romver did not just help them overcome their constant financial difficulties (by giving them a monthly stipend) and the structural barriers that underrepresented minority students face in a higher education environment (by empowering them with navigational capital[10] in the circumstances of racial discrimination). They also provided them a place to meet with like-minded Roma peers, creating close friendship and dense ethnic networks and through this, a feeling of belonging and an emotional shelter (Lukács – Dávid

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9   https://romaversitas.hu/about-us/
10   According to Yosso (2005), navigational capital refers to skills of maneuvering through social institutions.

2018, Nyírő-Durst 2018). Through this support, they contributed to the mitigation of the price of their upward mobility, by reducing the psychological and emotional cost of changing class.

"My time at Romver was good and empowering. What did I get from that community? They provided me with a monthly scholarship which helped my financial situation significantly. I sent half of it home to support my mother. This scholarship had a symbolic value, too. It gave me the message that the effort one puts in studying is recognised and valued. My time at Romver also helped me overcome my identity crisis. They made me realise that being Roma can be a source of pride, not shame. I was equipped with encouragement, a sense of self-worth, solidarity, and self-belief. That is, everything that makes somebody a human, enables one to feel good in this world. Thanks to that period, I think I will never feel bad about myself anymore. There has been an enlightening in the Roma [professional] circle, a change in what it means to be Roma. There is a common belief now that it's not only the non-Roma's [Hungarian] culture that has value but the Roma, too." (Lajos, 41, social researcher).

This excerpt sheds light on one of the most important contributions of Romver (and other identity building support programs) to mitigate the price of the upward mobility of our respondents. Namely, that their complex educational program managed to accrue Roma cultural capital: a set of resources both working class and middle-class Roma youth can deploy to make meaning of their Roma identities, forge networks of belonging and counter their marginal status in Hungarian society.

For many of our interviewees, this easiness of who they are after they have changed so much during their social mobility trajectory, was the result of an identity re-construction or re-casting (Mirga-Redzepi 2020) process. This process was facilitated through their like-minded peer group and importantly by the Roma support organisations initiatives, and other mobility aiding Roma grassroots associations. Jola's reply to our question on what it means for her to be Roma, is a testimony of this reconstruction process:

"In our region, 'Gypsy' is one who queues in front of the post office [waiting for her child benefit and other social grants], who hangs around at the pub, who sweeps on the street in his phosphorescent yellow west [the uniform for public workers], and who is black. So, if I say in my neighbourhood that I am a Gypsy, then people associate me with these images, and they are confused. In olden times my Romaness to me was something to be ashamed of. But not anymore! Absolutely not. Nowadays, I have a positive sense of self-esteem, and I was happy when my daughter kept her family name even after her getting married to a non-Roma man to show the world what one can achieve in life if one is Gypsy and wants to study." (Jola, 45, social worker and teacher).

Romaversitas has an altered mission nowadays. It was part of a move to adapt to the changing social and public education policy environment and to the needs of their Roma mentees. Among the Romaversitas Foundation's general objectives when it was founded, policy advocacy, political responsibility and integration into the Roma civil rights movement was strongly emphasized. From the very beginning, "one of Romaversitas' most pressing dilemmas has been around its self-identification. Is it a development partner in a civil rights movement that produces proud and relentless youngsters, who represent Roma people's interests upon return to their communities? Or do the participating young Roma people simply become the best at what they do, earn professional recognition and strengthen the notion that Gypsies are just the same at what they do as anyone else?" (Expert interview in Boros 2019). When the first monitoring report of the Romaversitas was published, the Foundation considered the development of Roma intellectuals and professionals as one of its main contributions to the mobility prospects of Roma students, instead of public, political advocacy. This is especially peculiar, considering that according to the Christian Roma College Network's 2011 founding document, the network's declared goal is different, to reinforce social commitment among supported students: "A fundamental objective of the college of advanced studies is to contribute to public social responsibility through the formulation of socially committed Roma intellectuals who proactively facilitate open social dialogues, combining professional/academic excellence with social sensitivity" (KRSZH Founding Document 2011).

Today the vision of Romaversitas is a strong Romani intelligentsia that is capable of asserting the interests of Roma communities and creating narratives for Roma People. "Our mission is to help young Romani students acquire academic degrees, and strengthen their skills, while shaping their identity and empowering them to build resilient communities. We believe that the key to social progress in Hungary is the creation of a strong Romani intelligentsia. Romaversitas works with Romani students from all over Hungary to help them overcome the disadvantages caused by systemic racism and allow them to meet their true potential".[11]

After the proliferation of Anti-Gypsyism, hate speech and hate crimes against the Roma, the perspective of 'paying back' has re-gained significance among next generation of Roma intellectuals and has re-appeared as guidance in local/social responsibility as a prerequisite for becoming a 'Roma intellectual' (Boros 2019). However, the vision of many of the Roma support programs of creating a Roma Intelligentsia implicates an indirect hidden cost for those former beneficiaries who had chosen a general (not racially directed) career path. Some of our 'assimilated'

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11   https://romaversitas.hu/our-vision-and-mission/

Roma interviewees are a case in point when they speak about their struggle with a feeling of divided loyalty and guilt. Dora is one whose story illustrates this concern.

Dora is a history teacher in a Western European country, in her early 40s. She is married to a migrant husband of another racialised minority background, with a child. Coming from a socio-economically disadvantaged, poor Roma family from a small village in Southern Hungary, she was recruited as a gifted Roma student by the Gandhi secondary school. After graduation from university, she moved abroad and settled down as a history teacher in a local high school. She loves teaching and she thinks of her work as a 'vocation'. In her narrative she recalled in what sense Roma support programs, especially Gandhi gymnasium, has helped her:

> "Gandhi helped me in everything. It raised me from everything. If there is no Gandhi, I would be nowhere. I did my A-levels, I learnt English there. It gave me life; I learnt a lot about the world. I would have never learnt anything exciting at home. My mom had 6 years of schooling. Oh my God, what would I have turned out to be if I would have stayed at home? I would have had six children by now".

> "Dora was one of very few interviewees who did not experience discrimination due to her 'light skin colour'. "Because of my skin colour, they accepted me everywhere as Hungarian. Had I been a bit darker, this program would have helped me with my identity formation. It immensely helped my other friends of darker sin".

Dora reflects that her Roma identity has lost its significance in her life since she lives abroad:

> "Back then, at secondary school, life was all about that. Being a Roma. Today it is different. If I listen to good Gypsy music, I feel good. But it feels like I'm getting assimilated. Once you spend a lot of time in a non-Roma majority environment, you become similar to them, don't you? It makes me feel guilty sometimes. I don't know. I suppose I should keep more of my Gypsyness. I need to give something back to the Gypsy community. It's because I have had so much help from life due to being a Gypsy girl."

Similar to Dora, even those of our respondents who stayed and worked in Hungary and 'kept their Gypsyness' feel that this responsibility for and solidarity towards their community of origin is indirectly expected from them by the Roma intellectuals and by Roma support programs. Therefore, those few, who do not want to live up to this expectation and choose a general (not racially directed) career path, try to avoid these support programs, or choose only those that give scholarships and a non-Roma mentoring environment. Jennifer (a 24-year-old, MA student, studying

International Relations) articulates the feeling some of our participants express about carrying a 'psychological burden':

> "At home there was not much talk about us being Gypsy [cigány]. If I was to go to a Gypsy community, I feel that I am not Gypsy enough for them. I feel I'm in-between the Hungarians and the Gypsies".

Although Jennifer was connected to a Roma talent program by her local Gypsy government while she was at primary school, and she is grateful to the program for its mentoring and bursary assistance, she did not want to join any Roma Student College. It is because she did not feel a strong belonging to the Roma community and was aware of the 'emotional burden' that these support programs put on the shoulders of their Roma students.

> "This is a very difficult question for me. On the one hand, it is an honour that I can serve as an example to other Roma children and that I can help them. On the other hand, this is a burden. Isn't it enough that I struggled a lot and made it rise? Can I not enjoy a good life? I feel no, it's not the case, because in the subtext of these programs and of the Roma intelligentsia, there is this hidden expectation that if you break out [of poverty], you should deal with other Roma problems. I am my own master, I do what I like to do, I help who and when I like to help. I am grateful to the support program, but I feel I would have achieved what I did without it too. I have so much motivation to do well, I have had this inner drive and curiosity since I was a little kid."

Conclusion

Educational support and mentor programs contribute to the process of capital building among students coming from socio-economically disadvantaged family backgrounds where they lack many of the different types of capital that are necessary to accumulate in their social trajectory in order to get ahead and become successful in their careers and life. However, in Hungary, they seem to manage to reach out mostly to the upwardly mobile Roma. On the contrary, they rarely managed to support and address the problem of the 'price of mobility' for non-Roma first generation professionals coming from working class backgrounds.

Upwardly mobile, racialized minorities like the Roma in Hungary, have to face distinctive problems during their mobility journey (Neckerman et al. 1999). Unlike their non-racialized, white counterparts, they have to struggle with the persistent salience of discrimination in educational and everyday settings, along with responsibility (emotional burden) of interclass solidarity with co-ethnic members of one's community of origin, with those (mainly relatives) who are 'left behind'. Given the reason for this

distinctive problem of upwardly mobile Roma professionals, the educational support programs that proved to be the most influential offer ethnically targeted and complex programs to foster education-driven upward mobility for the Roma.

These complex programmes play an important role in offering opportunities to acquire (white) middle class cultural capital to those mentees whose homes had not been able to secure it in the past. With their community building activities for like-minded peer mentees, and with cognitive and mental development services at hand, they also help heal the hidden injuries of class mobility (Skeggs 1997) for the first-in-family Roma graduates whose long-range upward mobility is unprecedented, and therefore sometimes distancing them in their family and community of origin.

These programs are also beneficial to mobility through providing scholarships to their mentees in order to help them overcome their constant financial difficulties. This financial capital has a huge symbolic value in their communities of origin, as it gives a message that it's worth studying even in a material sense. On top of that, support programs empower upwardly mobile Roma students with navigational capital to overcome structural barriers that underrepresented minority students face in a higher education environment. They also provide them with a place to meet with like-minded Roma peers, creating close friendships and dense ethnic networks and thus, a feeling of belonging and emotional shelter (Lukács–Dávid 2018, Nyírő–Durst 2018). Ethnically targeted support programs also enable mentees to recast negative and stigmatised identities through creating ethnic pride (see also Neményi–Vajda 2015) and a proud Roma middle class or Roma Intelligentsia identity (Kende 2007).

Considering all these academic support systems, in this paper we argue that one of the main contributions of the Roma educational support programs pertaining to the social mobility of the Roma is that they have been creating Roma cultural capital for their mentees. In our interpretation, Roma cultural capital is similar to Black cultural capital (Wallace 2016) in the sense that it is a set of resources that middle-class Roma youth can deploy to make meaning of their Roma identities, recast it, to forge networks of belonging and counter their marginal status, given Hungary's racialized power relations. Through this, Roma educational support programs that offer a complex approach, contribute hugely to mitigate the price of their upward mobility. According to the narratives of our study participants, they achieve this through reducing the psychological and emotional cost of changing class but remaining Roma, although their Roma (intellectual or middle class) identity differs from their low educated counterparts in their background communities. We showcased the example of Romaversitas to illustrate our argument.

However, the vision of many of the Roma support programs to create a Roma Intelligentsia implicates an indirect hidden cost for those former beneficiaries who had chosen a general (not racially directed) career path. Some of our 'assimilated' Roma interviewees are a case in point when they speak about their struggle with a feeling of guilt for not 'giving back' to their communities of origin.

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Meaning making and resilience among academically high-achieving Roma women

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Abstract: This paper investigates the self-narratives of academically high-achieving, first generation college educated, and highly resilient Roma women. We place their meaning making and social navigation processes at the centre of our inquiry, understanding it as an important element of the resilience process of upward mobility (Ungar 2012). Self-narratives describing their changing social class and the corresponding dilemmas offers us the opportunity to understand their strategies, and how to accomplish a resilient minority mobility trajectory, by mitigating the tension and the emotional cost that unavoidably comes with the large social distance they travel between their community of origin and the newly attained class (Naudet 2018).
The article draws on two research projects; the first conducted in Spain (2015-17) among 35 Roma university graduates, and the second in Hungary, (2018-20), between 150 Roma and non-Roma university graduates. We have selected one 'resilient minority mobility trajectory' as an ideal type from each database for the purposes of this comparison. In this category, upwardly mobile Roma graduates achieve their aspired self-development with the minimal 'emotional cost' possible.
        Our main argument is that a 'minority path of social ascension', in itself, is not enough to mitigate the high emotional costs of changing social class. It also requires negotiation, meaning making or reframing work. In this thesis, we support Michael Ungar's proposal that resilience during upward mobility is a process in one's ecological context and not an individual asset, and that meaning making work is a crucial part of it. We expand this thesis, however, by demonstrating how navigation among the available resources, and the negotiation of what a 'proper Roma woman' and a 'successful life' means, in the community of origin, plays a crucial part in accomplishing a resilient upward mobility process.

Keywords: Spanish Roma, Hungarian Roma, social mobility, resilience, meaning making

Introduction

Throughout the biographical notes of two young Roma women, a Spanish and a Hungarian, we aim to illustrate the complexity of the personal experience of resilient upward social mobility of a selection of first-generation Roma university graduates,

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who come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. We term a mobility trajectory 'resilient' when upwardly mobile people narrate their social ascension as having occurred with minimal emotional pain: when the "hidden costs" (Cole–Omari 2003) of social mobility is minimal. Our aim in this paper is to understand the strategies that are utilised to accomplish a resilient minority mobility trajectory by mitigating the tension and the emotional costs that are unavoidable when one travels long social distance between the community of origin and the newly attained class (Naudet 2012).

We have strategically selected one interview from both the Hungarian and the Spanish project for the purpose of this article, in order to give an analytical interpretation of this 'resilient minority mobility trajectory' (Durst–Bereményi 2021) that we have found the most common among our respondents in both countries. On the basis of these two, purposively selected personal accounts, we identify a variety of ways as to how young Roma women navigate among available resources and different social settings and negotiate (Harris–Chu–Ziervogel 2018) and reframe the meanings thereof in order to mitigate dilemmas and alleviate the price of their upward social mobility.

Both selected 'resilient' Roma women constructed a double-bound middle class belonging by conducting an incorporation into mainstream society similar to what scholars call the distinctive 'minority culture of mobility' (Neckerman–Carter–Lee 1999, Vallejo 2012, Shahrokni 2015). They managed to make the mobility aspirations of their parents a reality through high academic achievement, in contrast to those who did not enjoy such explicit family support, or those who chose non-academic paths to achieve social mobility. Drawing on a thorough analysis of the narratives of these two women, we argue that adaptation in shifting from one social-institutional setting to another through navigation, negotiation, meaning making and reframing, beyond their personal resistance, played a crucial role in their mobility path.

These resilient individuals also paid emotional, social and cultural costs for their upward social mobility (Bereményi 2018), nevertheless multiple factors potentiated them throughout their life to recover and benefit from the effect of adversities. Individuals in this category tend to assign unequivocally positive meaning to their mobility processes. In this sense, the notion of resilience is central to our analysis in order to understand patterns of their "resilient minority mobility trajectory" (Durst–Bereményi 2021).

Our empirical findings support the idea that resilience is a multi-dimensional *process* (rather than an *asset*) that potentiates positive development in adverse situations (Ungar 2012). Resilience represents "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance, undergo change, and retain the same essential functions, structure, identity, and feedbacks" (Resilience Alliance's definition cited by Longstaff et al. 2010) Thus, resilience is framed in the capacity of social and physical ecologies in order to provide opportunities for recovery and positive adaptation in the presence of risk factors.

The intent to construct a coherent narrative of resilient mobility trajectories is full of contradictions among mismatching 'ideologies' (Vallejo 2012, Neckerman–Carter–Lee 1999, Bereményi–Carrasco 2017) of different cultural and social settings (Durst–Bereményi 2021). Naudet (2012) argues that 'self-narratives' of social success reflect one's intent to reduce those tensions and provide hardship with meaning. "The obligation to reduce the tension leads [...] to another obligation: that of developing a coherent self-narrative and managing to make sense of the trajectory of upward social mobility" (Naudet 2018: 12). Thus, self-narratives through meaning making of adversities, and reframing old, traditional meanings embodied through growing up in their Roma community of origin are not only descriptive data, but more importantly, an integral part of the resilience process itself.

Roma people's mobility chances in different settings: Spain, Hungary

A cross-country comparison of socially ascending resilient trajectories requires an understanding of national and local contexts. Mobility opportunities in Spain and Hungary have developed in a diverging fashion in the past decades, shaping the chances of socioeconomic progress differently for young Roma people. The Council of Europe recognises that the European Roma Population is worse off than any other minority group in Europe when it comes to education, health, employment, housing and political participation[3]. Academic and policy literature points to ethno-racial discrimination that hinders policies and programmes to improve Roma's situation in these fields (O'Higgins–Ivanov 2006). Furthermore, Roma communities are heterogeneous, due to diverse Roma identities, traditions and community histories, as they have developed in particular political, social and economic contexts.

Since the mid-90s, up until the financial crisis of 2008 followed by a recession, Spain went through an intensive economic development characterized by 'quick, short and incomplete expansion' of the service sector, and the intensive boom of the construction industry, while work productivity remained low (Requena–Stanek 2015: 491). All these factors offered favourable conditions for the social mobility of the poorly trained urban working class, among them the Spanish Roma, called *Gitano*[4]. The economic and social success of Roma people usually did not lead to cultural capital accumulation (schooling, training, high-quality jobs). Furthermore, paramount demographic changes in the Roma families must also be mentioned (Rodríguez 2011), such as a decrease in birth rates, reduced family sizes and the increase of nuptial age, age of first birth or life expectancy, to mention but a few data (Laparra 2007). The 'Spanish model of Roma inclusion' gained great attention for its good results. However, the improved conditions of the Spanish Roma people

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3   https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/thematic-work/roma-and-travellers
4   Spanish Roma is a distinctive social group, beyond its ethnic particularities, in demographical and socio-economic terms as well.

cannot be linked to ethnically targeting public policies and actions, but rather to the effects of a social protection system that benefited both Spanish Roma and non-Roma citizens (Rodríguez 2011, D'ALEPH–FSG 2008) within a particular period of unsustainable economic growth, that was favourable for a low-skilled labour force. Recent economic crises affected Roma citizens earlier, more harshly and for longer than non-Roma citizens (FSG 2013, Fundación Secretariado Gitano 2020). Even if Spanish Roma had access to tertiary education in growing numbers, the proportion of individual graduates is still at 2,2% of the 20-24 years old Spanish Roma population; in comparison with approx. 21,5% of the total Spaniards in this age-group (FSG–CEET 2013).

In Hungary the trend of increasing social fluidity[5] between 1973-83; and its consolidation between 1983-92 turned around from 1992 to 2000 in an economic downturn and at an increasing level of unemployment (Kertesi–Kézdi 2010). The Roma population in the state-socialist Hungary was almost fully employed as unskilled or low-skilled workers (Csepeli–Örkény 2015). The post-socialist transition caused a destruction of most low-skilled work places, and resulted in a drastic drop in the employment rate among the Roma (Kertesi–Kézdi 2010). By the early 90s, the ethnic employment gap reached 40 percentage points (*idem*). The social mobility chances for Roma have practically stalled during recent decades (Zolnay 2018, Róbert 2019). The broad ethnic gap has manifested in the field of higher education, too. Meanwhile almost one-fifth of Hungarian people possess a university degree, only 3.3 per cent of Roma have graduated from a higher education institution according to the latest census (National Statistical Office 2015).

The diverging socioeconomic processes of Spain's and Hungary's Roma population in the past four decades make the findings of this paper particularly interesting. The fundamentally different opportunity structures of these countries shaped different intergenerational mobility trajectories, that also affect the ways young Roma women make sense of their resilient life-course, and how they construct their mobility self-narratives. The Spanish context of EU accession created an economic boom and represented an opportunity for the working class to achieve significant social mobility locally. In Hungary, the democratic transition for many caused impoverishment and downward mobility for the working classesand for low-skilled Roma people. Mobility opportunities have been made through geographical mobility, especially for people coming from rural Hungary to the capital city or for those going abroad. In this sense, we found that a geographically fixed upward social mobility trajectory produced a self-narrative vis-à-vis the locally set negotiations over resources and meanings (of our Spanish interlocutor) while a geographically highly mobile trajectory (of our Hungarian protagonists) gives meaning to its

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5 Social fluidity or relative mobility 'concerns the relationship between class origins and current class position based on the comparison, between the chances of people of different class origins of being found in one destination class rather than another' (Breen 2004: 4).

ascendant mobility process in an intellectually and socially broader frame in which local community is substituted by a wider range of sociocultural references.

Antecedents and conceptual-analytical framework

Minority groups and social mobility

Research on social mobility consistently highlights the role of ethnicity/race and the diverging mobility patterns among different minority groups (Loury–Modood–Teles 2005). From an economistic perspective mobility in the primary labour market is reported to be more difficult for stigmatised ethnic/racial groups, and above average for "model minorities" (Wu 2014, Zhou–Xiong 2005), highlighting that low status minority groups may invest in alternative socio-economic mobility patterns, such as self-employment (Portes–Zhou 1992). Within the contextual complexity, *discrimination paradigm* (Loury–Modood–Teles 2005) underlines that the conditions of ethnicity and race affect social mobility, basically, in two ways: firstly, with how the majority society makes decisions on the life chances of minorities based on their negative/positive perception respecting their habits, attitudes and skills. Secondly, ethnicity and race may reflect real social formations (networks, reciprocity, solidarity, like-mindedness, etc.,) that can impact habits, attitudes or skills which partially determine social mobility (Loury–Modood–Teles 2005). From an identity-based approach, these authors emphasise that if these groups are "constituted by a rich set of ethnically or racially specific institutions [they] are likely to have more control of these processes of meaning production", while groups with weaker institutions are likely to find their identity produced at least as much by outsiders as by themselves (Loury 2002). This latter idea recalls Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (Ogbu–Simons 1998) on how minority groups develop *cultural models* (that is add meaning, and adapt action) of schooling adapting to the double pressure of systemic factors (interethnic relations, misrecognition, glass ceiling, etc.,) and community forces (aspirations, expectations adjusted to societal experiences). The model calls attention to the tensions between diverse, or even contrary meanings assigned to an object, a behaviour or an institution, and how individuals struggle with navigating or negotiating among those meanings. Portes and Zhou's (1993) term of *selective acculturation* or Gibson's (1988) *accommodation without assimilation* describe these strategies along social mobility process of minorities. Beyond apparent gains, upward mobility paths often imply concomitant 'prices' (Friedman 2016), 'emotional cost' (Reay 2005, 2015), 'psychological strain' (Neckerman–Carter–Lee 1999), or in an umbrella term, 'hidden costs' (Cole–Omari 2003) particularly among minorities. In earlier works we have developed this aspect with respect to Spanish (Bereményi 2018, Bereményi–Carrasco 2017) and Hungarian Roma (Durst–Bereményi 2021, Durst–Fejős–Nyírő 2014). Here we focus on meaning making or framing as a coping strategy of these challenges.

Roma high-achievers and resilience

The vast majority of studies on Roma academic high-achievers (Abajo–Carrasco 2004, Kende 2007, Bereményi 2018, Mendi 1999, Tóth et al. 2016) aim to identify factors and conditions that foster upwardly mobile trajectories, or identity change related issues, and they tend to overlook the related resilience process.

A few, however, have incorporated resilience as a central issue. Máté (2015) argues that resilient Roma persons constantly respond to the (perceived) *compulsion to conform*, which pushes them towards a larger than average mobility range. Eventually, this extraordinary effort triggers difficulties in coping with double or multiple identities. Dimitrova et al. (2014) claim that ethnic 'identity is particularly important for Roma as a way of coping with adverse conditions and to enhance their resilience' (2014: 378). Forray (2016), following a more traditional objective, focuses on the description of those ecological protection and risk factors that foster the resilient trajectories of vulnerable Roma youth that 'make it' against the odds. From a different perspective Györbíró et al. (2015) pay attention to the 'community resilience' of the Roma people, the underlying adaptation to changing mainstream societal conditions, and the capacity to define its own needs and to negotiate their attainment (2015: 124). Finally, Székelyi et.al (2005) offer a detailed description of how successful Roma interpret society and their own success, conditioned by the range of their mobility.

Our interest here is somewhat different. We aim at understanding how academically high achieving 'first generation intellectual' (Ferenczi 2004) Roma women make meaning, and give a coherent sense of their 'resilient minority mobility trajectory', through their self-narratives. In our inquiry we focus on mobility self-narratives of personal, social and physical resources, and opportunity structures throughout their resilient trajectories. We identify a variety of ways in which young Roma women navigate among these resources and social settings and negotiate and reframe the meanings thereof in order to 'mitigate the price' of their upward social mobility.

Resilience from an ecological perspective

Resilience, a central concept in our study, has traditionally been used to describe individual traits of coping in adverse situations. Towards the 1980s, the main focus was growingly placed on the interaction of those traits with their physical and social environment (Rutter 1987 in Ungar 2011). From an ecological perspective, instead of 'resilient individuals,' investigations tend to highlight physical and social conditions that help individuals cope with horizontal and vertical stressors successfully. In this way, resilience can be understood as 'the ecologically complex' (multi-dimensional) processes that people engage in, that makes positive growth possible, all of which are dependent upon the capacity of social and physical ecologies to provide opportunities for positive adaptation (preferably in ways that express prosocial collective norms) in adverse conditions. Following Joseph's (2013) definition, 'ecological and social

components' are linked by complex resource systems such as economic systems, institutions and organisations. Resilience provides these complex systems with the ability to withstand and survive shocks and disturbances. It also emphasises the capacity for renewal (Joseph 2013: 39). Similarly, Ungar's (2012) analytical model highlights the role of the following 4 factors: personal strengths and challenges; ecology; available and accessible opportunities; and meaning creation.

In an educational context, academic resilience gained general consolidation recently, when OECD's PISA test introduced this dimension in 2011 (Patakfalvi-Czirják–Papp Neumann 2018). OECD's definition[6] fosters an ecological approach through the concepts of 'resilient schools' (Day–Gu 2013, Patakfalvi-Czirják–Papp–Neumann 2018) or 'academic resilience' in terms of institutional (Széll 2018) and systemic (Ecclestone–Lewis 2014, Tóth et al. 2016) conditions that make students' development possible.

Meaning making

Drawing on Ungar (2012), 'meaning creation', or 'meaning making' (Lamont 2000), or 'framing' has a central role in our analytical framework. The concept of 'frame', originally coined by Goffman (1974), is based on the idea that the same reality is perceived by different individuals differently, depending on their previous experiences and understanding (Small–Harding–Lamont 2010). Thus, a frame does not only structure how we interpret events, but also how we react to them.

Similarly, 'meaning' refers to the culturally framed values and beliefs assigned to given resources that are available and accessible. With Ungar's words 'the meaning we attribute to aspects of our social and physical ecology shape the opportunities that we create' (2012: 22). The likelihood that interactions between individuals and their environments 'will promote well-being under adversity depends on the meaningfulness of these opportunities and the quality of the resources provided' (Ungar 2012: 14). In this context, resources are not 'objectively' useful and supportive for a person, but one's social and cultural environment may create an interpretation of them, or frame them as supportive or not, as (morally, technically, etc.,) acceptable or not, as accessible or not, and if so, to what extent. For example, Small (2002) shows that an individual's participation in a housing project does not depend on the degree to which the residents value community participation as such, but rather on the frame through which they view the neighbourhood's change as a result of their historical demands. So, previously uninvolved citizens first need to reframe their understanding of the neighbourhood before they become active participants. In this sense, "frames define horizons of possibilities, individual life projects, or what is thinkable" (Small–Harding–Lamont 2010: 15).

Certainly, resilience process includes an individual's capacity to reframe these given meanings or navigate their way to a wide range of resources, as well as their

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individual and collective capacity to negotiate for the meaning of those resources, or their provision in socially and culturally acceptable ways (Ungar 2012). Navigation refers to the capacity to identify and access those resources, while negotiation supposes entering into interaction to redefine, reframe, and legitimise alternative cultural meanings thereof (Harris–Chu–Ziervogel 2018). However, both concepts highlight the active engagement of individuals in the resilience process, that necessarily imply trade-offs rather than win-win scenarios (Renn–Schweizer, 2009 in Harris–Chu–Ziervogel 2018). With respect to the socially upwardly mobile individual who chooses to highlight his attachment to his group of origin, Naudet claims that he seeks 'to prepare a space in which this "accursed share" of his social origins can be activated' (Naudet 2018: 19). This latter effort is an overt effort of negotiation.

In the meaning making process Naudet (2018) and others (Carter 2005, Vallejo 2012, Neckerman–Carter–Lee 1999, Friedman 2016, Baxter–Britton 2001) draw attention to the conflicts and moral dilemmas socially upwardly mobile people struggle with, by oscillating between their attachment to the background of origin and their efforts to legitimise their attained social position. Upward mobility for socially disadvantaged individuals implies a 'mastery over schemes of action and perception that are *differently situated* in the social space, and hence in contradiction with each other' (Naudet 2018: 11).

Based on these perspectives and notions, we focus on meaning making or framing of the elements of minority mobility process, relying on Ungar's (2012) social ecological approach to resilience. In particular, we centre our attention on the strategy of *navigation*, the capacity to identify and access resources and *negotiation*, the interaction with their background of origin in order to redefine, reframe and legitimise alternative meanings of resources and the conditions of accessing it (Harris–Chu–Ziervogel 2018).

Methodological notes

The Spanish dataset contains 35 purposively selected interviews with male and female first-generation Roma professionals, while the Hungarian set includes 45 (out of the 150 -Roma and non-Roma respondents). Data collection was made through semi-structured, narrative, in-depth life course interviews. We considered our interviewees Roma based on their self-ascription. We reached them through personal networks and utilising the snowball technique. Verbal informed consent was obtained at the beginning of the interviews, in a recorded form.

For the purpose of this paper, we selected one interview from each of these two datasets stemming from two research projects conducted in Spain[7] and Hungary.[8]

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7   Project entitled "School Success among the Roma in Romania and Spain. Conditions, trajectories and consequences" conducted in the frame of an agreement between the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain) and the Romanian Institute of Research on National Minorities (Romania). 2016-2018

8   Ongoing project entitled "Social mobility and ethnicity: Trajectories, outcomes and hidden costs of mobility", supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' (NKFHI) research grant (no. K-125 497), 2018-2021.

We chose them as they represent one of the most typical mobility paths identified in both projects; that is, what we call the 'resilient minority mobility trajectory'. A particularity of the two selected interviewees presented in this text is that, beyond the interviews, their trajectories have been followed up throughout the past years, through a series of informal meetings.

After conducting thematical analyses of different subsets of the Hungarian and Spanish data, for the purposes of this paper, we explore the problem of meaning making within single settings in order to obtain a more nuanced interpretation through narrative analysis.

We purposefully chose female Roma informants as our preliminary analyses showed that they have to negotiate even more issues and reframe more traditional meanings during their mobility trajectories than men do. The analysis of the databases showed that many women in traditional Roma communities face stricter control of their families and ethnic communities. In the case of women, parents play a more complex role of being shock absorbers or mediators in their communities. Due to tighter restrictions and controls, female youth tend to negotiate more sophisticated manners than their male protagonists, and to navigate with more agility, and they often imply a wider range of intervening agents. Most importantly, they need to negotiate their aspirations for further studying (to a higher educational level) against their ethnic community's control and under pressure to (not) conform to the gendered expectations of them about getting married (as a virgin) and starting a family at a young age. For these reasons, Pantea (2015) calls young Roma women who managed to persuade their traditional Roma communities to allow them to have access to university (to an unknown and therefore dangerous terrain) as "skilled navigators".

In our analysis we use the case study approach. 'In this approach, the data is interpreted within the unique context of each case in order to provide an account of a particular instance, setting, person, or event [...]'. In case studies, categorising occurs 'within a particular case rather than across cases, so that the contextual relationships are harder to lose sight of' (Maxwell–Chmiel 2014: 26).

Throughout the paper, our aim is to explore how people tell the story of their mobility experience, so we applied a narrative analysis (Esin–Fathi–Squire 2013). Following Naudet (2018), creating a self-narrative of success can never claim to be objective, because of the risk of the imperfection of memory, the potential attempt of reconstructing the past, the inevitable strategies of the interviewee to present himself in a better light and to make sense of all his ordeal. However, for sociologists, goes on Naudet, social facts include discourses. In this sense, what we aim is to find out is how interviewees narrate their negotiations, navigations, meaning making and reframing of traditional meanings in their discourses and how they use a self-narrative of mobility as a means to resolve tensions lived through the mobility experience (Naudet 2018).

Having recognised the importance of the interactions among systems components, our unit of analysis in this inquiry is the meaning making process of our respondents: their individual virtues, their agency, but also of the social and physical ecological settings they oscillate between, and the interaction among these elements (Bronfenbrenner 1979).

Results

This analysis focuses on two Roma women's life courses, both from the analytical category that we earlier coined 'resilient minority mobility trajectory' (Durst–Bereményi 2021). Each trajectory is unique, but Saray's[9] and Jutka's cases point to important elements of an ecological model of social resilience. The experience of resilient mobility certainly differs in range and quality of resources in women from those of men, but strategies to navigate towards them and negotiate their meaning differ as well. So, our intention is to highlight processes of meaning making and reframing old meanings within the process of social and physical ecology of resilience. Saray's trajectory concentrates a wider than average range of ecological and individual elements which offer a rich case-study to analyse navigation and meaning-making dynamics of minority social mobility in the Spanish context. Similarly, Jutka's life-course is embedded in a particularly dense ecology of opportunities that makes a long-range mobility possible with supportive structures. At the same time, both success stories are a result of coping with – among others – ethnic- and gender-specific costs.

1. Saray (Spain)

Saray, a 26-year old Spanish Romani young woman became widely known for having completed her MA in Economics at a prestigious private university in Barcelona, and for her public speech in the Catalan Parliament's special International Roma Day event. She grew up in Barcelona's most deprived and stigmatised, geographically segregated residential complex, let's call it "La Salud", with strikingly low employment, education and health figures. Saray's grandparents, migrated from Southern Spain in search of a better economic situation, but faced substandard housing conditions that gradually improved. His grandfather even went to work in France and Switzerland in the 70s and 80s. Saray's father quit school early and mostly did integrated jobs with non-Roma colleagues as self-employed or as an employee. Her mother combined marginalised and mainstream jobs. She studied in labour market access programmes and recently obtained a special driving licence to drive a compact street sweeper at her job.

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9   All names are pseudonym to ensure research participants' anonimity

Saray led her life through a rich variety of physical, social and cultural settings, receiving contradictory messages from her nuclear family, extended family, local ethnic community and neighbourhood, from the mainstream society institutions and non-Roma peers. Her parents' unconditional support and her older brother's academic trajectory helped her navigate among resources coming from all these contexts, and to negotiate meanings that often caused her conflicts and dilemmas stemming from her in-between position.

[Family]

Her mother mobilised her limited social capital in order to foster Saray's academic career. A person from a Jehovah's Witness congregation volunteered to help them with school homework in primary school. Later on, a middle-class lady whose house Saray's mother cleaned, helped Saray and her brother financially in order for them to access a prestigious semi-private high school. Monthly tuition fees were well above their economic possibilities, but her parents made it somehow. 'My mom wanted us to leave the neighbourhood...' says Saray. She responding to her parents' expectations and studied hard, becoming obsessive about getting good marks. It was an extraordinary effort undertaken to conclude the mobility ambitions of earlier generations. On her blog she notes[10]:

> "The 'Revolución Gitana' is nothing new... It's something that our grandparents started, that our parents continued... With the sole objective of destroying the ceiling that limited the future of our people."

This self-conscious struggle against structural inequalities emerged in her at a mature age, once her ethnic activist identity will have appeared. Nevertheless, her family's support for mobility was a fundamental experience for Saray throughout her childhood, just like her older brother's example, the first in his family who finished high-school and achieved a BA degree.

Her parents prepared her to cope with differential treatment both for being a Roma and for living in La Salud.

> "My mother used to say: 'If you are asked whether you are a Gitana [Gypsy], you just say that you are a person. So that they don't prejudge you.'"

At home, she received a gender education that fitted that of the mainstream society, but at a certain point in her teenage years, her parents decided to apply the rules of 'Roma virtue' to her, as it was defined by more traditional segments of the extended family and local community: a 'decent Roma young female' should not be out of the

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10   Saray's website was closed recently, due to the high cost of maintenance

sight of her family; should not mix with 'unauthorised' young males (neither Roma, nor non-Roma); should focus on domestic tasks; should preferably not remain in school after 'coming of age'; and should fit the Roma aesthetic norms (long hair, etc.). Nevertheless, these gendered expectations are far more relaxed as regards young males. She overtly rebelled against the unexpected and unprecedented gendered control.

[Extended family]
Her main allies in everyday border crossing (both in a symbolic and a geographical sense) were her ethnically mixed cousins from her father's side, living next door, who disregarded their Roma origin almost completely.

> "We all used to go to school together... with my cousins of the neighbourhood [...] Those of my mom's side went school, too, but they didn't give it the same importance."

The cousins from her mother's side tended to call into question the relevance of school with respect to social mobility.

> "They used to tell my brother: 'Why on earth do you study all the time?'... 'Going so much to school' [...] They didn't give you any support, well. But I didn't really take them into account."

As a response to the double-bind messages in her extended family, Saray further strengthened her disciplined, work-focused attitude with respect to school-related activities. Her everyday success, from both her teachers and non-Roma peers, and their positive feedback deepened her faith in meritocracy.

[Local Ethnic Community and wider Roma population]
Local Roma community members often questioned the relevance of long years of school by contrasting it with economic outcomes. Saray's daily symbolic and physical border crossing generated criticism in some community members who even accused her of not behaving properly as a Roma young woman: particularly with respect to mixing with non-Roma, and with males. She also narrates symbolic elements of the community control:

> "It's not that they tell you that it's not OK that you still go to school. But you notice it. For example, when I come from the university, I usually carry a back-pack to put my university folder inside. I carry only one folder. But I'm ashamed. Because you see that people look at you because you carry a folder and it's not normal. You can perceive it."

In order to cope with this shameful situation, she changes her look every time she crosses the neighbourhood borders: earrings, cardigan and the bag. She navigates among different cultural codes in order to fit expectations, to avoid criticism, and to gain recognition in diverse social settings. She is convinced that, as a way of getting ahead socially, one needs to 'go out of' La Salud and its limited public services. Good education, safe playgrounds or public transport are anywhere, but beyond La Salud.

> "What I think is that those who value education should go outside the neighbourhood."

She also refers to community pressure that limits one's expectations and horizons. It did not only impact Saray but also her parents. In her adolescent years, her parents attempted to restrict her social life according to Roma community gender rules, as never before. Saray describes it as a turning point. Drawing on earlier life experiences, she recognised multiple layers of community oppression and control and she was determined not to obey them.

> "The questions people pose you... make you feel uncomfortable. If a non-Gypsy person asks you, "Ah, are you still studying?" Well done. But if a Gypsy person asks you "Are you still studying?" It's like... you know what he's thinking..."

With the latter, Saray refers to the criticism of elderly Roma, as teenage girls are expected not to return to school after their 'coming of age' anymore. During the compulsory studies, Saray managed to respond to multiple expectations, but as a teenager, resistance emerged with respect to nuclear and extended family, as well as the local Roma community:

> "They asked you that you had to act like that because you were a Gypsy and you have to do this and that... Well, no! ... That's when I realised... Who doesn't want to look at you because you don't do what they want... Well, no... I've always been very independent. [...] If you don't like it, then I don't know... if I'm sure and I see it that way, I'm going to do it."

Saray's resistance to community rules, and her academic success linked to a progress in the labour market within and outside the 'Roma domain', eventually put her in a respected position among the elderly leaders. She was even asked to give a speech in the Parliament of Catalonia on the International Roma Day on two occasions. Despite Saray's brave (self-) criticism, Roma elderly, and particularly Roma women, loved her presentation.

> "I didn't expect the Roma to like that. I knew that the Payos [non-Roma] would like the speech. But the Roma […] As I had never felt that the Roma… that they cared about my opinion. Because 'you are not Roma…', right?"

From a resistant stance and due to her success achieved outside of the 'Roma field', Saray was able to renegotiate not only her position within the Roma community and Roma 'civil society domain', but also to reframe the meaning of being a 'proper young Roma woman', and her role within the minority struggle.

> "You suffer a series of things that you don't know very well. Well, and when you are clear about what you're going to do, being a Roma doesn't mean that discomfort. I think, other [non-Roma] women don't have these problems."

[School and mainstream society]

A crucial setting where Saray elaborated her resilient mobility path was school. Saray followed her brother and cousins to a semi-private school in an adjacent, non-segregated neighbourhood, which ensured her a higher academic standard and access to non-Roma peers with social mobility aspirations through academic continuity. She obtained a group of good friends who became her main referents. This way, an otherwise difficult decision regarding a post-compulsory school choice was easy for her. Saray has not only exceled in establishing good relationships with teachers and friends, but also in adjusting the pace of mobility and acculturation. On finishing her Baccalaureate studies, and exhausted by attention to her school-works, she decided to slow down and complete an advanced vocational education course in Administration and Finance.

> "I was determined not to go to university, even if my teachers disagreed. […] I ended up very tired… I didn't feel like deciding in two months what to do… everything was like very unknown. I was tired and I didn't want to start a four-year thing without being sure."

By this decision she entered into a negotiation between her fears, fatigue, higher academic and labour market aspirations, possibilities of the school system and a series of contradictory external expectations, all these aspects deeply affected by an ethnically and social class-biased thinking. Saray tried to negotiate the speed of her distinctive mobility path, resisting external pressure. She opted to slow down and to advance with short steps.

High school and university for her meant hard work and knowledge accumulation and she left very little room for networking, entertainment or emotional support.

> "I liked people with whom I could talk about homework, right? I didn't like the typical girls who talked in the schoolyard. They bored me."

> "I'm a bit obsessive about homework... With these guys [university mates of im-
> migrant origin] I feel very comfortable because they also go there to study."

For Saray, school, teachers and schoolmates transmitted the meritocratic frame
of studies linked to social mobility. In opposition, networking and socio-effective
bonds did not belong to her to the meanings assigned to advanced studies.

> "Many people think: look, party, and just party-time and all this. But not for me.
> For me university was money and stress."

In order to follow the stressful rhythm that university required, she enrolled in
an expensive private support centre where she received individualised attention
to pass her university exams. Not only did Saray navigate among contradictory
expectations, but she also decided to reframe the terms with her teachers, peers,
family and local community. It is her social environment that created experiences
that pushed her to this direction. Saray narrates several examples. When a teacher
made an anti-Roma comment in class, she saw to it, in the finish, that the teacher
apologised. Similarly, by choosing finance and economy studies, she challenged
Roma NGOs and local community members' push towards studies in the domain of
social or health assistance, through which she renegotiates Roma women's symbolic
roles and opportunities in post-compulsory studies.

[Ethnic Activism Scale]
Sara re-elaborated her Roma ethnic belonging by working for a Roma NGO for a
year. At the NGO, Roma colleagues pushed her towards the capitalisation of her
academic success and Roma belonging at a grassroots level. Nevertheless, she aspired
to access the labour market in her own right, via her accumulated merits. She is
proud of having obtained a job in the public administration in her field of expertise
(tax management) through fair competition without any ethnic favouritism and,
reaffirmed in her belief in meritocracy, she continued her ethnic activism through
her personal blog, and occasional public speeches in which she vindicates Roma
participation in decision-making processes at all levels.

Finally, it is crucial to note that Saray got married to a non-Roma ex-school friend
from La Salud, who partnered her throughout the last decade employed as a maintenance
technician – well beneath her educational and labour market status. They went to live
to an adjacent town where they had a baby. She continues to feel more comfortable in
La Salud, but at the same time, she feels frustrated with the unchallenged conservative
female role of main caregiver that hinders her high career potential.

2. Jutka (Hungary)

Jutka was born in the Roma settlement situated in a small village in Southwest Hungary, some 250 km from Budapest. Her successful mobility trajectory eventually took her to live in Barcelona where she worked for a multi-national company. State-socialist policies offered her grandfather a mainstream job, which made it possible for them to settle down on the edge of a village. Jutka's father completed a vocational course in locksmithing, her mother in social work and administration. Her father's short career as a football player helped them leave the settlement and move closer to the village centre, and later to move to the county capital city. Eventually, both parents managed to get a temporary job in Germany, an old dream of theirs. Jutka's growing independence and career – linked to the vivid opportunities related to the Roma issue in Hungary at that time (Havas 2006) – began in boarding school at the age of 12; continued at the university in Budapest; then to a well-paying job; became focused through a Roma-internship at the European parliament; a Master's programme at a prestigious private university; another Roma-related job at a Hungarian Ministry; back to Brussels; and to the UK. Finally, somewhat burnt out, she settled down in Barcelona far from the Roma issues, working for a private enterprise.

[Family]
The unrealised schooling plans of Jutka's parents were transformed into high aspirations and a strong family support towards her studies, even at a high emotional price.

> "Both of my parents had very strong expectations... Mom's, Dad's biggest dream was that we all three [children] graduate from university."

Jutka actually was not interested in continuing education. Her mother played a key role in mobilising all possible resources – a scholarship, family support, public announcements, and so on. – that all helped Jutka get further on and geographically farther away from home. But Jutka's inner motivation towards the university eventually came from outside.
Jutka's parents are proud and self-conscious Roma, but they did not devote much attention to Roma identity questions in their children's education. Their assimilated lifestyle prioritised social progress to ethnic attachment. Jutka did not mention any traditional gendered expectations from her parents.

[School]
Jutka went to an integrated local elementary school. Till the age of 10 she did not notice any signs of discrimination.

> "When my mother saw my [bad] grades, she went to my school and scold off all the teachers. [...] Then I began to feel that something here was not the same for me as it was with the others."

In 6th grade she moved to a boarding school, a recently launched Roma magnet school in a distant city. Her social environment radically changed, and she lost contact with villagers. Large city, autonomy, strong ethnic identity support and, especially, the attention of caring tutors created an ideal condition for her growth and positive Roma identity formation. At the age of 17, she found herself in a preparatory entry course to a Budapest university, where she eventually began a BA in Social Policy.

> "I saw a Roma guy who was not only a college student, but he was at ELTE[11]... it meant something to me[...] The more he talked about sociology, social policy in that course, the more I started to become interested in it and I say 'it could be absolutely great.'"

Thanks to her mother's intervention, a wealthy person – linked to a political party – offered to finance her entire BA studies with all the expenses covered. After her graduation, this Maecenas also helped her obtain a well-paying job in a bank. The hidden agenda of Maecenas was to engage Jutka in party political activity, but Jutka skilfully resisted it without losing her support. While working, she kept investing time and energy in 'human capital' enhancement through further Master programmes.

[Mainstream peers]
Living in a capital city and studying at a university with an intellectually stimulating environment pushed her towards the development of her own agency in her social mobility.

> "University is freedom and party [...] I made very good friendships, and it was then that the world expanded for me [...] For the first time in my life I drank beer [...] I was on an exploratory tour for two years."

Educational progress became meaningful beyond academic investment. Jutka assigned to it a profoundly social meaning: enjoying a colourful world of friendships from diverse social origins. Despite the unresolved crises of belonging, she increasingly recognised her own capacity to navigate among resources. Though her mother's pushy support never ceased to influence her:

11　An old and prestigious, top university in Budapest

"And by then my mother had started, that 'Daughter, I read an article here that there are Roma programmes at the X University[12]. [...] I go. You just have to learn English, my daughter. It will work. Intermediate level. It's not a big deal'."

Against her mother's pressure, Jutka was going to reduce speed, and say 'no' to further stimulation.

"Then I was like, oh my God, again with this stuff, another university, I had enough with those five years..."

She chose to work in a bank thanks to her contacts with Maecenas, but as she felt unprepared for the job she enrolled in a specialising course. Soon, she was selected for an internship in the European Parliament, closely related to the European Roma Strategy, so she left the bank. After this and thanks to the European experience, eventually, she signed a contract with the Hungarian Ministerial division responsible for the Roma inclusion strategy. After these 'zigzags' she got accepted and began the Roma access programme her mother had suggested, at X University.

"Well, let's give it a try... and this is what I call awakening [...] as if I had been asleep until then. [...] The way of thinking, this critical look at the other side of everything that they taught us there..."

The Roma access programme and the subsequent MA in social policy, with high academic standards, strong ethnic identity and emotional support, and a vibrant international human environment meant a turning point for her and her future career in different supranational agencies and European universities. We can observe, how the unprecedented opportunity boom pushes her forward at an incredible speed in a relatively narrow tube: the Roma issue. Also bearing in mind her academic efforts, the ethnic opportunity structure helped her in the labour market, irrespective of strong existing gender and ethnic gaps (Fodor–Glass 2018). As for her private life, however, Jutka does not consolidate a lasting supportive emotional partnership. Instead, she widens her cross-border network of friendships.

[Roma community]
Jutka's successful trajectory hid her identity struggle based on the dilemma between external expectations and her personal experiences of being a Boyash Roma. In her family it was not at all a central issue.

"We did not have much contact with Gypsy neighbours, only [with] the family. [...] We kept close contact with our close cousins, but not beyond that."

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12   A prestigious international private university in Budapest

The main concern for the family was rather socio-economic mobility and making the most of upcoming opportunities.

> "At a very young age, we became quite independent of the family."

So, it was not until boarding school (a Roma-support magnet school) that she faced her Boyash Roma[13] origin as opposed not only to non-Roma but also to other Roma identities.

> "I knew I was a Gypsy, but there was no value attached to it. [...] There were ninety-nine per cent Gypsy students there. I started to realise it [ethnic identity] there... "

At the university she was accused by peers of benefiting from positive discrimination. Furthermore, in different situations, non-Boyash Roma confronted her with the supposedly inferior status of Boyash with respect to other Roma subgroups.

> "I applied to Gypsy organisations, and they were constantly asking me, 'but what kind of Gypsy are you?' I tell them, Boyash. 'Ah...'. You know, these unspoken..., what might have had no importance at the time. But I did see what I wanted to see into it. "

The talent nurturing Roma majority magnet school, as well as the MA course in public policy made her available resources to put the puzzles of ethnic belonging together. Finally, she managed to consolidate a coherent narrative on what being a Roma meant to her and how she managed to make it up.

> "Then this Gypsy identity went very hard on me. It was very contrary to the Hungarian identity, and I didn't understand how on earth the two could be harmonised. The X [university' Roma access programme] and my life abroad helped a lot in it."

Being a Roma also filled her career goals with a particular meaning: the desire to give something back to the community. In her narrative it seemed to help ease mobility-related pains and dilemmas. Although she does not make it clear what the community is for her.

> "...it was already in my mind that if I finish this, I would give something back to the community."

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13   One of the Roma subgroups in Hungary, the Boyash keep their distinctive ethnic identity, and language (ancient Romanian) as opposed to Vlah and Romungro subgroups (Bódi 1997, Szuhay 2002)

She does not detail why and how she aimed to 'give back'. She proceeded quickly in jobs related to the Roma inclusion programmes, both in Hungary and in Brussels, thanks to her strict work ethics, high aspirations, thorough training and her personal commitment to the Roma issue. She did not experience any 'ethnic ceiling', she was able to make the most of her ethnicity as an asset in a particular labour market.

[Navigation, negotiation and resistance]

Jutka had decisive agency in adjusting the pace and resisting options that may have caused an inacceptable burden on her well being: even during the first BA years in the capital city, personal well-being prevailed over academic obligations. She learnt from her mother an extraordinary ability to navigate among resources. However, she has gradually developed her own capacity to negotiate meanings and means by gaining awareness of how social mobility operates. Her mother's outstanding capacity to set the next goal and achieve resources to it, is a valuable capital that Jutka has taken from home and progressively developed for herself during her journey to university and further. Repeated geographical mobility and an ever present need to move on to new challenges is a sign of her capacity to navigate among sources of resilience in any setting and a footprint of her parents push towards new and more challenging situations in the hope of mobility.

> "I'm always going to keep on moving, I can't stop, this is the problem... my long- ing for knowledge... "

Another more abstract example for her navigation capacity can be tracked in her struggle with her ethnic identity. Earlier we could observe the steps of her gendered ethnic and national identity formation in different social contexts towards other Roma people and the non-Roma, up to the point that she considered it resolved, finally.

> "By then... I had learnt to handle it, so I didn't care about what they said [...] Now, I don't have that problem anymore."

While she assumed different tasks of 'giving back', she refused to do it in the Hungarian political scene in everyday politics. While she managed to develop a complex ethnic/national and gender identity for herself in a racist and anti-Gypsy context, she avoided everyday confrontation (with fellow-students or co-workers):

> "But overall, we did not confront [with fellow students] ... we knew that profes- sionals, by the way, were absolutely racist."

Similarly, once her mission related to Roma projects in Europe finished, she decided to move on to jobs away from the ethnic encapsulation. In all the above issues, Jutka developed a lineal narrative from more complex, problematic situations toward their successful solution through an active negotiation of their meaning. She emphasises,

beyond her active agency and merits, her parents role in her upward mobility, and also the role of the accessible protective agents or organisations (such as her private Maecenas; the Roma-support magnet school; and the Roma Access Program). But she also reveals that while mastering a successful mobility path, she struggles with a lack of a settled lifestyle with respect to jobs, romantic relationships and forming a family.

Her social mobility trajectory follows a highly multi-faceted pattern, where national, ethnic, gender and class identities are at stake, which eventually gave way to a more pluralistic, cosmopolitan mobility project, where navigation, negotiation and resistance turned into key skills.

Concluding discussion

Both young Roma women of this article, coming from socially disadvantaged family backgrounds show resilient patterns of social mobility, i.e. a positive personal development despite adversities; achieving upward social mobility with relatively low 'emotional costs'. They took the mobility path to which most Roma academically high achievers belong to in our datasets, a 'resilient minority mobility trajectory' (Durst–Bereményi 2021). It means that they followed a distinctive incorporation into the majority middle class, keeping their ethnic identity and desiring to give something back to their respective Roma communities, in whatever they define it.

Both Roma women enjoyed strong family support and built intra- and interethnic alliances throughout their high-achieving academic paths, as opposed to those who did not enjoy such explicit support, or those who chose non-academic paths to achieve social (economic) mobility. Their parents role as mediators and stress-absorbers with respect to their community's ethnic culture driven gendered expectations is crucial in Saray's case. Jutka's parents stand out in prioritising social mobility to local ethnic community links and corresponding gender roles.

From the informants' narratives we can learn how social and physical ecological factors (such as unequal gender relations; discriminative treatment; obedience to community's elderly; age-related social roles; crossing neighbourhood borders for example,) were given alternative meaning by these Roma women, sometimes in opposition to the norms and beliefs of their community of origin, through navigation, negotiation and reframing. Also, we were able to observe how they have intended to construct their coherent self-narratives on their own resilient mobility trajectories with contradictions and tensions among the 'ideologies' of the community of origin and those of the attained social group, or among different social fields.

The focus of our analysis was not to observe how particular factors in these social/institutional settings contribute to resilient trajectories, but to understand how our subjects meaning making and reframing of traditional meanings (for example about further studying; aspiring to a high-status job or 'being a proper Roma woman')

operates as part of a resilience process that reduces the tension and the emotional price of their large range of upward mobility.

In these Roma women's trajectories close family members tended to offer greater support for mobility, through the transmission of an 'ideology'[14] that fits mainstream society's normative expectations: for instance, a strong individualistic and meritocratic stance is present in both narratives. We argue that our protagonists are under a complex and dynamically changing set of ideological influences by at least family, ethnic community and mainstream society. These opposite ideological influences are complemented by the messages from their peers, different members of the mainstream society they regularly encounter, and also of their protective, supportive agents or mobility supporting organisations they belonged to at one period during their mobility journey. Multiple ideology mismatches in different ecological settings, or within the same, eventually crystallise in 'self-narratives of mobility', attempting to 'render a trajectory marked by contradiction coherent' (Naudet 2018: 12). Through that, meaning making of resources and opportunity structures of one's mobility constitute an important element of their resilience process.

Saray's *central motif* can be described through the symbol of '*revolución gitana*' [Roma revolution], a self-narrative that recognises the past social mobility and acculturation process of previous Roma generations at a very high cost, as the root of her present success. This narrative calls for both challenging structural forces (she focuses on 'Roma [job]ceiling', but also mentions ethnic discrimination) and changing mentality and habits of Roma young people within a clearly meritocratic framework, where effort and sacrifice can supposedly break through those ceilings. In her self-narrative Saray does not focus on her system-challenging collective actions. She emphases the need for reframing *folk theories of success, including her community of origin's* frames about the 'thinkable horizon of possibilities' (Small–Harding–Lamont 2010: 15) for Roma women, with respect to education, training, labour market and belonging to an ethnic community. Furthermore, Saray describes her resilient mobility trajectory as a negotiation for resources and meanings within the triangle of a) her supportive nuclear family and like-minded 'non-Roma cousins', b) her extended Roma family and local Roma community of origin, and c) her attained mainstream society's middle-class values.

First, her trajectory is presented as a triumph in navigating towards 'non-Roma' ideological, institutional, social and material resources and in actively *negotiating meanings* with teachers, peers and colleagues. Her older brother – as an academic pioneer in the local Roma community – helped her avoid painful lessons, such as with the more adequate and marketable choice of the BA course. Her experience

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14 Following Geertz, ideology is 'the attempt […] to render otherwise incomprehensible social situations meaningful, to so construe them as to make it possible to act purposefully within them, that accounts both for the ideologies' highly figurative nature and for the intensity with which, once accepted, they are held.' (Geertz 1973, 220).

of university as a place of knowledge accumulation, where no joyful activities were legitimate was undoubtedly a negotiated stance for Saray.

Secondly, the self-narrative is complemented with a moral victory celebrated over sceptical sectors of her local Roma community that initially challenged and even sanctioned her mobility ambitions (more importantly for being a young woman with high aspirations) and questioned her true Romaness. Eventually they acknowledged her achievements and began to 'use' her on broad platforms in order to highlight talent and effort within the Roma community. This victory, in the end, justifies the conflicts and dilemmas and reframes the painful feeling of in-betweenness (neither Roma, nor *Paya*; neither from La Salud, nor from integrated neighbourhoods) as a source of freedom on the path of alternative meaning making.

Thirdly, she recognizes her family's role as a buffer, defending her against her community of origin's accusation of 'betraying the Roma origin' by 'becoming an educated Paya [no Roma],' and also, skilfully mediating between ethnic community cultural wealth (Yosso 2005) and mainstream ideologies; facilitating the coherence between family dynamics and participation in wider societal and institutional settings. She also mentions her family members as 'social resources' (Michèle Lamont–Welburn–Fleming 2013) in coping with everyday misrecognition, stereotyping, stigmatisation, or discrimination, recurring both individual and collective responses: both ethnic pride and rights, and individualistic meritocratic competition.

Conflicts inevitably emerged with respect to all three arenas and among them, but in Saray's narrative, thanks to her increasing agency (keeping range, speed and direction of mobility under control) she managed to cope with them successfully. Her short-term work at a Roma NGO helped her, on the one hand, elaborate a coherent discourse on how an academically high-achieving Roma woman from La Salud can remain a 'proper Roma woman', on the other, legitimate her new status among the Roma through linking academic knowledge with acts of contribution to the community's well-being. Due to Saray's geographical immobility, her self-narrative is evolving with reference to local/regional Roma community experiences.

As opposed to Saray, Jutka's *central motif* in her mobility self-narrative is geographic mobility that downplays the local community's influence in the complex ideology negotiation. Behind her nuclear family's geographical mobility there was an explicit motivation of upward social mobility and acculturation. Her parents' ambitions also inspired Jutka's move to a distant Roma talent nurturing secondary boarding school in a large city at an early age, and later, to Hungary's capital city and other European metropolitan cities. It eventuated in the loss of direct contact with her local community of origin, and its substitution by school-based (non-Roma) peer communities and an intellectually reconstructed and more broadly framed Roma ethnic belonging. Peers and the professional communities that surrounded Jutka supported her family's belief system with respect to the link between educational attainment and social mobility. Facing recurrent dilemmas, in these constantly

shifting contexts, Jutka had the chance to renegotiate her ideology system in increasingly complex settings among ethnically diverse Roma[15] peers, elite Roma activists, Roma NGOs, intellectual academic tutors and peers, and her politically active Maecenas. Her main experience of misrecognition or discrimination stems from other than Boyash Roma colleagues and university peers. Her main tool to cope with these situations was accommodation over confrontation (Lamont–Welburn–Fleming 2013).

Macro-level opportunity structures and resources played a central role in her socially and geographically mobile trajectory: both through earlier generation's making the most of the state-socialist system's inclusive school and labour market policies, and in her own generation's exceptionally vibrant pro-Roma and NGO activity and policy implementations in the '90s – early 2000. Jutka mastered her capacity to occasionally slow down and take her time in order to assume and capitalise on recent growth and repeatedly remake her life amidst changing contexts. Due to high geographical mobility, she self-narrated her mobility in an intellectually and socially broader framework in which her background of local ethnic community has been losing its role as a reference point, but being substituted by an international Roma community on the basis of their shared history of oppression.

The main differences of the self-narratives between the two Roma women can be observed in the meaning they assign to local Roma community and Roma/non-Roma peers. The fact that Jutka crossed a much broader range and variety of social arenas and settings throughout her education and professional trajectory made her more sensible to the interpretative frameworks of Roma and non-Roma peers, and less exposed to the cultural or ideological pressures of her local Roma community. Spending her adolescence in different schools and dormitories far from home, she was compelled to revise, adjust or renegotiate meanings assigned to elements of social mobility, more frequently. In this sense, while in-betweenness represents a source of freedom anyway (Naudet 2018: 23), Saray enjoyed this freedom of meaning making and social participation under the vigilance of the local Roma community, Jutka engaged in this process under less direct control, implying more adjustments to nationally and internationally diverse settings.

Our paper can be read as an argument supporting the idea, illustrated by the examples of our two Roma woman protagonists, that resilience is a *process* that one's social and physical ecology facilitates. We explored resilient mobility trajectory as 'the ecologically complex (multi-dimensional) processes that people engage in, that makes positive personal growth possible (engaging in higher education, resisting prejudice, creating networks of support, solving identity and the wider dilemmas caused by the huge range of upward mobility), all of which are dependent upon

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15   She recognises diversity among Roma sub-groups, such as Vlach, Boyash and Romungro .

the capacity of social and physical ecologies to provide opportunities for positive adaptation in adverse conditions.

Given the example of the two Roma women, we argued that not only personal strength, and good navigation and negotiation skills but available and accessible resources are the essential factors necessary to accomplish a resilient mobility trajectory. However, in recent day Hungary and Spain where mobility seems to have stalled, and the recourses necessary for educational mobility are restricted for those coming from socially disadvantaged families; personal strength, navigation skills and resilience to adversities are not making up for the loss of structural opportunities of a resilient upward mobility for many unprivileged Roma.

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Educational mobility of Hungarian first- and multi-generational young intellectuals in four countries

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ABSTRACT: The study examines the characteristics of intergenerational educational mobility among minority Hungarian youth living in Slovakia (Felvidék), Ukraine (Transcarpathia), Romania (Transylvania), Serbia (Vojvodina). The topic is important because in Hungary there is a paucity of studies that systematically analyse the challenges and coping strategies of first-generation students in general, or which go beyond minority aspects within social structures. The paper seeks to fill this gap by exploring first-generation intellectuals' social structure and specific attitudes, based on real life Hungarian-minority experience. Based on a literature review, the authors set up four hypotheses: hypotheses related to social and cultural reproduction, a hypothesis concerning the political consequences of mobility, and assumptions related to minority identity. After testing the hypotheses and comparing the first-generation and multigenerational students' characteristics, the authors conclude that in the minority context there took place a social and status culture reproduction, and mobility increases the likelihood of conservative political attitudes. The immobile stratum of minority multigenerational intellectuals tends to be much more liberal and transnational, using Hungarian citizenship as a new pragmatic opportunity.

Keywords: first-generation intellectuals, minority youth, intergenerational mobility, educational mobility

INTRODUCTION

The topic of minority Hungarian first-generation intellectuals created by school mobility is rather under-researched, but we venture to suggest that it is also rare to find targeted analyses in Hungary (Ferenci 2003 is a singular exception). In recent years, several writings analysing or presenting minority, Roma life-paths (e.g. Forray 2003, 2004 Székelyi–Örkény–Csepeli 2005, Tóth 2008, Máté 2015, Durst–Fejős–Nyírő 2016, Lukács 2018, Szále 2010) have been published. However,

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studies that systematically analyse the challenges and coping strategies of first-generation students in general, or studies that go beyond minority aspects within social structures, are less common. All this is striking because mobility research in Hungary, as well as the results of the analysis of intergenerational mobility, has been recorded internationally for decades. Our study seeks to fill this gap by exploring the social structure and specific attitudes of first-generation intellectuals, based on real life Hungarian-minority experience.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical guidelines underlying our analysis are drawn from two major sources: on the one hand, we interpret educational mobility as a specific form of intergenerational mobility; on the other hand, we view first-generation intellectuals as a newly-emerging social stratum, as comprehensively covered by the Anglo-Saxon sociology of higher education. At the same time, this second approach can be related in many respects to new research pertaining to students who have travelled a successful educational path despite being disadvantaged, and who have been called atypical or resilient (Ceglédi 2012, Pusztai–Bocsi–Ceglédi 2016). As we examine the challenges of first-generation intellectuals through the example of young people in minority social situations, we consider it necessary to supplement the socio-political consequences of mobility with values and attitudes derived from minority socialisation and cultural-political opportunities.

Educational mobility as intergenerational mobility and its consequences

Educational mobility means an increase in the level of schooling between generations, and it is also implicitly permeated by the normative approach that in open, modern societies, parents are less and less determined by their (school) education (Róbert 2018). Intergenerational mobility can be examined in the occupational or educational dimension, but also as a result of the effect of several dimensions (education, income, wealth, social capital), as class mobility. This is also the case with the so-called EGP class schema, which is widespread in social mobility research (Erikson–Goldthorpe–Portocarero 1983), and that distinguishes between absolute mobility rates (ratios between origin and target class, i.e. origin-status transitions) and relative rates (the latter are free of structural effects).

The researches usually make country-level comparisons by various mobility indicators, so for example, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that while Hungary, the Czech Republic, Poland and Bulgaria have low rates of intergenerational mobility, in post-Soviet countries such as Lithuania, Estonia, Belarus, Ukraine and Azerbaijan this is significantly lower (Róbert 2018, Bukodi–Paskov–Nolan 2017, Veraschagina 2012, Gugushvili 2015). Time series comparisons rise the central question of persistency of the effect of social origins upon school attainment. Shavit

and Blossfeld (1993) have argued that almost all countries involved in their analysis show a stability of socio-economic inequalities of educational opportunities. In contrast, other new results (e.g. Breen et al. 2009) demonstrate that there is a decline in educational inequality in several countries.

Indicating the consequences of social mobility and stratification is a topic that emerged in the early years of mobility research. According to Treiman, no matter how and where we measure status, it can be shown that those with higher social status have a more intense interest in politics and public life than those with lower social status; are more tolerant, have better health, and are more integrated into society (Treiman 1970). From the point of view of our study, it is also important to state (pathology hypothesis) that the mobility itself and the status inconsistencies have a disturbing effect. This can be seen in various unusual, anomic behaviours, such as high racial prejudice, suicide, mental disorders, or even political radicalism. Treiman also suggests that the relative importance of parental status decreases with the level of industrialisation of societies, so parental influence is less pronounced in more developed countries. Similarly, pathological effects are more prevalent in less industrialised countries or traditional rural communities, as social mechanisms to support mobility have not been established there (Treiman 1970).

Mobility can also create political and ideological pressure, as a result of which the lower strata must accept the existing order and hierarchy as well, which necessitates a measure of self-restraint and self-hatred. If not adopted, demands for reform could arise, which could also mean political radicalisation. According to Lipset-Zetterberg, it can generally be said that the tension caused by the desire for mobility makes the individual susceptible to accepting extremist political views, but at the same time explains that mobility can lead to an increase in both left- and right-wing opinions. For example, the nouveau riche can sometimes be more conservative because they follow social patterns that are perceived as belonging to a higher status. Thus, political behaviour can also be seen as a response to status inconsistency (Lipset–Zetterberg 1970).

Moreover, the change of status induces tension as the individual moves away from his primary socialisation medium, but intra- and intergenerational mobility works differently: the latter is more institutionalised by the 'purifying rites' of education, the former is not so dramatically institutionalised and depends on a profession-specific promotion system. It also follows that intergenerational mobility changes an individual's political attitudes to a greater extent than career progression. (Lopreato–Hazelrigg 1970). At the political level, the fault line is actually between the mobile and the immobile layer: while the 'mobile' want to maintain the existing order in different ways, the 'immobile' are less conservative (Abramson–Books 1971).

Analyses of the impact of intergenerational mobility on individuals' attitudes and socio-political behaviour, mostly in the context of Western democracies (e.g., Turner 1992, Graaf et al. 1995), are often contradictory. Based on analyses of

research drawing on different databases and methodologies, some authors found a negative correlation between upward intergenerational mobility and redistributive attitudes (see, e.g., Schmidt 2011, Shariff, 2015), while others found no correlation, or identified a different trajectory (see, e.g. Clark–D'Angelo 2010, Guillaud 2013). Attitudes towards income inequality, redistribution, and public welfare programs are also very different in the post-socialist region (Habibov 2012, Gugushvili 2016, Cojocaru 2014). Based on data from two international comparative studies[3], Gugushvili argues that higher intergenerational mobility in post-Soviet countries is one of the reasons for less egalitarian attitudes, while in countries where intergenerational mobility is less prevalent, such as in Central and Eastern Europe, there is higher support for egalitarian political attitudes (Gugushvili 2016).

The political attitudes and mobility experiences of young people were examined in the Active Youth in Hungary research. Based on the results[4], we can see that the proportion of first-generation students in the student population is higher than that of the total adult population, based on data from international comparative studies (Bauer–Szabó 2009, Szabó 2012). Consistent with the thesis of Lipset and Zetterberg (1970), first-generation intellectual students were found to have more radical political views than average (Oross–Szabó 2014: 88), and were over-represented among Jobbik sympathisers (Róna–Reich 2014: 163, Szabó 2019: 39). They are less characterised by organisational attachment, and due to the plasticity of attachments they are more lonely, which may also increase the propensity towards authoritarianism (Róna–Reich 2014: 151-170). The susceptibility of first-generation intellectuals to political radicalisation is also reflected in their greater acceptance of the further tightening of the current immigration policy, while in the case of those with parents with a high level of education, its support is significantly lower (Szabó 2019: 58).

First-generation intellectuals as a special group of educational mobility

The first-generation layer is formed of skills-based intergenerational mobility, and is made up of people with higher educational qualifications whose parents have not obtained higher-education degrees. By implication, young people were university students before graduating and as such are referred to as first-generation students (Pascarella et al. 1996). First-generation intellectuals are presumably subject to the socio-political consequences of intergenerational mobility, as briefly demonstrated above, but with targeted qualitative and quantitative research their different characteristics can be captured throughout the social structure, as well as within student (youth) culture.

Poor and first-generation intellectuals arrive at the notion of entering higher education later than middle-class children. As the parents of the latter already have

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3 Based on research data from European Values Studies and Life in Transition Survey.
4 Data collection took place in four waves: in 2011, 2013, 2015 and 2019, empirical social science research examining Hungarian full-time students and college students.

higher-education experience and specific knowledge of the conditions of admission, they plan their children's school life earlier, support secondary school performance in many ways, enrol their children in extracurricular activities and use out-of-school education services. These connections have been repeatedly confirmed by research specifically inspired by the sociology of higher education, and it has also been stated that for children from wealthier families, 'higher education begins before kindergarten' (Gumport 2007: 60, etc.). At the strategic level of the reproduction of the social structure, however, we already find this idea at Bourdieu when he explains that within the educational reproduction strategy of the upper classes, the transfer of hidden, intangible cultural capital takes place within the family. Thus 'learning ability' is in fact nothing more than a product of parental relationship to time (in other words: planning for the future), and the transfer of cultural capital. In Bourdieu's formulation, the lower classes are always late in finding positive solutions and are risk averse, while the upper classes have intimate information about rare positions and can apply profit-maximizing strategies in addition to a safety net (Bourdieu 1978). Expanding on this, Paul DiMaggio distinguishes between cultural reproduction and cultural mobility: in the case of the former, the elements of cultural capital are organised into a kind of status culture, which is passed down and reproduced across generations. In the cultural mobility model, cultural capital acts occur through social institutions (e.g. school) regardless of family backgrounds, and thus the relative gains of those from the lower classes are higher (DiMaggio 1982).

One of the earliest and most influential student typologies is named after B. Clark and M. Trow, who speak of four subcultures based on the dimensions of commitment to college and intellectual openness: vocational, academic, collegiate and nonconformist. Students living in a career-orientated culture are characterised by a low commitment to the institution and an intellectual closedness, for example, they participate to a lesser extent in the institutionalised life of the university, often take up work in addition to their studies, and, for this reason, their performance is below average. At the same time, they also indicate that these students come from the lower classes and their main goal is to acquire a profession, so they see higher education institutions as a consumer would, that is, as places where one can acquire or 'buy' a profession. (Clark–Trow 1966) Thus, in the context of our present study, we can say that this group is mostly composed of first-generation students.

Analyses examining the impact of higher education institutions on student attitudes and values highlight that being a student makes people more open and tolerant, and this is often the case during university years. As students move from lower to senior years, they become less and less authoritarian, dogmatic, prejudiced and ethnocentric, and at the same time more receptive to political openness and accepting of the importance of individual rights (Pascarella et al. 1996). Moreover, it has been shown that these shifts are not only due to adulthood and responsible thinking due to increasing age, but can actually be seen as the effects of the

institution (Pascarella– Terenzini 1991). It is also due to the impact of institutional and university life that the changing interpersonal relationships of students with peers and the university administration have an impact on the world of values (Pascarella et al. 1996). Other research has also shown that the degree of acceptance of social diversity by students can be related to an institution's commitment in this direction, as well as to the subjects they study and their majors (Astin 1993).

In light of the previous research, the main question for our topic is whether first- and multi-generational intellectuals are affected differently by all these factors during their university years. A number of studies have shown that first-generation students tend to produce lower academic performance, have higher drop-out rates, have greater financial problems, are less resilient, and have lower levels of self-confidence than multigenerationals. These factors are often mutually reinforcing and can even lead to stressful situations due to intense financial, family, or existential issues. It has also been shown that a lower proportion of first-generation students live on campus (in dormitories), and are thereby being left out of the fabric of academic social relationships, along with its benefits. (Markle–Stelzriede 2020, Chickering 1974, Terenzini et al. 1996). This is because a kind of 'propinquity principle' prevails in the dormitories; students live in 'forced communities', encountering ideas and opinions that differ from their own becomes an everyday experience, and this can even have a positive effect on professional-academic performance (Newcomb 1962, Chickering 1974). More research nuances this picture, but the main focus is on the strategic use of the campus, i.e., how students use the campus and how much time they spend on it (Astin 1999, Simpson–Burnett 2019).

It can also be deduced from American examples that first-generation students belonging to an ethnic-minority group are even more exposed to risks that hinder learning[5] (Markle–Stelzriede, 2020), and these challenges persist even after higher education. According to Phinney and Haas, minority first-generation students are forced to take up work for financial reasons to compensate for their disadvantage, so their time is split between employment and university attendance, and they do not always manage to find a balance between the two spheres. Another, so to speak, explicit stressor is discrimination and the perception of majority-minority cultural differences. In addition to their not being able to receive financial and emotional support from their parents, first-generation students from minorities, especially those with a migrant background, often face additional responsibilities from family members and greater involvement in domestic work. A key question is also whether first-generation students or graduates receive support in the recognition and management of stress (Phinney–Haas, 2003.)

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5   This issue is a well-known phenomenon in the case of the Roma in Europe, including Hungary. Of course, we are aware that the concept of "minority" has many meanings. In American literature of educational research J. Ogbu (1990) make a difference between immigrant and involuntary minorities. Each minority group has different cultural framework and – among other – different educational strategies.

In Hungary, a survey research comparing first-generation and multigenerational students was conducted at the Széchenyi István College in Győr (Ferenczi 2003). Differences between students were compared across several dimensions, and the results correspond with other international and domestic experiences at several points. It turned out, for example, that in Győr the majority of the visiting students are first-generation students, so a significant part of their time is spent traveling. Relational capital is more important for multigenerationals, and this is accompanied by a kind of higher level of individualisation, as success depends on individual performance. The relationship with the parents is also interesting: for multigenerationals, the family and parental career pattern is likely to be followed to a much greater extent; they also have a higher degree of trust in their parents, while also being more critical of them. Although the author does not reflect on it, there is also a slight contradiction in the assessment of national values: on the one hand, first-generation students sympathise more with national values and graduate parents sympathise with liberal values, but the national tradition and the church are more important for multigenerationals. Here, the national-religious tradition is presumably part of cultural capital, that is family socialisation, and is therefore more important for multigenerationals; also the national idea is interpreted at the political level and as an indicator of young people's radicalisation, as subsequent research has shown (Oross–Szabó 2014).

Utilising a different approach and concept methodology, Hungarian research focusing on higher education resilience also targets first-generation intellectuals. Resilience refers to successful educational life paths despite the disadvantages of family backgrounds, and the students involved can be said to be atypical. Ceglédi (2012) distinguishes between the external (environmental) and internal (psychological) dimensions of resilience at the level of risk factors that support resilience and increase its chances. When examining supportive or disadvantageous factors, the importance of the institutional environment, social capital (friends, model teachers), academic and cultural integration also stands out. (Pusztai 2011, 2015, 2019). Masten, Best and Garmenzy (1990) indicate that local society has three characteristics that support the development of resilient children: the presence of social organisations as role models and resources for students; the communicating of social norms that help members of local societies understand the expected behaviours and attitudes; and the opportunity for children to participate in community life as valued, recognised members. Translated into the world of higher education, this could lead to first-generation role models, professional standards, and integration into the academic sphere. The connection between educational mobility and integration is also obvious on the basis of international experience; recent research in Hungary has also borne this out (Győri–Balogh 2020).

The debates around student typology, higher education impact assessments, and comparisons between the first and multi-generational intellectuals are certainly

instructive for our later analysis. Firstly, they indicate the heterogeneity of students and student cultures, and secondly, they emphasise that first-generation students are likely to behave differently in student relations than multigenerational ones would do. Thirdly, in line with the experience of mobility research, we can also note that first-generation intellectuals relate to the world of higher education not only in the narrow sense, but also as regards personal or professional values, work, labour-market challenges and politics along other value dimensions than their peers. This can be traced back to socialisation and integration in the family or non-higher education spheres, and partly to institutional endowments.

Mobility research and national identity research on Hungarian minority youth

Comprehensive youth sociological surveys, such as the Mozaik 2001 survey, the GeneZYs 2015 survey (Papp 2017) and the 2016 Hungarian Youth in the Carpathian Basin data collection (Székely 2018) were conducted in all four regions. The multi-regional sociological survey of the entire population was first carried out in 1997 during the Carpathian Project survey (Csepeli–Örkény–Székelyi 2002), followed by the Carpathian Panel 2007 survey (Papp–Veres 2007). At the same time, a number of sociological and demographic surveys were carried out in each region, but studies based on these surveys rarely address the issues of mobility or first-generation concerns (in the case of Transcarpathia see Papp 2017a.).

A study examining intergenerational mobility was also based on the data of the 2016 Hungarian Youth Research survey (Bokányi et al. 2018). Depending on the parents' education and job status, the intergenerational mobility of young people was examined, focussing on young people who had already completed their studies, and in the case of parental education, only in relation to the father's education (Bokányi et al. 2018: 143). Upward mobility in terms of education in Hungary is typical for almost half of the young people who have already completed their studies (47%). Amongst minority Hungarian young people living in neighbouring countries it is around 55-60 percent (Bokányi et al. 2018: 144–149). When occupational mobility was compared, they found that among youth in Hungary, 28 percent showed upward mobility; in the case of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina, Transcarpathia and Slovakia this figure was 27 percent, while in Romania it was 22 percent (Bokányi et al. 2018: 153–154).

Hungarian social science studies related to national identity are often used as a starting point for a ‚political/civic' versus ‚cultural nation' approach, highlighting differences in the internal logic of categories (Csepeli–Örkény–Székelyi 2002), followed by cross-border research, and this practice was followed with further modifications,[6] including the GeneZYs 2015 survey on which this study is based. While previous studies have indicated the primacy of characteristics of cultural national identity and the less dominant nature of national state criteria (Csepeli–

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6   For example, the 2001 MOZAIK and the 2007 and 2010 Carpathian Panel surveys.

Örkény–Székelyi 2002, Veres 2005, Papp–Veres 2007, Veres 2012), the GeneZYs 2015 survey identitfies a separate ethnically based concept of nation. Of particular interest is the existence of citizenship in the nation state logics, which was not typical in previous research (Zsigmond 2020). Analyses about the Hungarian citizenship of minority Hungarians living abroad, made available in 2011 by facilitated naturalisation, usually highlights the symbolic and pragmatic aspects of the new citizenship (Papp 2017, Pogonyi 2018). At this point the question is to what measure the first-generation intellectuals use the pragmatic aspect of the new citizenship.

HYPOTHESES

Our analysis refers to the minority Hungarian youth living in the surrounding countries, and as such provides an opportunity not only to explore the characteristics of the first-generation students in general, but also to get an idea of the mobility-related correlations of the factors arising from the minority situation. We present our hypotheses analytically at four levels, but we are aware that they are interconnected, and the minority dimension is actually present at all levels, even if this is not explicitly indicated.

H1. Hypotheses of social status and cultural reproduction

First-generation people come from poorer social backgrounds, and we posit that this can be demonstrated both at the level of objective indicators (family, the economic situation of parents, disposable monthly income) and at the subjective level. We also assume that parents of multi-generational students (precisely because of their higher education) have a more favourable occupational structure. Since we also assume the early individualisation of the first-generation students, we think they get married sooner and have children earlier.

As a result of holding occupational statuses related to higher education, a larger proportion of the parents of multigenerational students live in cities and towns. Therefore, we assume that to a greater extent, first-generation people come from villages (this trend is also reinforced by higher education expansion). For similar reasons, parents of multigenerationals, regardless of their place of origin, were more exposed to ethnic diversity during their higher education, and subsequently because of their urban jobs. This may also have meant that they were more likely to have an ethnically mixed marriage. As a hypothesis, we can also say that the first-generation students come to a greater extent from an ethnically homogeneous (Hungarian-Hungarian) family.

Partly due to mixed marriage, and partly due to the fact that a foreign language is also assumed to be a resource in the intellectual family, we assume that multigenerational people studied non-Hungarian (i.e. majority or possibly other foreign) languages during their school lives.

First-generation people gained their new status through school mobility, which also means that they had to move away from their parents to some extent, both physically and socially. Based on this, we hypothesise that first-generation people live to a lesser extent still with their parents, and the role of parents in their various decisions is smaller than for multi-generational ones.

From the theories of intergenerational mobility we know that the poorer regions are more closed, so we assume that Transcarpathia will have the lowest proportion of first-generation students.

H2. Hypothesis of cultural reproduction

The cultural background of parents with a high level of education and the patterns they represent are passed on to young people through socialisation. Therefore, we assume that the first-generation students are less familiar with foreign languages than the multigenerational ones, and in their value system, material values are more pronounced than post material values. All this is assumed to be reflected in the level of leisure activities as well. Using the Clark-Trow categorisation, we also think that first-generation people are more profession-orientated, and this will also be manifest in their values.

H3. Hypotheses about the political consequences of mobility

For first-generation students, as part of an upwardly mobile stratum, it is precisely in the absence of parental economic and cultural support that they are forced to seek institutional help more often. Therefore, we think that first-generation students have more trust in the institutions (in democracy), but at the same time they are not as integrated in university life, nor organisational or community life. The latter can be demonstrated at the level of NGO activities. The intellectual background of multigenerational students results in a more intense civic and social life, and it is also likely that they are more interested in public life and politics, more open to challenges and at the same time more tolerant. In other words, we assume that the first-generation students are more ethnocentric; more prejudiced against other ethnicities, especially those representing the local majority, and at the same time more religious. According to the experience in Hungary, mobility is characterised by the radicalisation of young people and their shift to the right, so we can also assume that first-generation people consider themselves to be more right-wing (Szabó 2019, Róna–Reich 2014).

H4. Hypotheses of minority identity

In minority contexts the support of the previously mentioned social institutions and the compensating factor of local integration result in the first-generation students, in terms of their homeland concept,[7] being more identified with the

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7   Their answer to the question of what they considered their homeland to be.

country as opposed to the region. The concept of 'Hungary as home' is culturally imbued, and it is more common among multigenerational people. The acquisition of Hungarian citizenship is interpreted on the one hand as the fulfilment of this concept of 'Hungary as a homeland', and on the other hand it reveals new pragmatic possibilities, therefore we assume that multi-generations demand it to a greater extent. At the level of minority-identity policy, it is often a question of the extent to which a given national minority belongs to the local majority and the mother nation. Since we assume that first-generation students are more ethnocentric, more prejudiced than the multigenerationals, we expect that first-generation students will consider their own minority community to be more a part of the Hungarian nation, and the multigenerational students will indicate that their own community belongs to the majority nation to a greater extent. As a consequence of the former, at the level of national concepts, we assume that among the first-generation students, the state-national and ethnic dimension dominates, while for multigenerational students, the cultural-national aspect is dominant.

DATA

Our analysis is based on the data of the GeneZYs 2015 youth sociological research in the Carpathian Basin, conducted by the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Mathias Corvinus Collegium in 2015. The focus of the survey was on the nearly 400,000 Hungarian-speaking young people aged 15–29 living in Transylvania (Romania), the Felvidék[8] (Slovakia), Vojvodina (Serbia) and Transcarpathia (Ukraine).[9] The survey of 2,700 people is representative of age, gender, type of settlement and territorial distribution within regions. The sample size was 1000 in Transylvania, 700 in the Felvidék, 500 in Vojvodina and 500 in Transcarpathia (Papp 2017).

Although the research covered many sub-topics: family background, school life, migration, values, media use, political participation, prejudices, minority identity, citizenship claims, and so on, it is important to note that the research design did not include targeted studies of first- and multi-generation students. While this does not preclude a comparison of these two groups of young people in many respects, it certainly limits our ability to examine the world of higher education (one's university experience, the characteristics of university housing, etc.,) or a detailed examination of parental roles, as targeted questions are not included in the database. Nevertheless, we believe that the unified database for the four countries is an excellent opportunity to discuss the characteristics of the first-generation students in general and their minority identity political relations.

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8   Felvidék translates as Highlands or Uplands, and refers to that part of Slovakia formerly part of 'historical Hungary', with a significant Hungarian minority; this designation will be used from here onwards.

9   By implication, in our analysis, those under the age of 18 were excluded because they were not involved in higher education mobility.

ANALYSIS, EXAMINATION OF HYPOTHESES

In our analysis, the group of first-generation intellectuals included young people with tertiary education or still in tertiary education,[10] for whom neither parent had tertiary education, and for the group of multi-generational intellectuals, those whose father or mother (or both) had tertiary or postgraduate education.[11]

More than half (56%) of the minority Hungarian intellectuals are first-generation and 44 percent are multi-generational (Table 1), almost a quarter (24%) of the total sample[12] are young people with higher education,[13] and 13% of them are first-generation intellectuals in the case of intergenerational mobility examined on the basis of their parents' education.[14]

We find significant differences in the regional breakdown, the upward intergenerational mobility is being less characteristic of the Hungarian intellectuals in Transcarpathia (30 percent). The upward intergenerational mobility is charateristic of just over half of the Hungarian youth in Romania, and more than two-thirds of the intellectuals in the case of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina and particularly in Slovakia (Table 1). Differences in intergenerational mobility between the studied regions can be detected if we examine another indicator, the correlation between the educational attainment of parents and children within the whole sample (see Róbert 2018). If we do this in Transcarpathia it is 0.402, in Vojvodina 0.123, in the Felvidék 0.080, and in Transylvania 0.267.

*Table 1. Regional distributions of first- and multigenerational youth ** (significant differences, %)*

	Multigenerational	First-generation	Total	N
Ukraine/ Transcarpathian	70%	30%	100%	93
Serbia/Vojvodina	38%	62%	100%	153
Slovakia/Felvidék	30%	70%	100%	138
Romania/ Transylvania	46%	54%	100%	259
Total	44%	56%	100%	643

** sign. <0.01

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10   For both substantive and methodological reasons, we also included young people still in higher education (still studying) in the category of "intellectual youth". In terms of content, we did this because we think that because we are looking at attitudes, there is no significant difference between young people who are still studying and those who have recently completed their higher education, as these attitudes are largely due to family socialization and cultural capital. Of course, we are aware (occasionally also mentioned in the theoretical part), that it is possible that certain attitudes will change as one ages (and with years of study). Methodologically, it was justified to treat the two groups together, because in this way we could operate with a larger number of elements, making the comparison between first- and multi-generation students more reliable.

11   In the literature, school or occupational mobility is often only counted in relation to the father. In contrast, not only for PC, but also for substantive reasons, we first created a three-category variable referring to aggregate parental education, and then examined mobility against this.

12   N = 2700, total sample size of the GeneZYs 2015 survey.

13   N = 643, subsample of intellectual youth (first and multigenerational combined).

14   N = 361 is the number first-generation students within the total sample.

By gender, we see a higher rate of intergenerational mobility among women than among men. The settlement type also indicates significant differences, with intergenerational mobility being much higher among those from a rural environment. There are no statistically significant differences between the two groups of intellectuals depending on age and marital status, however there are significant differences in the subjective assessment of the family's financial situation. (Table 2).

Table 2. *Socio-demographic background (significant differences, %)*

		Multigenerational	First-generation	Total	N
Sex*	Male	49%	51%	100%	273
	Female	40%	60%	100%	369
	Total	44%	56%	100%	642
Settlement type**	Village	36%	64%	100%	292
	Town	51%	49%	100%	349
	Total	44%	56%	100%	641
Subjective material well-being *	No problems	52%	48%	100%	119
	Lives within (budgeted) means	44%	56%	100%	437
	Barely surviving	33%	67%	100%	84
	Total	44%	56%	100%	640

* sign. < 0.05

** sign. < 0.01

We test the hypotheses using logistic regression explanatory models in which the dependent variable represents young intellectual status[15] and examine the chances that each factor contributes to a young graduate being more first or rather multi-generational.

Theoretically, it would have been possible to include new variables related to each dimension in a gradually expanding model, but with an already limited sample the inclusion of new variables would lead to a growing lack of data, and the model would have yielded unreliable results. Therefore, we decided to use the social status reproduction model as a basis, to include the sets of variables belonging to the other hypotheses separately in the models, and to examine the nature and extent of the shifts compared to this basic model.

Examination of hypotheses related to status and cultural reproduction (H1 and H2)

The explanatory power of our status reproduction model is 30 percent. If we supplement it with variables indicating cultural reproduction, this increases to 42 percent. The status reproduction model confirmed our hypotheses at several points. Of the four studied regions, Transcarpathia is the least characterised by intergenerational mobility, in the case of young Transylvanian intellectuals the odds of this are more

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15   Bivalent variable, where 0 - multigenerational 1– first generation.

than three times higher, in the case of Vojvodina people almost five times, and for Hungarians in Slovakia almost eight times. All this also means that Hungarian society in Slovakia seems to be the most open, and in Transcarpathia the most closed, which confirms Lipset-Zetterberg's convergence thesis that mobility rates are higher in more industrialized (Western) societies (Lipset–Zetterberg 1959).

Among the socio-demographic variables, settlement type and financial situation have significant explanatory power. Supporting our hypothesis, first-generation intellectuals are more likely to come from a rural environment than multigenerationals. It is true that if we supplement our model with the variables of cultural reproduction, the effect of the type of settlement will no longer be significant, the variables of cultural capital will override this effect. The effect of subjective financial situation is significant in the models: perceived material deprivation also increases the chances of a first-generation life situation, and this effect is amplified in the model when supplemented with cultural reproduction.

Consistent with our hypothesis, parental occupation is also explanatory, in the case of first-generation intellectuals, the father is more likely to work as a subordinate employee in the private sector, and the mother's public servant or managerial status greatly increases the chances of becoming a multigenerational intellectual. These status reproduction effects are also quite persistent, remaining in the model supplemented with cultural reproduction (and, as we shall see, in the others). Our explanatory models also supported our hypothesis about the ethnic homogeneity of the family of origin, as intellectuals with an ethnically homogeneous family background are twice as likely to be first-generation.

The addition of cultural and leisure variables to the status reproduction model enhanced and refined the explanation. In addition to the structural effects already discussed, it can be shown that cultural reproduction takes place at the higher level of language skills and acquirement. English, the official state language, characterises the multigenerational intellectual habit more consistently, as do out-of-school private lessons, which can be interpreted as part of the conscious schooling strategy (Bourdieu 1978) of parents. Social, 'partying' leisure is also more of a feature of multigenerationals. This is not surprising, as partying is also an integral part of the 'collegiate' students within the Clark-Trow typology, and as such is more of a specific way of behaving for students from the upper class. The effect of post material values is no longer significant in the explanatory model. We also tested whether professional orientation and post material values (Clark–Trow 1960, Terenzini–Pascarella 1977) were significantly present in our student culture, but this could not be demonstrated either (although odds ratios indicate that a diverse life suggests an intellectual family background, while a vocational orientation points toward first generations). Overall, we can say that certain elements of status reproduction and cultural capital are present in a mutually reinforcing way for multigenerational students, which can also be called status culture reproduction (Dimaggio 1982).

Table 3. Explanatory models of status reproduction and cultural reproduction

	Model 1: Status reproduction		Model 2: status and cultural reproduction	
	sign.	Exp(B)	sign.	Exp(B)
Region	**		**	
Reference category: Transcarpathia				
Vojvodina	**	4,85	**	11,95
Felvidék	**	7,72	**	18,43
Transylvania	**	3,40	**	6,46
Settlement type (1 – urban; 2 – rural)	*	1,58		1,17
Sex (1 - male, 2 - female)		0,84		1,13
Age		1,02		1,02
Subjective financial situation1	**	1,65	**	2,12
Possession of family property2		0,94		0,94
Father's main occupation	**		*	
Reference category: Other				
Subordinate, employee (private sector)	**	1,88	*	1,76
Subordinate, employee (public sector)		0,96		0,65
Senior position in private sector		0,50		0,46
Senior position in public sector		0,16		0,29
Mother's main occupation	**		**	
Reference category: Other				
Subordinate, employee (private sector)		1,16		1,33
Subordinate, employee (public sector)	**	0,42	**	0,47
Senior position in private sector	*	0,08		0,10
Senior position in public sector		0,00		0,00
Ethnically mixed marriage of parents (1 -Mixed marriages; 2-Homogenious m.)	*	1,91	*	2,00
Leisure3: intellectual			**	0,86
Leisure: shopping mall				1,23
Leisure: partying				0,68
Leisure: digital consumer				1,16
Leisure: high culture				0,91
Leisure: news reader				1,03
Leisure: sports				0,89
Language skills4: state official language			*	0,77
Language skills: English			*	0,81
Language skills: Hungarian			**	0,41
Did you attend regular private lessons? (1 - yes, 2 - no)			*	0,64
Value5: professional career				1,26
Value: varied life				0,83
Value: world of beauty				1,05
Nagelkerke R-square	0,306		0,418	

* sign. < 0.05
** sign. < 0.01

Examination of hypotheses about the political consequences of mobility (H3)

Our basic model, supplemented with variables measuring the relationship and attitudes towards politics, achieved an explanatory power of 37 percent (see Table 4). The explanatory effects, already indicated in the status and cultural reproduction models were again found for socio-demographic variables (regional differences persisted, as did the effect of parental occupations and their subjective financial situations), with one exception: political attitudes override the effect of homogeneity of the family of origin. At the same time, political interest has no explanatory power

in the model. To understand this phenomenon, it must also be taken into account that the intellectual parental background favours interethnic openness and tolerance (and a stronger rejection of the majority nation increases the chances of a first-generation intellectual life situation). Based on these, we believe that political socialisation in the family interethnic field strengthens tolerance, but does not increase explicit interest in politics.

However, this openness also resonates at the level of political opinions: first-generation intellectuals are more likely to reject the legalisation of soft drug use, and tend to reject same-sex marriage. Furthermore, we also hypothesised that organizational attachment is less characteristic of first-generation intellectual youth. The explanatory model also confirms it: the lack of NGO affiliation doubles the chances of a first-generation existence. Based on this, we can state that liberalism and tolerance towards majority nationalities and NGO activity are more characteristic of multigenerational intellectual youth.

It is important to note that satisfaction with democracy, trust, the vision of individual and community futures, and religiosity does not have a significant effect. We also hypothesised that first-generation students were more right wing, however, there were no statistically significant differences on the left-right self-classification scale. In this case, however, we have to be more careful, partly because there was a notable absence of responses in answering this question (for both the whole sample – see Zsigmond (2017: 256) and for the target group of the present analysis almost half of the respondents did not answer), for this reason we did not include this variable in our model. On the other hand, from an epistemological point of view, it may also be a question of whether the political left and right poles denote similar concepts for young people living in the four countries.

Table 4. *Political participation, explanatory model of political attitudes*

	Sign.	Exp(B)
Region	**	
Reference category: Transcarpathia	**	
Vojvodina	**	6,51
Felvidék	**	11,51
Transylvania		3,81
Settlement type (1 – urban; 2 – rural)		1,31
Sex (1 - male, 2 - woman)		1,03
Age		1,03
Subjective financial situation6	*	1,68
Possession of family property7		0,94
Father's main occupation		
Reference category: Other		
Subordinate, employee (private sector)	*	2,03
Subordinate, employee (public sector, civil servant status)	*	0,88
Senior position in private sector		0,42
Senior position in public sector		0,24
Mother's main occupation		
Reference category: Other		
Subordinate, employee (private sector)	**	1,50
Subordinate, employee (public sector, civil servant status)	*	0,48
Senior position in private sector		0,13
Senior position in public sector		0,00
Ethnically mixed marriage of parents		1,51
(1 -Mixed marriages; 2-Homogenious m.)		
Satisfaction with democracy8		0,95
Interest in politics9		0,98
Civil organisation affiliation (1 - yes, 2 - no)	**	2,16
Tolerance with majority nations10	**	0,71
Legalising same-sex marriage11		0,89
Legalising the use of soft drugs12	**	0,83
Nagelkerke R-square	0,367	

* sign. < 0.05
** sign. < 0.01

Examination of hypotheses of minority identity (H4)

By extending the basic model with minority identity variables, the model achieved an explanatory power of 39 percent (Table 5), which is the second largest after the cultural reproduction model. This in itself indicates that understanding the educational mobility of minority young intellectuals is inseparable from the more general minority context. The effects at the level of socio-demographic data persisted in this model as well, and in this case, too, the effect of the existence of inter-ethnic mixed marriages is not as significant as in the reproductive models. The latter is clearly apparent, and may have happened because the effect of this family interethnicity is manifested through factors affecting national identity in several ways.

Beforehand, we expected to find a statistical relationship between intellectual status and the perception of 'country of birth' and homeland: the first-generation students tend to be more identified with the country, while 'Hungary as homeland' was thought to be more pronounced among those with an intellectual background.

In the composite model it turned out that the concept of the 'country of birth' does not have a significant effect, while the perception of the 'homeland' does. In addition, this effect is manifested in such a way that identification with the settlement increases the chances of becoming a 'first-generation intellectual'. This actually refutes our preliminary expectation that first-generation people identify with the country, but also contradicts the fact that the concept of 'Hungary as home' is more likely for multi-generationals. At the same time, it indicates a very important (habitual) element: first-generation intellectuals are much more 'locally patriotic' than multi-generational ones.

This local patriotism also practically overrides national concepts: the model seems to associate the existence of the political and cultural concept of nation with the first-generation intellectual existence. While the significantly pure effect of the 'cultural nation' concept is understandable, as the first-generation students live in homogeneous Hungarian families, Hungarian citizenship also appeared in the structure of the political nation concept, and this was applied for by a higher proportion of those with intellectual backgrounds. The apparent contradiction can be resolved if we take into account that Hungarian citizenship also has symbolic and pragmatic implications. In the political national concept of first-generation people, a symbolic factor presumably prevails, while for the multigenerationals it has practical benefits. All this can be interpreted as meaning that for multigenerationals (or their parents) Hungarian citizenship fits into the status reproduction strategy, therefore applying for it is another pragmatic option. This is also supported by the fact that in our model, the attitude that 'being born Hungarian is advantageous' or a 'political challenge' significantly increases the chances of becoming multigenerational.

Table 5. An explanatory model of minority identity policy

	Sign.	Exp(B)
Region		
Reference category: Transcarpathia	**	
Vojvodina	**	6,69
Felvidék	**	4,88
Transylvania	**	3,10
Settlement type *(1 – urban; 2 – rural)*		1,28
Sex *(1 - male, 2 - female)*		1,09
Age		1,03
Subjective financial situation	**	2,15
Possession of family property		0,98
Father's main occupation		
Reference category: Other		
Subordinate, employee (private sector)		2,35
Subordinate, employee (public sector)		1,13
Senior position in private sector	**	0,71
Senior position in public sector	**	0,16
Mother's main occupation		
Reference category: Other		
Subordinate, employee (private sector)		1,33
Subordinate, employee (public sector)	**	0,33
Senior position in private sector	**	0,07
Senior position in public sector	*	0,00
Mixed marriage of parents		1,71
(1 -Mixed marriages; 2-Homogenious m.)		
Concept of nation: political nation	*	1,40
Concept of nation: cultural nation	*	1,35
Concept of nation: ethnicity/bloodline		1,17
What do you consider your homeland?	*	
Reference category: Other		
Country where living		1,76
Region where living		1,99
Hungary, the Carpathian Basin		1,32
Settlement where living or born	**	4,63
Application for Hungarian citizenship *(1 - yes, 2 - no)*	**	2,42
Born Hungarian: advantage	**	0,71
Born Hungarian: political challenge		0,86
Nagelkerke R-square	0,388	

* sign. < 0.05
** sign. < 0.01

SUMMARY

In our study, we undertook to compare first and multi-generation intellectuals through the example of minority Hungarian young people across the borders in neighbouring countries. Based on the literature we reviewed, we thought that these two groups have different characteristics as regards social and cultural reproduction, policy responses to mobility, and identity politics arising from their minority situation. Our preliminary hypotheses have been confirmed in many respects, but there are also some that have not been satisfactorily substantiated, which will be the subject of further analysis.

At the level of social reproduction, it has been confirmed that first-generation people are indeed at a disadvantage, with the occupational structure of the parents affecting the young person's current intellectual status. The status of the first generation is mostly increased by the subordinate status of the father; it is further reduced by the public servant or senior position of the mother. Although the occupational structure of parents affects the current status, first-generation students are not necessarily poorer in the objective material dimension. All of this can be interpreted as first-generation parents being less educated and less likely to find senior positions in their occupations, but this is not necessarily accompanied by a disadvantage measured at the income level. Nevertheless, first-generation students consider themselves to be more disadvantaged on a subjective level now, as in the past; they were discriminated because of their backgrounds.

Since income inequality is not necessarily reproduced, we can say that status reproduction is taking place, which is even clearer if we compare the two groups in a cultural dimension as well. At this level, it was found that young people from a higher social class speak foreign languages better and also used additional services more often during their schooling, courtesy of their parents. Overall, this has been interpreted as meaning that in the case of multigenerationals, in addition to status reproduction, certain elements of cultural capital are also reproduced, all of which, in the words of Bourdieu and DiMaggio, result in a particular habit or status culture reproduction.

First-generation existence can also be achieved at the level of political attitudes and student integration. Our explanatory model revealed that while keeping its socio-demographic implications under control, it can be shown that first-generation people share much less liberal political values, are less integrated into student and NGO life, and are significantly more prejudiced than young people from the intellectual families. All this supports the fact that mobility also has measurable consequences at the level of political attitudes, however, the kind of radicalisation and a tendency towards a far-right shift indicated by both domestic and international research (Oross–Szabó 2014, Treiman 1970, Lipset–Zetterberg 1970) could not be detected. Our data is much more supportive of the assertion (Abramson–Books 1971) that first-generation people tend to have excessive compliance constraints, and it is precisely the immobile who are not really conservative.

As we examined young people living in a minority context, the question inevitably arises as to what effects and consequences this particular situation may have. Although we have analytically separated the examination of the impact of minority aspects, the majority-minority relationship was also present in the previous dimensions. In the status reproduction model, for example, it turns out that the inter-ethnic mixed marriages of young parents increases the chances of achieving a multi-generational status, and it has also become apparent that Transcarpathia is the most closed minority society, with the lowest proportion of first-generation intellectuals.

In the case of cultural reproduction, it turned out that even at the level of knowledge of the Hungarian language, the intellectual family background can be seen, and in the political dimensions we also saw that the first generations are more prejudiced compared to the nationalities representing the local majority nation. In the explicit field of identity politics, it was also revealed that in the concept of the homeland, the first generations are much more 'local patriots' than those with an intellectual background, and this also affects the existence of Hungarian national concepts. Examining the existence of national concepts in these two groups by controlling background variables revealed that state and cultural nation determination were more relevant to first-generation students. It is particularly interesting that the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship, which has been available since 2011, is more important for those from the intellectual families, which ultimately indicates that there is a kind of reproduction in the minority-cultural dimension. First-generation intellectuals see their ethnic identity strengthened as part of a status-reproduction strategy; the potential benefits are considered important.

Overall, we can claim that the educational mobility in national minority context is inevitably associated with social and cultural reproductions, and it has effect not only upon political attitudes but on minority identity as well. Our analysis is inevitably limited by the fact that it is based on a research database that did not explicitly examine these intellectual groups, so of course the operationalization was based on ready-made variables. Nevertheless, we think we have managed to point out some contexts that bring us closer to understanding the more general and national-minority context of first-generation intellectual issues.

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Mobility haunted by class?
Book review: Stepping Into the Elite: Trajectories of Social Achievement in India, France, and the United States by Jules Naudet. Oxford University Press, 2018

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Social mobility is a fascinating terrain of sociological investigations; nevertheless, a complex study on the narratives of protagonists of such 'journeys' is even more intriguing due to the insiders' gaze, and how it informs the existing scholarship on the organizing principles and boundary-making processes of a society. In the age of polices brutalities against Afro Americans and the following Black Lives Matter movement in the US, last year's Yellow vest protests in France, or the resurgent outcries of Dalit activists and the related street fights in Delhi and other Indian cities triggered by the physical brutalities of upper class men against Dalit women, prove that the theme is more relevant than ever.

The French sociologist, Naudet's book analyzes narratives of social mobility of individuals who experienced first-generation steep upward mobility, moving from 'rugs to the riches' in three national contexts. India, France and the US, represent three different types of social stratification, understandings on class and mobility: these are presented in the book as a *closed* society (India), a *class* society (France) and an *open* society (the US) based on the structure of a society and the (non-)permeability of its class borders.

Departing from Durkheim's (1952) thoughts on *anomie,* a concept describing consequences of a sudden social change and Sorokin's (1927) ideas that rapid social mobility leads to identity crisis and mental disorders, Naudet critically investigates diverse *narratives* of social mobility. For the author of the book, the main question is to obtain a better understanding of the individual *coping strategies* of success related to upward social mobility, rather than focusing merely on the tensions, identity crisis and costs of social mobility, this way broadening his research interest into new directions.

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The book is based on a cross-national empirical study carried out between 2004 and 2009, including over 150 interviews. The interviews were conducted with children of low-skilled workers who became senior bureaucrats (civil servants of the state bureaucracy), academics, top managers of private or national companies and other leading professionals in their adulthood. The research investigated individual upward mobilities, analyzing the interviewees' personal narratives and reflections. The research presumed that the national contexts may play an important role in these narratives, both in terms of their dominant class structure and opportunities (or barriers) they provide for social mobility, and the offered understandings on social change itself.

While moving across different national contexts, the concept of '*instituted ideology*' offers a firm comparative analytical framework. It combines multiple scales of country, neighborhood, family, school, social class, minority status, caste, origin and so on. Instituted ideology refers to the high congruence of ideology(ies) on various levels, where a strong presence of it on one level results in its dominance in another segment too. Thus, when experiencing upward social mobility, in case of instituted ideology of success, an individual can formulate a narrative of success and experiences *continuity* between his/her background of origin instead of a sense of rupture.

In the Indian case, upward social mobilities are presented through narratives of successful individuals coming from the Dalit community[2]. The Indian case is specific among the three country examples due to the fuzzy principles defining social status of an individual: on one hand it is prescribed by the fixed *Stand* in the Weberian sense of the caste (one is born into it and dies in it), on the other hand by professional success and prestige of one's profession. The predominance of caste in defining one's social status (over professional attainment) may very across different social settings and situations- profession may weight increasingly more, but one's caste origin can never be overruled. Therefore, 'social mobility' in the Indian context refers to the change in social position in respect to the profession (not the caste).

The interviews conducted among successful Dalits in India represent a rich ethnographic material, revealing that they define themselves in opposition to the dominant casts (upper class Hindus) in a form of a *counter-ideology*, and have internalized a strong sense of *solidarity* with their community of origin, including a moral obligation to '*give back*'. While experiencing steep upward social mobility, the Dalits in India maintain strong bonds with their community of origin with regular references to the political program of Ambedkar, and to the counter-cultural ideology positioned against the upper classes. This political stance provides a sense of firm identity and gives a clear indication on how to relate to the group of origin. Naudet also point to interesting sectoral differences: in the state bureaucracy and the academic field, the tension between the new attained social position and the background of

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2   A political community, which emerged from the Arya Samaj Hindu reformist movement and from Dr. Ambedkar, the author of the modern Indian Constitution, the enigmatic figure of the freedom fight against untouchability and for higher social justice in India.

origin is more easily reconciled through the solidarity and 'giving back' ideology than among individuals working in the business sector in high managerial positions.

Unlike in most cases of Dalit narratives from India, in the French case, the individual narratives are characterized by a perceived difference between the group of origin and the attained new social group, resulting in a feeling of not belonging either here nor there (loosing attachments to the former and not able to fully arrive to the other). As the author states, the French discourse is often marked by narratives of social mobility closely linked to mastering (or inability to master) the socio-cultural 'codes' of the high society, and 'unlearning' the codes (un-culturation) related to the humble background of family often associated with working class culture and socialization. In this complex process of deculturation and acculturation, the book points to specific educational institution, which 'do the job'. Some of the French interviewees reflect on the 'hidden agenda' of these top universities and grand écoles in this respect, making their students to internalize certain codes of conduct, behaviours, use of language etc. Not mastering such codes or not well-mastering them quickly creates a sense of not belonging in the upwardly mobile individuals, as it is pointed out by many French interviewees. For some of the interviewees belonging to racialized minorities in France, the sense of dislocation was stronger than in case of their counterparts with a White working-class background. For some, the Republican model helps in making sense of their own difference and provides the idea that in the French republic race is insignificant. As Naudet points out, this is a double-edged sword as while offering a colour-blind approach, emphasizing merit and nothing else, the French republican deal obliges the individual not to emphasize her own difference (even if this difference is perceived as a daily experience). This disables the effected individuals to make sense of their 'difference gap' as the author points out. The author also notes a generational difference, as part of which interviewees belonging to the younger generation of immigrant background tend to emphasize their 'diversity' more, which also means the weakening of the Republican model of integration and more space for diversity-based narratives, and demands.

While the US stands for an open society with low barriers to social mobility, race continues to play a key importance. The American society is based on the thesis of American exceptionalism unique to the US described in detail earlier by Lipset and Tocqueville. The comprehensive high school system in the US, as pointed out earlier by Turner (vocational and academic disciplines are taught in an integrated manner in the same institution), contributes to the reduction of social class distance (unlike in France, or other countries of early school selection). Avoiding this early school selection clearly contributes to the ideology of meritocracy in the American society, namely that 'anyone can make it' in the country of opportunities. Nevertheless, the US university system is deeply structured and class-based, reproducing the existing status quo regarding class divisions. Paradoxically, the American education system through creating the illusion of classless society seriously contributes to the legitimization of

social inequalities. Thus, despite the 'competitive system' as an inherent feature of the US society (according to which merit and individual strive are decisive), American interviews reveal a strong tension between the group of origin and the new attained social position due to the cognitive dissonance between the American ethos and the lived experience of inequality. Naudet's most important parts of the analysis of the US case focus on racial minorities, and are meant to understand the interplay of class and racial difference when understanding social mobility. Here, unlike in France, the question of cultural legitimacy is far less important, instead, the social status is mainly linked to economic capital and emerges from class position. The US minority examples, more precisely, the Afro American case proves that relating back to the group of origin is important but 'looking ahead' is even more. If circumstances permit, one needs to 'reach out' to the group of origin without the strong ideological commitment and militant political ideology of the Dalit movement in India. It remains to be seen if the Black lives Matter movement will alter these elite attitudes in the US, making these voices more political or militant on a long run.

The analysis of the 'minority cases' from all the three countries informs the rapidly growing scholarship on a specific type of inequalities, namely those based on race, which are in most cases combined with class-related inequalities, facing social discrimination and multiple injustices while becoming upward mobile. Solidarity towards own group turns out to be a general reaction in all the three types of minorities either via 'paying back to society' (Dalits), 'reaching back to the group of origin' (African Americans) or 'giving back' to one's parents in case of North African immigrants. This behaviour forms the backbone of a 'minority culture of mobility' encountered through the research across the three fields in cross-national contexts. Naudet's book is enriched with plenty of interview excerpts and ethnographic observations of the author from the three fields, making the theoretical arguments not only convincing, but strongly connected to the empirical parts of his work.

Beside the global topical relevance of the book (BLM movement and other similar social movements), it is unavoidable to emphasize the direct link of this book to the CEE region and most importantly, to its racialized minorities, such as the Roma population. In the last 25 years after the Cold War, a new generation of young Roma elite has emerged in this region. How do they cope with their success on an individual level? What social barriers do they perceive? And most importantly, what is the socio-political role they envision for themselves, if any? These questions are yet to be answered.

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From admission to inclusion:
Book review: The Privileged Poor: How Elite Colleges Are Failing Disadvantaged Students by Anthony Abraham Jack. Harvard University Press, 2019

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The question of social mobility is one of the oldest of social sciences, which scrutinizes the question of how societies are structured, while social changes are also focal points of sociology. We can characterise a society by examining its uniqueness throughout the nexus of social layers, and the relative openness of various social strata, which eventually indicate how a society is capable to adapt to changes. Social mobility is one's movement from one societal group or class to another. Anthony Abraham Jack's book, *The Privileged Poor. How Elite Colleges Are Failing Disadvantaged Students* examines an important segment of social mobility in American society. It discusses what role the educational system plays in social mobility in the United States of America given that in many cases elite colleges represent the first step to reach higher social status. The author also emphasises the responsibility of institutions, and scrutinises how their cultural and academic milieu affects one's upward social mobility. Anthony Abraham Jack's central premise looks at how first-generation, low-income, disadvantaged students navigate campus life at elite universities in the United States.

On the basis of the Introduction of the book non-loan financial aid policy was introduced 20 years ago at public universities in America. The goal was to increase students' social economic diversity in order to reduce social inequality. As a result, more poor or disadvantaged students enrolled at universities but this was just a starting point, since most of the student body stayed still affluent. As a consequence, campus life is still dominated by wealthy students, which means students coming from affluent families feel at home, given their previous social and academic

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experience, while their poorer peers feel like fish out of water. As a consequence, these disadvantaged students have distanced themselves from their peers and have withdrawn from college communities, resulting in a circumscribed life on campus. Such social undercurrents have been emotionally hard or even traumatic, in diverse ways, for those coming from disadvantageous background in terms of both class and race. Despite being admitted to elite educational institutions, students from poorer backgrounds often feel alienated from student society, and one policy is not enough to solve this apparent social problem.

Jack has examined this dilemma experienced by students coming from disadvantaged backgrounds on the basis of his own lived experiences, which presumably also stimulated this research. Regarding the research process itself, Jack spent more than two years at an elite college, referred to as a 'Renowned University' where he conducted more than 250 hours of interviews with 103 students. The author justified the high number of interviews by reasoning that if students hear other students detailing their experiences themselves, in their own words, then other students would relate to and understand these experiences much better. The researcher managed to register not only the narratives of students, but also analysed how these students could use resources gained in other, earlier experiences to manage their campus lives.

The first result of his research shows that it is not enough to consider social backgrounds in order to get to the root of the problem. The earlier approaches focused on the lack of success amongst poorer students, which was attributed directly to their financial and cultural social backgrounds. In order to better understand the lives of poor students in elite colleges, Jack differentiates two groups of students on the basis of earlier schools: the *Privileged Poor* and the *Double Disadvantaged,*. The *Privileged Poor* had attended high schools with well qualified teachers, topflight facilities, abundant resources and were thus able to share their prior knowledge with other less advantaged students. As a result these students enter college already accustomed to navigating elite academic arenas. This is in contrast with the *Double Disadvantaged* students, whose former teachers were younger and less experienced, and had to deal more with discipline than teaching. The social fabric of high schools in the case of the *Privileged Poor* resembles that of elite colleges, so these poor students managed to better adapt to the new institutions. Therefore, the two groups of students had desperate pre-university experiences, but different cultural and social resources to mobilise for navigating campus life. The author illustrates perfectly these two student groups, by the example of two girls who had similar social background (called *social twins* by the author), but different educational background. Both of them were admitted to colleges, but one of them was more successful in the process of institutional socialization than the other. This why the focus on the crucial role of high schools is important; and this is what I view as key to current research and should be recommended as pivotal for further researchers.

Another insight of the book is that it emphasises the responsibility of colleges in student success, because the author points out how differently students from different backgrounds make use of university services. For example the *Privileged Poor* consult with professors more often and they are more active participants of campus culture than the *Double Disadvantaged,* whose main goal is to score higher points. As a consequence, the *Double Disadvantaged* students' institutional integration depends on institutional access (admission), but also on the 'implementation' of inclusion, which should guarantee that it really takes place via special integrating programs. That is to say professors and university staff should realise that they need to change their communication, develop a more sensitive attitude towards poor and disadvantaged students, and employ specific programs and methods in order to help them to be more integrated into campus life.

A further significance of the book is that the author interprets the inclusion not only at an institutional level, but also beyond student life and in relation to the labour market. He presupposes that poor or disadvantaged students will likely avoid workplaces where they could potentially experience a feeling of inferiority or being second class citizens.

I must note that the author has described the dilemma of student cohesion in diverse ways with a fine analytic quality, but I would have asked students themselves how to solve this issue, in other words, which way would suit them the best.

Regarding the structure, the book is well-organised and clearly understandable. In the *Introduction* the author reveals his own experiences, coming from a privileged-poor background. The next chapter contains three detailed case studies based on students' narratives. The following part sums up the main issues of the research. Additional information is made available in the *Appendix. The Notes and Index section* contribute to an easier orientation and a deeper understanding.

I absolutely recommend this volume to students of all backgrounds, researchers and policy makers, given that the main message of the book is relevant for all of them. All in all, this book is an excellent example of a well-written, qualitative research which provides a new aspects of the field, in order to better understand key problematic social and educational questions.