Doctoral School of Sociology

THESIS SYNOPSIS

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The Effect of Educational Upward Mobility on Habitus
The Subjective Experience of Mobility among First-in Family Graduates in Hungary

titled Ph.D. dissertation

Supervisor:

Durst Judit Ph.D.

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Institute of Sociology and Social Policy

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Content

I. Research Topic and Literature Review

1.1 Relevance of the Topic

The present dissertation deals with the subjective experiences on educational mobility of first-in family graduates in Hungary. Aside from mainstream mobility analyses, which are mostly based on national surveys and examine rates of mobility, there is a growing body of literature that focuses on how mobile people experience mobility (e.g. Friedman 2016, Gardner et al. 2018, Li 2015, Mallman 2018, Naudet 2018, Reay, 2002, Reay et al. 2009a). The sociological approach which focuses on the subjective experience of social mobility is connected to a 'sociology of critical capacity', that is, „sociology which recognises the actors' legitimate capacity to justify their actions and make sense of them." (Naudet 2018: 14.) This perspective concentrates on the way of narration in which actors develop discourses about their actions (Naudet 2018).

In general, studies on the subjective experience of social mobility rely on the analytical framework of Bourdieu (see e.g. Friedman 2016, Mallman 2018, Reay, 2002, Reay et al. 2009). The use of Bourdieu's analytical tools to study social mobility is not self-evident since he was not involved in research that directly examined social mobility, and he is often characterised as a sociologist of 'reproduction' and 'inheritance' who ignores the significance of mobility. However, the Bourdieusian framework can offer analytical and methodological tools to study social mobility. Friedman and Savage (2018: 67.) argue that "Bourdieu's sensitivity to time and temporality, his interest in accumulation, his awareness of the cultural and subjective, as well as structural components of mobility, as well as his multidimensional approach offers a highly productive way of taking forward a wide-ranging account of social mobility."

The thesis applies the habitus concept of Bourdieu which enables to link the objective and subjective features of social mobility because individuals are not external to the "…mobility which they might or might not undergo (…), mobility in fact inheres within people: it is fundamentally *experienced* on a daily basis." (Friedman – Savage 2018: 76.). By using the concept of habitus, "the ways in which the social world is incorporated into the physical and mental dispositions –we might say the selves – of social actors" (Lawler – Payne 2018: 2-3.) can be captured. Habitus inheres the adaptation to (changing) social circumstances. Social reality "exists… twice, in things and in minds, in habitus and field, outside and inside of agents." (Bourdieu – Wacquant 2002: 127.)

Lawler and Payne (2018: 2) propose that a "newer conceptualisation of class, based on Bourdieusian insights about capitals, cultures, and habitus, can offer fresh insights into mobility outcomes". To study this, it is necessary to expand the field of mobility research with detailed, small-scale, qualitative studies which can reveal the complexity of mobility trajectories, processes, and consequences, and which have the potential to create connections to parallel fields such as social identity, gender, life course, family relations, community dynamics, employment, and migration. The study of personal narratives of mobility offers a new level of analysis that shows the detail, complexity and variety of social processes which are behind national mobility rates, and helps us to understand how social mobility is experienced and perceived by different social groups. (Lawler – Payne 2018).

Public discourses often regard upward mobility as a clearly progressive force and aim of society that is unequivocally beneficial for the individual (Friedman 2016, Lawler – Payne 2018, Naudet 2018, Payne 2017). However, there is a line of research (e.g. Abrahams – Ingram 2016, Cole – Omari 2003, Friedman 2016, Hochschild 2003), which starts from Sorokin's dissociative thesis (1959), drawing attention to the fact that upward mobility at the level of the individual is more complicated than to consider it a purely positive phenomenon (Lawler – Payne 2018, Naudet 2018). These studies highlight that upward mobility – leaving a class and joining another class – has a cost in terms of psychological well-being There are only a few studies (Naudet 2018, Abrahams – Ingram 2016) that focus on how people experiencing social mobility try to decrease the tension between their group of origin and the new social group.

This study examines under what conditions upward mobility of Hungarian first-in family graduates is associated with psychological and emotional costs – that is, causes the (temporal) destabilisation of habitus. Then it explores how the first generation Roma graduates develop a stable Roma identity, and make sense of their mobility trajectory given that their mobility is usually more costly than that of members of majority society according to the results. That is, this study enables us to examine the subjective experience of upward mobility and reveal possible intersections between ethnicity and class. To date, only a limited number of studies (e.g. Durst – Bereményi 2021, Cole – Omari 2003, Hochschild 2003, Naudet 2018, Reay et al. 2001, Shahrokni 2015, 2018) investigated the upward mobility experience of stigmatised minority groups. Furthermore, many studies' sample consists of college or university students while this research concentrates on the period after higher education enabling us to focus on the actual outcomes of mobility.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

In the last decades, a new approach to research on subjective experiences of social mobility appeared in British sociology that is inspired primarily by the work of Bourdieu. This research agenda relies primarily on the theory of habitus, in particular the concept of divided habitus. Early examples of this line of research include the paper of Reay (1997b), Lawler (1999), Horvat and Antonio (1999), and Bland (2004). In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of studies (e.g. Reay et al. 2009a, 2009b, Ingram 2011, Abrahams – Ingram 2013, Lee – Kramer 2013, Friedman 2013, 2016, Lehmann 2014, Shahrokni 2015, 2018, 2019, Reay 2015, Naudet 2018,) that rely on Bourdieu's theoretical framework when examining the subjective dimension of social mobility. An important book in this research line is *Bourdieu: The Next Generation. The development of Bourdieu's intellectual heritage in contemporary UK sociology* was created by the Bourdieu Study Group of the British Sociological Association in 2016. Several studies (Burke 2016, Morrin 2016, Ingram – Abrahams 2016) of this book use the Bourdieusian concept to examine the experience of social mobility at a micro level. In 2018, a book called *Social Mobility for the 21st Century* was published that includes important contributions (Mallman 2018, Gardner et al. 2018, Friedman – Savage 2018) to this research line as well. The editors of the book (Lawler – Payne 2018) argue that the Bourdieusian concept of capitals, cultures, and habitus can add to the understanding of social mobility.

Mobility is not a central theme in Bourdieu's sociology and he is seen as a researcher of 'reproduction' and 'inheritance' rather than 'change' that raises the question of why it is worth turning to Bourdieu's concept of habitus when examining the effects of social mobility on individuals. Sociological research conceptualises mobility in terms of occupational access (that is, classes). This neglects the prior endowments (the propulsive forces) that individuals bring with them into occupations, and how these accumulated resources act as constraints that structure the possibilities of the present and future action. The Bourdieusian concept is better able to capture this complexity. First, habitus allows for a much more detailed and joined-up understanding of the role of history and temporality in understanding social mobility (Friedman – Savage 2018). Habitus helps to conceptualise how the mobile individual's past can shape their present. It demonstrates how elements of their bodily 'hexis' (e.g. accent, pronunciation, vocabulary, posture, taste) may always bear the imprint of their class origins (Friedman 2013). Second, Bourdieu's approach to class position is multidimensional – highlighting that can class positions can only be fully understood as a sum of economic,

cultural, and social capital available to the individual (Lawler – Payne 2018, Friedman – Savage 2018). That is, Friedman and Savage emphasise that a complete understanding of mobility trajectories needs to take into consideration several indicators of origin and destination. Third, the concept of habitus allows linking the objective structures and subjective dimensions of mobility. (Friedman – Savage 2018).

Bourdieu defines habitus in a variety of ways, which contributes to the confusion around the concept, with the most cited definition being the following1: '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, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations...' (Bourdieu, 1990: 53) According to this definition, habitus is:

- a product of social conditions (a 'structured structure'),
- it is systematic, that is, human behaviour has a unity due to the habitus
- it is composed of dispositions
- durable (but not unchangeable)
- a scheme of perception, conception and action (a 'structuring structure').

Bourdieu refers to habitus as a 'practical sense' or a 'feel for the game': 'The habitus is this kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation what is called in sport a "feel" for the game, that is, the art of anticipating the future of the game which is inscribed in the present state of play.' (Bourdieu 1998: 25.) That is, the habitus makes it possible to predict events and react unconsciously to them: 'having the feel for the game is having the game under the skin; it is to master in a practical way the future of the game; it is to have a sense of the history of the game. While the bad player is always off tempo, always too early or too late, the good player is the one who anticipates, who is ahead of the game. Why can she get ahead of the flow of the game? Because she has the immanent tendencies of the game in her body, in an incorporated state: she embodies the game.' (Bourdieu 1998: 80-81). That is, habitus operates as the "fell for the game" of sportspersons: the rules of the game are acquired through socialisation, they know what you need to adjust to, however, what they do in a particular situation depends on the "fell for the game", the ability to improvise (Hadas 2001).

The dissertation deals with the possible extension and modification of the habitus concept. First, it presents the accusation of determinism. Several authors (e.g. Jenkins 2006; Alexander

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1 Elsewhere Bourdieu (2016: 43.) defines habitus as '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.

1995) highlight that Bourdieu was not able to overcome the dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism by introducing the concept of habitus. Critics have argued that the concept of habitus is deterministic and reductionist, since Bourdieu always concludes that individuals are constrained by social structures and reduces all aspects of social life to the economic structure (Fuchs, 2003; Fáber, 2018). However, several authors (e.g. Fuchs 2003; Hilgers 2009; Fáber 2018) take the view that Bourdieu's concept is not deterministic.

Second, 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. 2007, Sallaz 2010) believe that habitus is also influenced by racial differences (besides the class position) has led them to extend the Bourdieusian concept by introducing a racially-constituted habitus.

Third, the dissertation presents the questions regarding the unitary and coherence of habitus that is a controversial issue in the literature. According to Silva (2016), Bourdieu's early elaborations of the notions described it as unitary, while later he supposed that habitus can be fragmented. Similarly, Hadas (2019) points out that the late self-reflexive works2 of Bourdieu introduce (1) the possibility of restructuring the habitus, (2) the concept of primary and secondary habitus, and (3) the fragmentation of habitus (divided habitus).

Fourth, the dissertation deals with the reflexivity and consciousness of habitus, and examines the possible link between the concept of habitus and identity. A crucial issue in relation to the concept of habitus is its reflexivity. Reflexivity is a central aspect of agency, the extent to which habitus is considered reflexive is related to its mutability and the possibility of intentionally modifying it.

This study applies a modified and extended conceptualisation of the Bourdieusian habitus concept in order to make it applicable for studying the subjective experience of upward mobility.

According to the applied definition, habitus is a product of social conditions (a 'structured structure'), and a scheme of perception, conception and action (a 'structuring structure'). It is composed of dispositions. I agree with the interpretations that claim that habitus can gradually change, however, this change is limited the childhood dispositions (Friedman 2016). Unlike the Bourdieusian concept, I suppose that habitus is not only based on class positions, but also racial and gender differences influence it. Regarding the unitary and coherence of habitus, I am of the opinion of those authors who claim the plurality of dispositions and suppose that habitus can consist of ambivalent and contradictory dispositions. In opposition to Bourdieu,

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[2] Pascalian Meditations (Bourdieu 2000), Science of Science and Reflexivity (2005), Sketch for a Self-Analysis English (2007).

this study supposes that habitus has cognitive aspects as well, that is, it hybridises the concept of habitus and reflexivity. The study also applies a newer conceptualisation of habitus which defines it as a "sense of one's (and others') place and role in the world in one's lived environment" (Hillier – Rooksby 2002: 21).

1.3 Research Questions

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the subjective experience of mobility of Roma and non-Roma first in family graduates in Hungary.

Bourdieu highlights (1990, 2000) that large-scale social changes and (long-range) social mobility can cause a dislocation of habitus, that is, a mismatch emerges between habitus and field. This means that dispositions are not adapted to the field because they are adjusted to the conditions of the former field. This may lead to the double isolation of individuals both of their background of origin and their attained social group. According to Bourdieu, the misalignment of field and habitus could create a painfully fragmented self, a divided habitus. However, Bourdieu does not detail exactly what conditions lead to divided habitus. According to Friedman (2016) the mutability of habitus depends on a person's *mobility trajectory*. Mobility trajectory refers "…to the range of upward mobility but also by the speed and direction of movement through social space, as well as a person's particular combination of class, gender and ethnicity." (Friedman 2016: 144.) Therefore my first research question is:

Under what conditions do the habitus of first in family graduates become destabilised as a result of upward mobility?

As it was mentioned, the movement in the social space could lead to the dislocation of habitus when the individuals feel that they do not 'fit in' to either their original field or their new field. Abrahams and Ingram (2016) highlight that habitus interruption can lead not only to divided habitus, but other ways of negotiating multiple fields exists. They identify four types of habitus interruption: abandoned habitus, re-confirmed habitus, destabilised habitus, and reconciled habitus (see Chapter 2.5.3.). The latter – which group is the focus of my research – is when a person incorporates the structuring forces of the two, contradictory fields, and is therefore able to successfully navigate in both worlds. Similarly, Naudet (2018) claims that tension arises because the individual oscillates between the loyalty to the group of origin and the – necessary - acculturation to the new group. The author highlights that this tension could be resolved by making sense of the mobility trajectory. That is, upwardly mobile individuals

may be able to navigate in both fields and accommodate both structures despite the contradiction between them by developing a coherent self-narrative. Therefore my second research question is:

How did Roma interviewees make sense of their upward mobility according to their narratives? In other words, how the two social contexts could be reconciled by those who successfully navigate in both worlds?

II. Research Methodology

The empirical base of this dissertation derives from two research. The first project was conducted between 2011 and 2015 when we made semi-structured life path interviewees with 65 high-achiever Roma and non-Roma women. We selected Roma interviewees who have a college or university degree. Those interviewees were regarded as Roma who were self-identified as Roma. The non-Roma interviewees were first in family graduates. The project used the snowball sampling method. The second project, *Social mobility and ethnicity: Trajectories, outcomes and hidden costs of mobility*[3] also used life path interviews that were conducted with a total of 166 first in family graduates, in the period between 2018 and 2021. Among the respondents of this research 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 the snowball sampling method, through advertisement on social media, to an online survey.

Chapter 5.1. of the dissertation is based on *sample A*, while other chapters are constituted as a subsample of the two research projects (*sample B*). For *subsample B*, we selected those interviewees who are Roma and first in family graduates.

Sample A (176 interviewees): In terms of age, interviewees ranged from 23 to 67 years old. 114 interviewees were female, and 62 were male. 63 of them were non-Roma, while 113 were Roma. The sample included participants both from urban and rural locations in Hungary. (This sample contains 12 interviews from the first project and 164 interviews from the second project.)

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[3] The research project is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' (NKFHI) research grant (no. K-125 497). The leader of the project is Judit Durst, the members: Ábel Bereményi, Péter Bogdán, Julianna Boros, Fanni Dés, Margit Feischmidt, Ernő Kállai, Zsanna Nyírő, Attila Z. Papp. The description of the project can be found here: https://tk.hu/en/social-mobility-and-ethnicity-trajectories-outcomes-and-the-hidden-costs-of-high-educational-achievement

Sample B (48 interviewees): in terms of age, interviewees ranged from 25 to 62 years old. 38 interviewees were female, and 10 were male, all of them are Roma. The sample included participants both from urban and rural locations in Hungary. All of them belong to the type of reconciled habitus. (This sample contains 11 interviews from the first project and 37 interviews from the second project.)

Our research analyses the subjective experiences of upward mobility therefore it seemed adequate to use qualitative interviewees. Since this method is useful when we are "…interested in people's experiences, behaviour and understandings and how and why they experience and understand the social world in this way." (Matthews – Ross 2010: 221.) It provides information about "the content of the interview conversation and the way the participant expresses themselves – the words they use." (Matthews – Ross 2010: 222.) Bourdieu also supports the use of interviews: "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.)

The first part of the interview was the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (Rosenthal 2003, Wengraf 2006, Burke 2014) when we asked the interviewees to tell their life stories. The second part of the interview was a semi-structured interview (Schmidt 2004) when we asked the interviewees about those questions in the interview guide (see Appendix 7.2.) that were not covered during the narrative part. This method enabled us to take the advantage of Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method while at the same time covering all the topics which are relevant to our research. 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), satisfaction, and success.

Costa et al. (2019) argue that tracing individuals' subjective trajectories – for example by using biographical interviews – is an appropriate research technique to 'capture' habitus. The biographical interview allows us to study individuals' capability to 'play the game'. The longitudinal aspect of this method enables the researcher to look for repetition of attitudes and practices, that is, empirically capture habitus as Bourdieu (1987) recommended it. It also provides the opportunity to compare different phases of the interviewees' life histories. Mallman (2018: 28.) also agrees that life history and narrative methods "…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.'

In order to analyse the interview data we created a codebook by using a mixed method (deductive and inductive) category application. The codebook was developed based on our theoretical questions and interview guide and some additional categories were also created based on the empirical material of interviews (Mayring 2004). The first version of the codebook was created by me, then the OTKA project team discussed it, after I modified it again, then we repeated this process. The next step was trial coding when each team member coded two interview transcripts, then there was another team meeting on the codebook, and finally, I modified it again. We used a hierarchical code structure: 26 supercodes (main category) that consists of code families (level two category) that consist of codes (level three category). For the purpose of this dissertation, I added some new codes to the codebook. In the following step all interviews were coded by using qualitative data analysis and research software, ATLAS.ti 8. The interview transcripts of subsample A were coded by the OTKA project team, the interview transcripts of subsample B were coded by me. This software made it possible to analyse this large number of interviews and to compare the subgroups of our interviewees according to our codes.

Defining habitus for empirical research is a challenge, as Swartz argues "this very appealing conceptual versatility sometimes renders ambiguous just what the concept actually designates empirically" (Swartz 1997: 109). Habitus is grappled in the interviews in three ways.

First, practices serve as evidence of the structure of habitus since habitus generates practices. Thus if we study practices then we can reveal the underlying structuring principles of habitus (Maton 2008). "However, empirically, one does not » see« a habitus, but rather the effects of a habitus in the practices and beliefs to which it gives rise." (Maton 2008: 62.). That is, we can infer habitus based on practices.

Second, habitus can be defined as a 'sense of one's (and others') place and role' in the world in one's lived environment. (…) Habitus is an embodied, as well as cognitive, sense of place. (Hillier – Rooksby 2002: 21) It can be associated with making a social position 'homey', that is, with the acquisition and internalisation of a social position (Németh 2020). We may also include in this definition when one does not find his place or role in a given social context. Thus habitus can be identified when it is reflected because the individual feels:

- like not 'fitting' to a new field (Nowicka 2015),
- like 'fitting' to a field (Nowicka 2015),
- like not 'fitting' to their old field anymore,
- like 'fitting' to his old and new field at the same time is problematic
- that his/her old and new field's rules contradict each other or get in 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, his/her 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 him/her. 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. We can also identify habitus when interviewees narrate situations in which they feel at ease, well-fitted, 'normal', and attuned to the field. (Nowicka 2015) Furthermore, habitus can be captured when interviewees speak about not fitting to 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 and when they find that the two worlds collide with each other. These cases also lead to greater reflexivity.

Third, habitus concept can be extended with cognitive aspects (cares, concerns and commitments and conscious deliberations), that is, aspects of identity. Thus this study uses a habitus conceptualisation that includes references to the identity.

III. Results

3.1 Results

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the subjective experience of mobility of Roma and non-Roma first in family graduates in Hungary. The theoretical aim of the thesis is to make proposals for the modification and expansion of the Bourdieusian habitus concept based on our results in order to make the concept more useful for empirical research.

Two research questions were formulated. First, it examines the conditions under which the habitus is likely to be modified by processes of upward mobility. Second, it examines how upwardly mobile Roma graduates make sense of their mobility trajectory. That is, how they can reconcile the tensions between their group of origin and attained social group.

Related to the first research question, the study found that upward mobility does not necessarily lead to habitus dislocation. Certain characteristics of the mobility trajectory make the evolvement of habitus clivé more likely. The subjective experience of social mobility is influenced by the range of social mobility, the speed and direction of movement through social space, the person's ethnicity, the range of geographical mobility, and the aspirational capital of the family of origin and the upwardly mobile individual. The intersection of these factors is what is decisive regarding the experience of mobility, and some individual factors (e.g. personality, contingency such as biographical events) also play an important role. It was found that those interviewees who belong to the Roma minority are more likely to experience habitus clivé than the majority participants of the study. That is, belonging to a stigmatised minority group has a significant influence on the subjective experience of upward mobility.

The second research question revealed how upwardly mobile Roma interviewees make sense of their mobility trajectory, how they can reconcile the opposition between their past (group of origin) and present (attained social position). That is, this part of the study only focuses on the narratives of those Roma interviewees who have reconciled habitus. I concentrate on this habitus interruption type because their reconciled habitus has important consequences related to the modification and extension of the Bourdieusian habitus concept. Furthermore, those who have a reconciled habitus play an important role in society, because they create 'bridges' between their original and new social contexts. I found that typically those interviewees were able to reconcile their two worlds who were able to develop a stable and positive Roma identity. The movement in the social space often entails the reconstruction and redefinition of the Roma identity (Durst – Bereményi 2021). According to the narratives, the redefinition of their Roma identity became necessary because many interviewees experienced external threaten to their identity in the form of prejudice and discrimination against Roma people, and thus many interviewees had to struggle with their own feelings (e.g. shame, inferiority complex) related to being Roma or with their own stereotypes on Roma people. Some of the interviewees were able to develop a stable Roma identity on their own, while most of the respondents describe that an ethnic support group (e.g. Romaversitas, any of the Christian Roma Colleges for Advanced Studies) or an ethnic educational institution or training (e.g. Gandhi High School and College, Romology major) had an important role in it.

The most noticeable characteristic of the discourses of those interviewees who were able to reconcile their two worlds is the interviewees' strong commitment to their group of origin (while the acculturation to the new group is a less emphasised topic). The most common manifestation of this attachment is related to the work-life of our interviewees: many of them

work to help Roma people. According to the narratives, the sense of the upward mobility process is to help the situation of the Roma people. In other words, the meaning of the new position and the struggling path that leads to it is to help. By helping Roma it is possible to reconcile the opposition between their past and present. That is, their two worlds are reconciled in their habitus by finding a position that connects the two worlds.

By using, the Bourdieusian habitus concept, it was possible to connect the objective and subjective aspects of social mobility, that is, to demonstrate how the movement in the social space influences the actions, namely, the career choice of our respondents. In other words, this concept enabled us to show how their social worlds are incorporated into their dispositions and actions, how social mobility leads to the choice of helping the 'Roma community'.

3.2 Theoretical Implications

This chapter will discuss what implications these empirical results have for the Bourdieusian concept of habitus.

First, Bourdieu (2016) suggests that habitus can change due to new experiences and education, however only to a limited extent because early experiences have particular significance. Furthermore, it typically does not involve a fundamental change in primary dispositions (Swartz, 1997). In contrast, the results show that the secondary habitus can profoundly change compared to the primary habitus. This is indicated by the fact that many of the interviewees' narratives are about the process which starts with the experience of habitus dislocation – when their primary habitus did not 'fit in' to their new field – and finishes with finding their new place and role (that is, their new habitus), so their habitus has been modified during their mobility trajectory. Therefore the results (similarly to Friedman 2016) suggest that it is necessary to expand the Bourdieusian habitus concept in a way that it could accept a more profound change of habitus.

Second, the results indicate that race has a great impact on one's habitus. It was found that belonging to a stigmatised minority group has a significant influence on the subjective experience of upward mobility. Habitus dislocation was much more commonly mentioned in the narratives of the Roma interviewees compared to those of majority society interviewees. Furthermore, the role of race is greatly emphasised in the discourses of the interviewees and the renegotiation of habitus during their mobility path, while the movement between classes and its impact on habitus is less frequently described in the narratives. Thus I agree with the

assertion of Reay (2004) who claims that habitus should be expanded to include race differences. Furthermore, the intersectional effect of class and race should be included.

Third, the results support the claim of Lahire (2003) and Hadas (2019) that one can have heterogeneous or even contradictory habits, schemes and dispositions due to various socialisation processes. According to my findings, the plurality of dispositions – namely, embodying conflicting dispositions – typically only cause temporary disintegration of individuals' identity because they usually find a way to reconcile the contradictory dispositions and thus achieve integration again. I found that many of our interviewees were able to reconcile their background of origin and the attained social group by creating a bridge between them; that is, by helping people from the community of their background of origin from their new position. Consequently, the habitus concept should be altered to accept that an individual may have different (even contradictory) dispositions. The possibility of reconciled habitus is an example of habitus with plural (and conflicting) dispositions.

Fourth, I found that the interviewees became highly reflexive to their habitus when they enter into their new social context and a mismatch would arise between their primary habitus and the new world (Bourdieu 1990). As a result of the movement in the social space, they not only recognise what is novel in the new field but it gives them a new lens to look at the field where they come from (Abrahams – Ingram 2013). While Abrahams and Ingram (2013) draw attention to the movement from the working-class to the middle-class, I would like to highlight this increased reflexivity also appears in terms of race as many of the interviewees renegotiated their Roma identity during their mobility trajectory. This increased reflexivity entails that the concept of habitus becomes more useful when it also includes cognitive elements such as identity (Reay 2004).

In sum, this study provides empirical evidence that supports the extension of the Bourdieusian habitus concept in multiple ways. First, this research claims that a more profound transformation of habitus is possible than it is supposed by Bourdieu. Second, habitus is not only based on class positions, but also racial differences have an effect on it. Third, habitus can consist of several different dispositions (even ambivalent and contradictory dispositions). Fourth, habitus has cognitive aspects as well, that is, the hybridisation of the concepts of habitus and reflexivity is recommended.

3.3 Practical Implications

In addition to the interviewees' individual choice, which is related to their particular social position, other factors also played a role in the fact that many of the interviewees started to

work in the field of 'Roma issues'. Based on the narratives of the interviewees, these reasons are discrimination against Roma in the Hungarian labour market, the external impact which directs Roma students to university and college level programmes in the field of social science, social work and other helping professions, their special network, the internship and employment programmes, and tokenism. These factors resulted in the segmentation of the interviewees in the labour market (see: Durst et al. 2016, Nyírő – Durst 2018). On the one hand, those jobs which are connected to 'Roma issue' are often mentally and emotionally burdensome and require significant individual effort (Collins 1983). On the other hand, these positions are usually tied to the public or non-profit sector, often involve only a fixed-term contract and thus do not offer career opportunities. Furthermore, these sectors usually offer lower wages than the private sector (see: Nyírő – Durst 2018).

Despite the fact that this career path is a free choice according to the narratives of several of the interviewees, many of them emphasise that more opportunities should be created for those who want to find a job outside the world of "Roma issues" (see: Nyírő – Durst 2018). This goal would be achieved if the impact of the external factors mentioned above (eg discrimination) could be diminished.

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V. List of Publications

Publications in Hungarian

Book chapters

Durst Judit - Fejős Anna - Nyírő Zsanna (2016): „Másoknak ez munka, nekem szívügyem" Az etnicitás szerepe a diplomás roma nők munka- család konstrukcióinak alakulásában. In Takács Judit – P. Tóth Tamás (szerk.): Kisebbség, többség, többszörösség; *Kisebbségi–többségi viszonyok a magyar társadalomban.* MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont.

Conference Presentation

Durst Judit – Dés Fanni – Boros Julianna – Nyírő Zsanna (2021): Gyerekvállalás és párkapcsolatok: A társadalmi mobilitás ára az elsőgenerációs roma diplomásoknál. NSKI- II. Interdiszciplináris konferencia. November 26-27.

Publications in English

Referred Journal Articles

Nyírő Zsanna – Durst Judit (2021): Racialisation rules: The effect of educational upward mobility on habitus. *Szociológiai Szemle*, 31(3), 21-50.

Durst Judit – Nyírő Zsanna (2021): Introduction. Cultural migrants? The consequences of educational mobility and changing social class among first-in-family graduates in Hungary. *Szociológiai Szemle*, 31(3), 4-20.

Nyírő Zsanna – Durst Judit (2018): Soul Work and Giving Back: Ethnic Support Groups and the Hidden Costs of Social Mobility. Lessons from Hungarian Roma Graduates. *Intersections EEJSP.* Vol. 4 No. 1, pp. 88–108.

Durst Judit – Fejős Anna – Nyírő Zsanna (2014): "I always felt the odd one out": Work-life balance among graduate Romani women in Hungary. *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica.* Vol. 59 No. 1, pp. 165–190.

Conference Presentation

Zsanna Nyírő – Judit Durst (2021): Racialisation Rules: The Effect of Educational Upward Mobility on Habitus. Critical Approaches to Romani Studies Online Conference. 31 May – 4 June 2021, Central European University.