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Roma Youth and Roma Student Societies in the Hungarian Higher Education in the Light of Process-based Model of Inclusion

Abstract: Organisations and their programmes that specifically address target groups play an important role in creating inclusive educational environments. In this study, through the life stories of Roma students and by examining, describing, and analysing their formal community (the Roma Student Society Network), the authors present principles and dynamics in a model, which may be used as a basis for creating an inclusive environment in the specific context of a university. Our aim in writing this paper is to detail and embed in a process-based model of inclusion the capital accumulation provided by the Roma Student Society, an organisational structure that offers successful social mobility pathways for Roma students. Furthermore, by presenting the results of an empirical study about the Wlislócki Henrik Roma Student Society (WHSz) at the University of Pécs in Hungary and comparing this data to the research results of Roma student societies in other educational institutions across the country, the authors will try to demonstrate and model the necessity, success, and adaptability of WHSz as a support programme.

Keywords: higher education, Roma students, elements of a successful support organisation

Introduction

In the current study, Roma student societies in Hungary are analysed by integrating related research results into a process-oriented model developed by the authors. First, the Roma population and their educational situation are briefly discussed by referring to the educational policy context for creating the type of institution under study. Next, we take a scientific approach to the successful educational situation of Roma students, which, from the individual's point of view, refers to their intersectionality and resilient life path, and from the community perspective, it supports the self-help mechanism and empowerment through the characteristics of an inclusive environment. Finally, the nature of Roma student societies in Hungary is described through the example of an organisation, along the lines of the process-oriented model of inclusion, supported by research findings on similar organisations.

Minority Group Under Study: Presence of the Roma Population in Hungary

According to the 2010 census, 317,000 people declared themselves to be of Roma origin, composing 3.17% of the total population in Hungary. However, various research studies and Roma organisations estimate this number to be between 650,000 and 1 million (CSERTI-CŠAPÓ, 2015). The Roma population is concentrated in the north-eastern and south-western regions of Hungary, and they are overrepresented in the villages of less developed regions and segregated environments. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Roma community belonged to the lower segments of society during state socialism based on their social realities and external perceptions (KEMÉNY et al., 2004).

Roma inclusion efforts are representative of EU member states (TORGYIK, 2015). Following the accession to the EU in 2004, two rounds of EU applications (HRDOP, SROP) also targeted development in the field of integration of Roma students with significant project resources. Between 2000–2010, a complete education system was developed, offering equitable educational benefits from birth to tertiary education, specifically for the legal category of “disadvantaged Roma students”. The setup of the support scheme was in line with the EU Lisbon principles and strategies for educational integration. It placed domestic interventions in the legal framework, allocated EU funds to programs, and ‘framed’ them with complex subsidies for the labour market and housing development in the ‘the most disadvantaged areas’.

After 2011, the horizontal axis of the EU education strategy became the reduction of early school leaving and defining the expected indicators, which in turn influenced the focus points in the education system (FEHÉRVÁRI, 2015). In this context, a minor part of the EU funding sources was allocated for education development (EFOP) as compensation for disadvantaged students. Such funds helped establish Roma student societies and after-school tutoring programmes for advanced studies to mentor university students. Roma students appear as the directly targeted minority group in the grant applications in these two programs. Both types of programs (Roma student societies as mentoring programs and after-school tutoring programmes) are included in the state support system, which funds their operation. More than 300 after-school tutoring programmes are currently functioning in Hungary, primarily supporting disadvantaged primary school Roma students.

In fact, the last fifty years have witnessed a phenomenal expansion of education in Hungary, which has also had an impact on Roma communities. However, there is still a significant gap between the educational attainment of Roma and non-Roma youth. While 35% of non-Roma young people graduate from high school, only 5% of Roma youth start higher education (HAJDU et al., 2014). Unfortunately, the scope of this paper does not allow us to describe the reasons for this low indicator, but these factors can be found in studies referenced. In this article, the authors aim to outline a model that summarises the results of a national programme that has been operating in higher education in Hungary for ten years.

Organisation Examined: the Roma Student Society Network in Hungary

The establishment of the Roma Student Society Network is a crucial education policy decision for the improvement and empowerment of the different Hungarian Roma communities (FORRAY & BOROS, 2009). The network of 11 student societies, funded by either higher education or churches, has spread across the country, supporting almost 300 low socio-economic status (SES) learners, who are primarily Roma higher education students. It is essential to see that the support they receive from the organisation provides relevant answers

to personal life situations and community needs. It is also necessary to think about the pedagogical principles and goals of the institution that provide a home-like educational centre for the Roma intellectuals of the next generation (VARGA, 2018).

The characteristics of the total membership (N:326) of the 11 Roma Colleges are known according to a self-completion questionnaire survey (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020). 78.5% of college students are aged 18 and 24, and most of them enter higher education directly after secondary school. 69% declare themselves Roma, and 52% hold official documents proving their disadvantaged status. Around half of the students (47%) are from rural areas, and only a fraction (14.5%) come from large cities. Thus, in the case of a significant proportion of students, a municipal disadvantage can be assumed. Considering their family backgrounds, only a few of the students' parents completed less than eight years of primary education (father 7.5%, mother 9.5%). Additionally, 28% of fathers and 31% of mothers have primary education, 35% of fathers and 22% of mothers have professions, 16% of fathers and 21% of mothers have secondary school leaving certificates, and 9% of fathers and 15% of mothers hold university degrees. Regarding the labour market status of parents, 17% of fathers and 10% of mothers are unemployed, and employment is over-represented (60% of fathers and 68.5% of mothers). In other words, the Roma are predominantly a community of students who require support for their mobility through higher education because of their family backgrounds. Teacher and pedagogue training is over-represented among the specialised students (30.5%), followed by economics (12.5%), social sciences (11.5%), humanities (9.5%) and medicine and health (9%). Almost two-thirds of students (63.5%) are enrolled in BA programs. The students come from similar social backgrounds in the 11 student societies in Hungary. The difference lies rather in the type of programmes which is because each student society is affiliated with a certain type of university.

The authors analysed one of the 11 Roma Student Societies in detail. *Wislocki Henrik Roma Student Society (WHSz)* is an organisation which operates at the University of Pécs in Pécs, Hungary. *WHSz* is a unique establishment in Hungarian higher education, comprised of a group of students who do not necessarily live together but work together on developing their professional careers. For example, students support each other's research, and they engage in collaborative research and publications. *WHSz* is not an autonomous organisation because it operates within an academic institution. In 2002, the supportive organisation *WHSz* was founded at the Romani Studies Department of the University of Pécs to assist University of Pécs (UP) students of Roma origin or interest in Romani Studies as a Program, the opportunity for scientific inquiry, and participation in public life.

Theoretical Frameworks

The approach of the present study is twofold: on the one hand, the authors examine the role of Roma student societies in students' career development and capital accumulation, as well as the mechanisms by which the institutions facilitate this objective; on the other hand, from the organisational perspective, the authors explore how and with what impact student societies function as inclusive communities. The authors intend to develop a process-oriented model for the inclusive organisation under study to make it adaptable in other contexts. Through the pre-entry and the entry period of the Roma student society members (input 1), the authors highlight the relevance of the organisation and the activities that support entry. Regarding the Roma Student Society period (process 2), the authors analyse the impact of the organisation's system of service on student development. The success of exiting from the system and the chance of successful progress, such as graduation and continued schooling (output 3), are indicators of the organisation's effectiveness.

Due to this dual approach, the authors rely on concepts that frame our theme at both the personal (Roma student) and organisational level (the Roma student society) to make their relationship meaningful. Our starting point is equity, the extent to which and the degree to which this approach is applied determines (VARGA, 2015b) how and to what extent people with social disadvantages can become successful and resilient (MASTEN, 2001, MASTEN et al. 2008) despite their difficult life situation. This approach also demonstrates the accumulation of disadvantages; for example, when a person is a member of a stigmatised minority group in addition to being socially disadvantaged, this can lead to an intersectional situation (CSERTI-CSAPÓ & ORSÓS, 2013; SEBESTYÉN, 2016) whereby capital disadvantages and negative social perceptions generate problems that are difficult to separate. In the school context, the main questions for equal opportunities are what kind of capital investment, and accumulation process (cultural, social and psychological) (BOURDIEU, 1978; COLEMAN, 1997; SELIGMAN, 1998) characterises the individual, what their mobility potentials are, and what role support institutions play in this process. There is research on the specific mobility characteristics of Roma intellectuals such as the development of a Roma middle-class identity as well as organisational and individual support for their community (ÓHIDY, 2016; DURST & BEREMÉNYI, 2021). Additional studies have examined these issues by considering the importance of relatives (MESSING & MOLNÁR 2011) who, through their continuing education, provide an alternative model for the individuals studied within the theoretical framework of social capital (FORRAY, 2015, 2016; BEREMÉNYI & CARRASCO 2017). The different attitudes and strategies of society toward inequalities and, in this context, capital accumulation, mobility gaps, or opportunities outline types of interventions with positive outcomes (VARGA & CSOVCSICS, 2021), an effective system collectively referred to as an inclusive environment. In a previous study discussed (VARGA et al., 2020), the inclusive environment has a clear impact on Roma university students who are intersectional and on the path of multi-stage social mobility through multiple mechanisms. External and internal factors were identified that influence the resilience and psychological capital (LUTHANS et al., 2004, 2007, 2010; SELIGMAN, 1998) essential for development and maintenance. Similar results have been found among Roma students by researchers in Serbia (SIMIC et al., 2019). The present study assessed the resources necessary to develop empowerment based on social responsibility and self-help mechanisms in the fellow community (LAKATOS, 2010; TRAVIS-BOWMAN, 2015). Roma student societies as inclusive environments are aware of and utilise these mechanisms. An inclusive environment is based on the people's positive attitudes towards each other. With practical support and solutions, it helps diverse community members thrive as individuals and cooperate successfully. It mobilises a broad partnership and shows continuous improvement. This organisational development is supported by scientific studies, mainly based on the stories, opinions, and progress of Roma students (ARATÓ & VARGA, 2015; VARGA, 2015; TRENDL, 2015).

This study draws on the above scientific concepts and approaches to thematise our own and others' findings in the process-based model we constructed. In other words, starting from the social disadvantage describing the background of Roma students, the authors present the disadvantage-compensating, capital-accumulating programme of the Wlisslocki Roma Student Society, which bears the features of an inclusive environment. Our overall aim is to use our systems theory analysis to create an inclusive model that has been shown to be effective for the successful mobility of Roma students.

Methodology

As a starting point for the student data analysis, the authors examined their study conducted in 2017-18, in which 27 students from Pécs were interviewed. The interview questions addressed the subject of what external and internal influences could be identified in the students' lives and how these factors may relate to their successful progress, as well as the role the inclusive environment at WHSz played in their lives in maintaining resilience. The interviews were processed qualitatively, applying narrative content analysis and a pre-designed coding system. For the analysis of the interviews, data related to the membership of the students interviewed in the student society – their age, place of residence, assumed identity, social status, length of membership in the student society, their faculty and year – were used, which were processed as independent and dependent variables in the analysis. The results of this study were put into a broader context by means of a comparison based on secondary analysis to examine the validity of the results not only for a local community (LSC) but also for the network of Roma student societies. Therefore, the authors have collected all the academic studies on the Roma student societies that the members implemented in the last decade. The second analysis included additional research on WHSz in Pécs student (VARGA, 2015; RAYMAN & VARGA, 2015; DOBÓ et al., 2018; VEZDÉN, 2018; TRENDL, 2015, 2020), local surveys of Roma student societies in other regions (GROTKA-RÁKÓ & BOCSI, 2020; CEGLÉDI et al., 2018; JENEI & KERÜLŐ, 2016), and national research (MÁTÉ, 2015; LUKÁCS, 2018; BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020).

From an organisational point of view, document analysis was conducted. The authors reviewed the legislation, the call for applications, and the pedagogical programme in WHSZ. During the document analysis, the authors focused on the elements and characteristics of the inclusive system, identifying themes based on the research questions according to the process-oriented model of inclusion, answering the questions by synthesising the results of research on Roma students, and analysing WHSZ documents (Figure 1). The authors conducted a thematic synthesis of the different studies' results as outlined above to define WHSZ as an inclusive model of higher education.

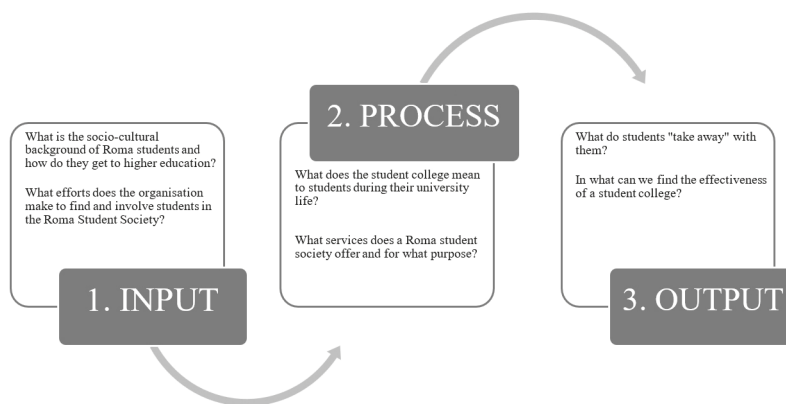


Figure 1. Research questions according to the process model of inclusion

Discussion – The Process-based Model of Inclusion

Through the analysis of the study programme implemented between 2013 and 2018 at the Wlislöcki Henrik Roma College in Pécs, the procedural model is set up as follows:

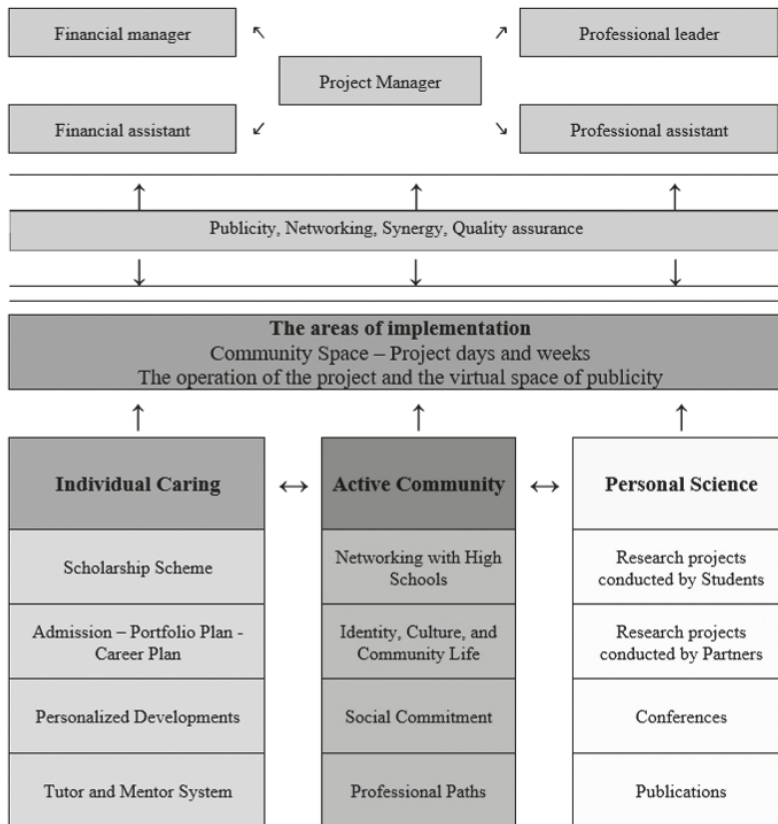


Figure 2. Student society services and activities in WHSz (VEZDÉN, 2018)

During the formulation of the model, the programme and its results were compared with data collected in other Roma student societies in Hungary. The comparison illustrates similarities between the composition of the colleges, the needs of the students and the organisational responses to those needs, all supporting the idea of the demand for a unified model.

1. INPUT - On the road to higher education: characteristics, life story, and aspirations of resilient students

The socio-cultural background indicators of the data survey (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020) on all students of Roma student societies (N:326) are summarised above. These averages for the total student population show slight variance across individual student societies (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020: 109). They are similar across different studies recorded in the last five years (GORTKA-RÁKÓ & BOCSI, 2020, p. 49; JENEI & KERÜLŐ, 2016, p. 321; LUKÁCS, 2019, p. 52; VEZDÉN, 2015, p. 93; VEZDÉN, 2018, p. 24). It can be stated that the student population of WHSz is

representative of the membership of Roma student societies across the country, as the resources supporting the Roma student society network have specific regulations with respect to the composition of the target group (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020, p. 22; VEZDÉN, 2018, pp. 12-13; VEZDÉN, 2015, p. 91). In general, “the majority of students are of Roma origin, from peripheral backgrounds that come from municipalities or small towns, and they live with their own families, few siblings and ‘undereducated’ parents...” (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020, p. 99).

Roma students are already considered resilient when they enter higher education, as they successfully progress along the path of multi-stage mobility (FORRAY, 2016; VARGA, 2018; CEGLÉDI et al., 2018). Through a multifaceted and intensive enrolment programme, Roma student societies are trying to reach this group underrepresented in higher education (Varga et al., 2020). They mainly target students already enrolled and admitted to higher education institutions, whose decision to continue post-secondary schooling is not influenced by student societies. But what motivated and helped these students to enter higher education?

The analysis of the biographical interviews conducted with the students at WHSz in 2014 (RAYMAN & VARGA, 2015) focused on the development of resilience: it explored the difficulties encountered during secondary school before entering higher education and how they overcame such obstacles. The university students in the control group of the study, who grew up in a higher social status environment, mentioned a few difficulties related to their studies, with the family playing an essential role in resolving them. On the contrary, the Roma/Gypsy students (WSz members) from disadvantaged backgrounds who went on to higher education highlighted significantly more difficulties in progressing through school. External organizations and schools helped to compensate for these hardships. In the interviews with newer Roma students in Pécs in 2017, the external influences such as support programmes, fellow students, and teachers also helped learners in their previous academic achievements. It was also consistent across the two rounds of interviews that students recalled the same proportion of external school events and people who had been supportive and non-supportive during primary school. However, during secondary school, the recall of hindering factors decreased significantly, with most students (85%) recalling positive experiences. There are a variety of explanations behind this change, such as the temporal distance in recalling events, age specificity, and homogeneous learning environments in small schools. It is important to highlight the significance of personal, supportive relationships during the secondary school years (often considered as a breakthrough), which usually extend into university years. This statement applies particularly to teachers who became role models for these students, and sometimes inspired their career choices. Similar results were found by researchers studying students from the student society in Debrecen. The external supports mentioned during secondary school years also appear in high percentages among the students they interviewed: 54.7% of students had access to scholarship support, 41.2% of students had access to support from teachers, and 63.4% of students had access to support from fellow students (GORTKA-RÁKÓ & BOCSI, 2020, p. 55).

The internal factors influencing the resilience of the Pécs students, and the personal side of overcoming difficulties came up in most of the interviews in 2017. The narrators chose effective strategies to counteract family trauma, school exclusion, and failure to succeed. The shared elements are the conscious will to change and prove themselves, confirmed by a study among student society members in Debrecen, which highlights the existence of intrinsic motivation in students and their families (CEGLÉDI et al., 2018). Most of the time, the change is made at the beginning of the final years of primary school, which is described as an internal drive. Typically, an individual from a school provides crucial support during this process. The external personal influences students receive through talent development

activities provide feedback on personal values and talents, strengthening students' self-confidence (self-affirmation and self-efficacy mechanisms), helping students experience direct and immediate success in a school environment where socially disadvantaged learners frequently play catch-up or dropout. In this sense, talent development results in a "positive Pygmalion effect" (ROSENTHAL et al., 1968). The interaction of extrinsic supports and intrinsic forces resulted in a high proportion of conscious and long-term career planning, motivation, self-confidence, and positive perceptions of the future in narratives about the past. These intrinsic characteristics constitute the positive psychological capital that characterises student society members (LUTHANS et al., 2004). These characteristics tended to be associated with external support persons (parents, siblings, friends, teachers) in earlier life stages, though a significant proportion of them became internalised over time.

In the 2017 survey, three-quarters of Pécs students reported powerful and motivating family backgrounds that positively influenced their school progress. They spoke of parents and relatives who tried to create the proper conditions even if they could not help with learning or did not consider higher education necessary. Furthermore, a third of the students in Pécs mentioned a sibling whose example was instrumental in making school decisions. This is in line with the results of a study published by Ceglédi and colleagues in 2018. However, in other research in Debrecen, the respondents were less likely to follow the example of a parent, sibling or relative who pursued higher education (CEGLÉDI et al., 2018; GORTKA-RÁKÓ & BOCSI, 2020, p. 58).

In the 2017 survey, Pécs students most often talked about the details of their decision to continue their studies in higher education as their own choice (67%). Parental support was mentioned in the decision-making process by almost half of the students (44%), while teacher support was mentioned by a third (37%). Among peers, siblings (22%) and friends (19%) overall produced similar proportions of motivation related to parents. In addition to motivation, they also expressed prior fears, mainly related to the financial burden, and described higher education as an unreachable goal due to the lack of cultural and social capital in the uneducated family environment. This fear did not appear in narratives where there was a sibling pattern in the family, and it was mentioned to a lesser extent by those who had strong support from friends or teachers. Students in the Debrecen survey mentioned gave the need for a well-paid job as their top reason for continuing their education, followed closely by the answer "to do what they like". On the negative side of the scale is the family and friendship pattern and the teacher's recommendation (GORTKA-RÁKÓ & BOCSI, 2020, p. 56). The results are consistent with the findings of a recent study on the contingency of the career choice decision and the lack of external, systemic support (BEREMÉNYI, 2022).

The most significant proportion of students in Pécs (78%) heard about the opportunity to attend a student society from their university peers, including their Roma classmates. Half of the students mentioned that their secondary school or university teachers had pointed out WHSz to them, and the number of those who applied because of the online campaign was negligible (i.e., two students). Respondents to a survey of students at three student societies in Hungary also most often cited fellow students as a source of information (55%), and only 10% cited teachers as a source of information (GORTKA-RÁKÓ & BOCSI, 2020, p. 54).

In Pécs, the highest proportion of students (63%) cited community affiliation as a reason for applying to a student society. At the same time, scholarships were mentioned by only a quarter of students while academic activity and study assistance was only referred to by a few participants. This is not to suggest that students do not need the latter, but rather they appear to experience a lack of community belonging most at the time of enrolling in university. This lack emerged in the interviews, mentioning the socio-cultural distance of

the new environment compared to the family community. The students also spoke of the security they perceived as being provided by people following a similar life path to that of senior students who operate as translators (ADLER, 1975) and points of reference for the new students.

2. PROCESS - From resilience to capital accumulation in an inclusive environment

Based on accreditation by the Education Office, Roma student societies provide scholarships and dormitories, as well as study assistance such as language teaching, community, religious and cultural programmes, and support for personal progress through tutoring and mentoring (THE ROMA STUDENT SOCIETIES, 2020).

The services provided by the Nyíregyháza Roma College are presented in a research study from 2016 based on an interview with the head of the school. The study found that students require the development of competencies that inform and support their professional activities. The research also analysed the demands of the student society members (N:22) based on essays submitted for admission. In addition to the importance of personal competencies, the importance of social competencies and cooperative skills was emphasised (JENEI & KERÜLŐ, 2016, p. 326). The results of the 2020 national survey also indicate this issue: students identified financial burdens (24%) and competence deficits (22%) with a comparable level of challenges related to progress in higher education (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020, p. 97). A different approach highlights the development of student societies and their impact on competences, which was revealed by research interviewing graduate students of Szeged student society. "(...) During the process of community formation in the student society, a re-socialisation process took place as a result of planned and conscious personality development, which represents an important value for success in the labour market (non-vocational competences). Young people actively participating in student societies (...) positively evaluate their work in the community, which strengthens their personal identity and coping skills increasingly valued in the greater society" (JANCSÁK, 2016, p. 328). Interviews with graduates of the Wáli István Student Society in Debrecen (N:16) also revealed the importance of community, which "keeps the students going" while they are pursuing their goals (CEGLÉDI et al., 2018).

In Figure 2 above, we intend to illustrate how support received from student societies contribute to students' capital accumulation and development. Individual care (first pillar) begins with the successful involvement of students in the first element of the inclusive model (Input). It is vital to organise a carefully prepared admission process, which starts with recruitment. Reaching the programme's target group may not work through classical advertising platforms. Instead, applicants discover the organisation through personal contacts, so it is important to allow sufficient time for the recruitment process. The next fundamental pillar is the tutoring system. Individuals of recognised academic standing (university tutors) are available to help students progress personally and individually at the student's request. This role feeds back into the engagement of tutors, making the university environment more inclusive.

On the other hand, individual care means that students ask for and receive services from external professionals tailored to their individual needs and requirements, from academic support to solving personal problems and language learning. The effectiveness of individualised care is enhanced because students choose their career plan in consultation with their tutor and adapt it to the opportunities offered. The interactivity of their support is enhanced by the fact that students record their progress in their portfolios and reflect on their progress simultaneously. All these activities contribute to enhancing students' cultur-

al and social capital, as they acquire competencies and knowledge that will contribute to the successful completion of their studies and, in the future, to their successful presence in the labour market. Competences are seen as incorporated cultural capital and the diploma is considered institutionalised cultural capital (BOURDIEU, 1997).

The student society is embedded in a community of practice characterised by active learning. The students shape their own cultural and community programmes that they are involved in based on their interests, including programmes aimed at strengthening identity, experiencing the Roma/Gypsy community as positive, and internalising the academic and intellectual process. The mentoring system ensures personalisation. As translators, the older, more experienced trainees act as mentors to move the community forward, helping to increase the activity of their younger peers. Mentors also gain self-confidence and personal reinforcement (self-help mechanism) through experiencing transformational community events. The pillar also includes volunteer work with local NGOs. These are primarily organisations that work with disadvantaged students and families. The activities of the *Active Community* pillar also witness the accumulation of cultural (incorporated) and social capital, as the strengthening of identity and commitment to social responsibility through voluntary work are observed. Another significant benefit of voluntary work is the reinforcement of young people's network of contacts as they leave the university, get acquainted with others, and work with organisations and people who already participate in the labour market. In several cases, students have found work during the summer or after graduation in the same organisation where they volunteered during the programme. In this way, they transform the social capital they acquired in the student society into economic capital in the long term.

In higher education, academic progress equips students with the cultural, relational, and psychological capital they can later use in the labour market. To this end, they receive training in the Personal Science pillar and during opportunities for practical application of knowledge. In addition, they can get support for individual and small group student research, engage in collaborative studies and academic projects, and participate in conferences and study visits in Hungary and abroad. A study published in 2018 summarises the participation of students in academic life, showing that between 2009 and 2018, students produced 138 publications and delivered 123 conference presentations (DOBÓ et al., 2018).

In a questionnaire survey conducted in 2013 with students (N:32) at WHSz, respondents described five services at the college that helped them complete their studies. They also wrote five things they would miss if the services were not available (Varga, 2015a). Scholarships (42%), community (49%), and language learning (49%) were the services most often cited as contributing to the success of their studies, with a wide range of other services appearing infrequently. For the "what would be missing?" question, respondents listed community (68%) the most frequently, while scholarships (29%), language learning (13%), and the need for other services were also mentioned in lower rates. These results were in line with the 2017 CV interview survey results, where students talked about how WHSz contributed to their academic success (VARGA, 2018, p. 56). The results do not indicate that the different services are indispensable but rather specific in their presentation. It can be assumed that the pedagogical activities of the specialised student society's equitable support services are integrated into the functioning of an inclusive community in their own "unnoticed" naturalness. As described in the previous chapter, WHSz makes a deliberate effort to compensate for the capital deficits of its students. However, students engage in this process in a community context where these benefits are as much a part of everyday life as they are for students with higher social status. Thus, it is evident that students perceive the college community as the most critical force supporting their progress in a holistic sense, motivating them to learn and providing an essential social network opportunity for their

continuing education. This finding is confirmed by the research of Lukács (2018), who investigated the social network of Roma students. The assumption that social support is necessary for students' subjective well-being and successful progression was true (LUKÁCS, 2018). This finding is also confirmed by the 2018 questionnaire-based free association survey of students (N:20) given to WHSZ students (VARGA, 2018, p. 60). In response to the question "What does the college mean?", personal assistance and study support services were prominent compared to material support. This is not to say that the scholarship provided by WHSZ is not a necessity for students. Instead, it indicates that financial support, even if it provides a degree of security, is often seen as inferior to the many other services provided by the student society. Personal attention in solving problems that arise ("help, support" 60%), activities related to academic careers ("studies, knowledge, research" 70%), self-reflection ("self-development" 60%), and personal experience ("experiences, memories, experiences" 65%) frequently appear in the responses, indicating the strength of the resilience component. The presence of a strong sense of community ("friendship, love" 90% and "community" 80%) in the narratives is striking, demonstrating the decisive influence of the student society on its members. In the national survey, the students were asked to list the services and support provided by student societies that were most important for their academic progress. Financial support (28%), the mentoring program and psychological support (22%), and support for academic progress (15%) were the most frequently mentioned services (BICZÓ-SZABÓ, 2020, p. 94).

3. OUTPUT - From dropout prevention to graduation

The point of output is characterised by the objectives set at the beginning of the programme and the figures indicating whether the objectives were reached. However, in terms of quantifiable outcomes, those demonstrating the academic progress of the trainees enrolled in the programme may be the most revealing. To illustrate this, the authors utilize the results of a 2018 survey of 104 students.

The graph presenting the graduation and dropout data (see Figure 3 below) demonstrates that 61 students finished their studies between 2013 and 2018 who were members of the Wlislöcki Henrik Roma Student Society, 35 of them successfully earning diplomas. In this study, unsuccessful students were considered dropouts who left their study programs without obtaining a degree from the University of Pécs. (However, there is no data on whether they continued their studies at other higher education institutions.) Students who exceeded their period of study but still had student status were in the system and they still had a chance to obtain a degree. Out of the 61 students, 35 successfully obtained their degrees, and an additional nine students passed the graduation exams, but they did not fulfil all the requirements to graduate (either missing their foreign language examination certificate or their undergraduate thesis). According to the data, there were 17 students who had their student status terminated without having obtained degrees for unknown reasons. The study revealed that 83% of the students from the student society at the University of Pécs obtained degrees or were still in the system with active status in different stages of the process: they either passed their graduation exam, were waiting for final examination, or they were in the process of completing their foreign language certificate to be able to earn their degree. According to one study (VARGA et al., 2021) data derived from the Neptune Education System's database tracking all students at the University of Pécs over a period of 10 years, 30.8% of the programs ceased to exist due to students not obtaining degrees. Compared to such high dropout rates, the student population of WHSZ has a lot lower attrition rate. In the present study, the authors can provide quantitative data to support

the student success rate, which also serves as an indicator of the effectiveness of inclusive community and services. However, behind this success of disadvantaged, predominantly Gypsy/Roma students are personal, individual investments and inputs without which inclusive services cannot achieve their goals. This daily experience has been confirmed in detail by a recent study in which the cost of mobility was traced through the experiences of more than one and a half hundred young graduates (BEREMÉNYI & DURST, 2021; DURST & NYIRÓ, 2021; BOROS et al., 2021).

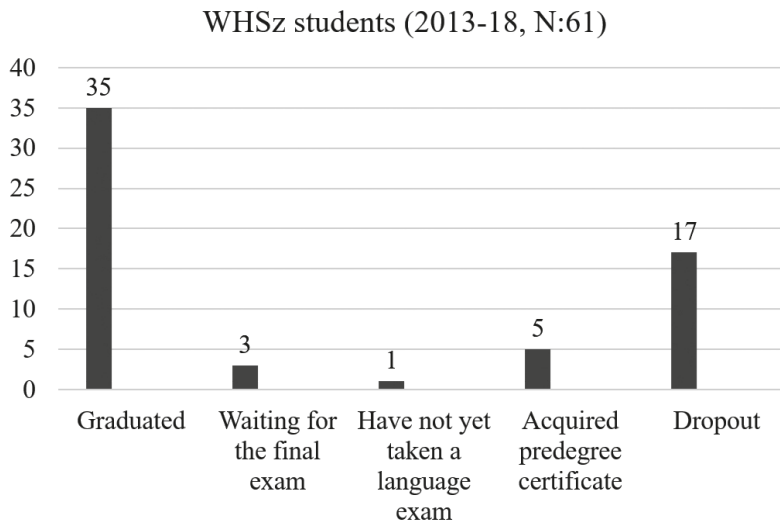


Figure 3. Graduation and attrition rates at Wlislöcki Henrik College in June 2018 (N=61) (TRENDL, 2020).

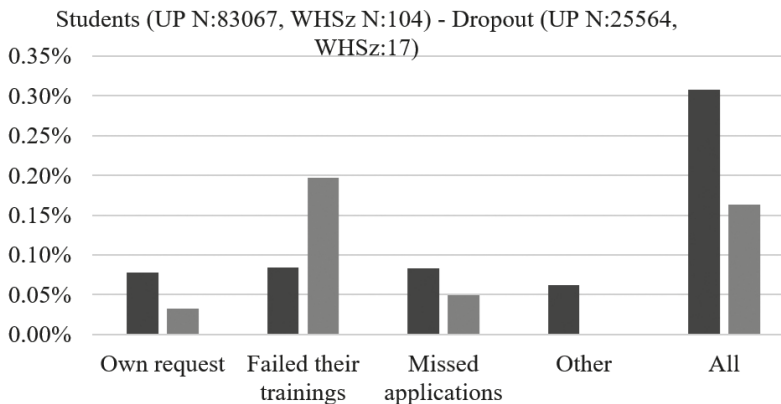


Figure 4. Student dropout rates at the University of Pécs compared to dropout rates at the Wlislöcki Henrik Student Society (Varga-Trendl's chart).

We also gained insights into students' future plans by asking the question "What do you think you'll be doing in ten years?" in our 2017 interview survey. The responses to this question revealed personal plans, but in many cases, we also obtained answers on how the WHSz contributed to the realisation of their future plans. The most striking feature of the answers was the emergence of concrete ideas related to employment, starting a fam-

ily, and contact with Roma communities. In their professional plans, half of the graduates mentioned activities in and for Roma communities, which shows a sense of social responsibility and a high degree of empowerment and willingness to improve their sense of social responsibility and contribute to building their communities. Most of them also mentioned that they would be in touch with members of WHSZ in the forthcoming 10 years because they believe that the school community and their experiences had had a long-term impact on their lives. Typically, the longer they were members of the student society, the higher the degree of their community engagement. Their narratives reflect the dichotomy between the power of community and how they can contribute to the progress of others. Long-term engagement is also illustrated by an international comparative study that analyses the impact of empowerment using examples from Italy and Hungary (BIGAZZI et al., 2020). The results of the national study show that “73% of Roma students plan to work after graduation and 52% of students are thinking about further studies” (BICZÓ & SZABÓ, 2020, p. 97). Starting a family and moving abroad were mentioned by 17% and 9% of the respondents respectively.

Significant results can also be found at the organisational level, which confirms the inclusiveness of WHSZ. In 2015, at the conclusion of the first grant programme, the first round of student society results was summarised and examined from the perspective of both students and program directors. Leaders of the initiative were asked to fill in a questionnaire with open-ended questions and scales. During the programme’s operation, the professionals working in the inclusive institution emphasised that solutions to different challenges must be implemented by improving their own methodological innovation and strengthening different aspects of WHSZ, rather than blaming college students. Inclusiveness demands continuous improvement on the part of program leadership, as opposed to the view that focuses on the shortcomings of students and parents as the cause of failure without teachers reflecting on their practices, resources, and methodologies (ARATÓ, 2015; RAYMAN, 2012).

Conclusion

The study attempted to contribute to the discourse by providing practical examples from a collection of empirical articles. Over the past twenty years, WHSZ, as the Roma Student Society at the University of Pécs has strived to create an inclusive pedagogical environment and it has successfully contributed to the social mobility of Roma youth. In the present study, the authors have reviewed specific elements of the programme and the capital accumulation process that has supported students in graduating from the University of Pécs. The authors aimed to support higher education establishments planning to make their institutions more inclusive by presenting specific elements of the programme at WHSZ and describing it in a broader context to compare this initiative to other Roma colleges in the country.

Applying the related theoretical concepts based on secondary analysis of student research and documents of student societies, the authors summarised the characteristics of Roma student societies in Hungary today (see Figure 5). The concepts presented in the chapter on theoretical frameworks were interpreted at the organisational level of Roma student societies and at the individual level of student members. The study was conducted in the context of the process-based model of inclusion to facilitate its adaptability.

	Input	Process	Output
ORGANISATIONAL TARGET	Engaging students from intersectional backgrounds through equitable means	Creating an inclusive environment with continuous improvement	Supporting graduation by preventing attrition
PERSONAL INFLUENCE	Existence of resilience: Successful individual learning path to university despite various disadvantages	The emergence of empowerment: Mobilising self-help mechanisms and positive psychological capital in supportive environments through peer-based community empowerment	Mobility to be achieved: Multifaceted capital accumulation (cultural, relational, psychological) for multi-stage social mobility

Figure 5. Inclusive model of a Roma student society

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