

VALUE RESEARCH AMONG HUNGARIAN GYPSY/ROMA PEOPLE WITH A FOCUS ON RESPONSIBILITY IN A RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

Abstract: The intention of this paper is to demonstrate that the notion and feeling of responsibility are present both among Hungarians towards the Gypsy/Roma minority of the country and also among the Gypsies towards their own life and communities. Proving this point, the paper relies on the research conducted in the Network of Church-run Roma Special Colleges (NoCRoSC) established by the so-called historical Christian churches on the one hand and in the Gypsy Evangelical Movement (GEM) on the other. The paper presents the updated results on the value system of NoCRoSC students and a detailed discussion on the survey conducted among the members of Hungarian GEM. It also proposes a comprehensive research on Gypsy/Roma values in 4-5 villages in the Eastern part of Hungary.

Keywords: Gypsy/Roma people, religiosity, value system, responsibility, Network of Church-run Roma Special Colleges, Gypsy Evangelical movement

Today the realization of “freedom” and “responsibility” in a “socialist democracy” as envisioned by Polányi in *The Great Transformation* (1944) might seem even less realistic than in his time.¹ The so-called existing socialism experienced within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union lacked both freedom and the acceptance of responsibility, and the same is true of the harsh realities of global capitalism following the collapse of Communism. While theoretically these two values have remained as important as ever (Morel 1986), their actual significance – especially that of responsibility *for* and *among* the Gypsy/Roma² population – is questionable and loaded with prejudices.

1 The first version of this paper was presented at the First Conference of the Visegrád Anthropologists' Network (V4 Net) at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Halle/Saale, Germany on June 7-9, 2018. The topic of the conference was based on Polányi's above-mentioned vision. I am grateful to the Max Planck Institute, especially Chris Hann for making possible participation in the conference, and also to Bertalan Pusztai and Margit Feischmidt for their comments on my paper.

2 The term *Romani* is used by several political organisations—including the United Nations, the Council of Europe, and the US Library of Congress in referring to the ethnic group who trace their origin to the Indian Subcontinent. They are widely dispersed throughout Europe, with their largest concentrated populations in Spain and Romania. Recently, they have also immigrated to the Americas (USA and Brazil) and, to a lesser extent, to North Africa and the Middle East. For self-designation, the term *Roma* is also common in Central and Eastern Europe. The Romani people are also known by a variety of other names, in English as *Gypsies* and *Roma*. While the term *Gypsy* is considered by some in Hungary as degrading, others point out proudly that they are not *Roma*, but *Gypsies*. Consequently, I will use both terms in the present study.

The present study examines responsibility as it is manifested in religious circumstances. The religious framework of this investigation is given for two reasons. The first is that reflecting on the economically, socially, and culturally dire situation of the Roma/Gypsy people in Hungary³, the three traditional Christian churches⁴ decided to work out what they called the Christian alternative for Roma integration.⁵ As a result, the Network of Church-run Roma Special Colleges (NoCRoSC) was established on 17th March, 2011. In other words, responsibility *for* the Roma population is not simply a social question; it is also a religious issue.

The other reason for investigating responsibility in a religious context is that the so-called Gypsy/Roma awakening or missionary movement⁶ has produced considerable results, especially with regard to the changes in the life-style of the converts. In other words, as we will see, responsibility *among* the Roma people for themselves can also be observed.

The study first introduces very briefly both the Network of Church-run Roma Special Colleges and the Gypsy/Roma missionary movement. A short description of the research conducted both in the colleges and the movement is included. It is followed by the presentation of religious characteristics of people participating in them. Finally, their opinion on various aspects of responsibility is highlighted. The study concludes with some suggestions for further research.

The Network of Church-run Roma Special Colleges⁷

The network loosely connects the ecclesiastical institutions that took up the task of providing board for Roma/Gypsy youth who successfully passed the entrance examination and were accepted in the system of Hungarian higher education. The Network of Church-run Roma Special Colleges has a rotating directorate, and regular meetings are held to exchange information and share good practices, while the autonomy and independence of the participating institutions are safeguarded. The inner life of the colleges is arranged separately; and their organisational structure is decided without any external influence. The only requirement is that three modules must be present in their curricula. These modules are the spiritual module, a Hungarian-Romani integration-builder module, and the preparation for public role module.

The colleges provide the students with different services in accordance with the three basic modules. Regarding educational support, for example, they provide tutoring by university professors and preparation for language exams. The intention of NoCRoSC is the integration of Roma/Gypsy students into Hungarian

3 See, for instance, Kemény, Janky and Lengyel (2004), Kertesi (2005), and Kállai and Törzsök (2006).

4 They are the Catholic, the Reformed and the Lutheran churches.

5 In April 2011, the Hungarian government, as holder of the presidency of the European Union, launched a highly acclaimed Roma strategy.

6 Gyetvai and Rajki (2014: 12) note that in the Anglo-Saxon literature the same phenomenon is called synonymously Gypsy or Romani/Romany evangelical/ Pentecostal, revival movement while in Hungary it is simply and frequently referred as Roma/Gypsy mission.

7 The description of NoCRoSC and the research conducted among its students is from Török (2013).

society. While this necessarily means the improvement of their Hungarian identity, the colleges also want to strengthen the students' Roma identity. What is more, they want the students to develop and firmly establish a *positive* Roma identity. For this purpose, Romani culture is taught extensively. Not surprisingly, a solid Christian worldview is also one of the aims of the founders. They also expect the students to prepare for an active public role, initiating public dialogue and taking up public responsibilities. The final goal, however, is to orient graduated students back to their original community; they are encouraged and helped to maintain connections with their family and original community.

Besides the three-module curricula, there is one more common feature in these colleges. According to the regulations of the network, colleges can accept non-Roma/Gypsy Hungarian students as well, in order to facilitate common living, but the proportion of these students must not exceed 25 percent. With the exception of one college where there are only Roma/Gypsy students, all the others accept non-Roma/Gypsy students as well (Forray & Marton, 2012).

The Gypsy/Roma Missionary Movement

Formal missionary activity directed towards the Gypsies began in earnest worldwide only at the end of the eighteenth century.⁸ The current movement, present also in Hungary, however, began only in the mid-twentieth century in France. Although the Hungarian missionary movement began to flourish after 1990, its roots go back to the 1970s. The leadership of the Kádár regime had to realize that whatever the Communist propaganda said, marginalized groups⁹ existed in the country. The leaders of the party reasoned that it was better to let the Gypsies convert to Christianity, mostly to the Pentecostal Church¹⁰ than to let them remain excluded. As Imre Miklós, the leader of the State Office for Church Affairs put it, it was better if the Gypsies went to a church and remained sober than becoming drunk in a pub. Thus, we might say that the beginning of this movement was supervised by and under the patronage of the Hungarian Communists.

At present, "the number of active Roma Christians is over 200,000 in Spain, over 140,000 in France, tens of thousands in Bulgaria and Romania, and thousands in places like Slovakia and Hungary".¹¹ There are several characteristic features that differentiate the current movement from earlier missionary activities. First of all, it is almost global while the earlier ones were at most local initiatives, they did not even reach social dimensions. The number of Roma converts is very high, much larger than in earlier times. What is more, these converted Gypsies

⁸ For the history of the Gypsy missionary movement see, e.g. Gyetvai – Rajki (2014) or Wachsmuth (2017).

⁹ Apart from the Gypsies, groups of deviant youth were the most obvious examples.

¹⁰ It was controlled by the Communists using every possible means; in other words, it did not represent extra danger for the authorities.

¹¹ The quotation is from Wachsmuth (2017: 10), but Gellért Gyetvai researching the Roma/Gypsy missionary movement in Hungary estimated the number of Gypsies participating in the revival movement to be around 20,000.

establish not only their own congregations within a denomination, but also independent and autonomous denominations. At last, but not least, the current movement has a strongly ethnic character; it remains within the Roma population and does not reach the members of the host society.

Researches in NoCRoSC and the Gypsy/Roma missionary movement

Researchers of the Institute of Mental Health at Semmelweis University in Hungary conducted a tripartite research among the students of NoCRoSC. It consisted of life-story reviews and surveying both their value system and their network. For the life-story reviews students were asked to narrate their life focusing on questions such as how they achieved or arrived in their current position, who helped them, what their identity was, etc.¹² Referring to the possibility that they would be examples, ideals, and role models for other Roma/Gypsy children and young people,¹³ they were also asked what they think of that. On average, the life-interviews lasted about three hours.

The examination of the students' personal network was carried out through the so-called contact diary method (Husztai, Dávid & Vajda, 2013). Students were asked to keep a diary for a week, recording each evening in the entries the names of the persons – with pseudonyms – their gender, and the relationship between them. A contact should not be limited to greeting somebody, but required at least a five-minute discussion either in person or by some other form of communication, such as telephone, Skype, internet, etc.

For the measurement of the students' value system, an adapted version of the European Value Studies (EVS) questionnaire was used.¹⁴ While the proceedings of the survey employ interviewers, the adapted version is self-administered, which was made possible by the instructions of the modified questionnaire. Students are asked to fill in the questionnaire on their own, but if they still had questions they could turn to the researchers on the spot. The adapted version was first essentially the same as the questionnaire of the EVS. However, it soon became clear that there are several items in the EVS questionnaire which are either not applicable to or not conceivable for the students, therefore, a shorter version of the survey is employed, omitting the items considered unnecessary. Nevertheless, apart from demographic data even this shortened version of the questionnaire covers such

12 For similar interviews, see Forray (2004) and Pusztai (2004). The latter notes that religious communities have not only an integrative effect, they also help educational mobility.

13 Students of the special Roma college in Miskolc, run by the Greek Catholic Church, were taken to the elementary school of a nearby village with a dominantly Roma/Gypsy population. The school-children were informed only about the visit of university students, but the students' Roma/Gypsy identity remained hidden. When they entered the classroom, the Roma/Gypsy children could not help expressing their astonishment, which even intensified when the students told them that they would become lawyers, information specialists, etc.

14 From the numerous publications reporting general, continent-wide results of the EVS, see, for example, Halman, Sieben and Zundert (2011), or for the study on Hungarian values, see Rosta and Tomka (2010).

topics as views on democracy, work, marriage, family, religion, trust in others and in particular institutions, child-raising issues, social responsibilities, identity, regionalism, moral questions, etc.

While certain aspects or some local manifestations of the Hungarian Roma/Gypsy missionary movement were studied by several researchers in the qualitative genre (Péceli – Lukács 2009, Péceli 2013, Péterfi – Szűcs 2014), a survey research was done by Gellért Gyetvai¹⁵. Systematic one-step random sampling of 1100 members of 51 congregations in the Gypsy/Roma missionary movement resulted in 705 analysable questionnaires representing the active Gypsy membership who were baptized, had a self-reportedly Gypsy/Roma identity, and who were older than 16.

The following analysis is based on the collected data of the above-mentioned two researches.¹⁶

General and Religious Characteristics of Students in NoCRoSC

The number of students in the five church-run colleges has increased since 2012 (from 104 to 132). Most are between the age of 19 and 23; somewhat more than half (53 percent) are female. Similarly, more than half are from small settlements with a population of less than 5,000. The majority of parents – 80 percent – are of Gypsy/Roma origins; and more than half of the parents have only elementary education. In most cases, the fathers are more educated than the mothers, with the exception of those who have a college or university degree where the proportion of mothers is almost twice as high as that of the fathers (13 % vs 7%). The majority of the students come from 4-5-person households, i.e. they have one or two siblings. The relatives of the students are significantly less educated than their other acquaintances, furthermore, the majority of relatives are economically inactive: unemployed (16 percent), disabled pensioner (23 percent), semiskilled (15 percent).

87 percent consider themselves religious, which is definitely higher than the national average (56.4 percent).¹⁷ The non-religious 13 percent might be surprising in view of the fact that we are talking about Christian colleges, but the churches apparently do not request religious affiliation when they select the students. Nine out of ten students (93 %) belong to a denomination. Regarding the content

15 If not stated otherwise, information on the research is from the dissertation of my doctoral student, Gellért Gyetvai (2018).

16 Thus, the present study is – for practical purposes – a second, or particularly focused analysis of the original datasets.

17 Here I have to rely on the EVS survey instead of the national census of 2011. In the census it was not obligatory to answer the questions probing religious affiliation and ethnic identity. Thus, 27.2 percent of the Hungarian population did not answer the questions about religiosity. Furthermore, many experts doubt the reliability of the census data, because the formulation of the question on religious affiliation was not unequivocal. It asked whether the respondent was a member of a religious community, which could be interpreted as membership in a small group (community) within a religious denomination.

of their belief system, in comparison with the Hungarian averages as Table 1 indicates, the students of these colleges are definitely much more religious than their peers. The data also indicates that, similarly to their Hungarian peers, the meaning system of their beliefs is not consistent, or at least, it is not in accordance with the basic tenets of Christianity. For belief in reincarnation or the power of amulets is definitely contrary to what Christians should believe.

Table 1. *Some elements of the belief system of NoCRoSC students and the Hungarian population*

Believes in ...	NoCRoSC (%)	Hungarians (%)
God	94***	72
Life after death	80***	35
Hell	73***	26
Heaven	83***	36
Sin	82***	53
Reincarnation	26	22
Amulet, etc.	21	20

Data source for Hungarian population: EVS 2008. The EVS data is filtered to the age group of the NoCRoSC students.

*** Significance level: 0.001

A similarly higher religious attitude can also be observed in their opinion on the necessity of religious services or rituals at different milestone events, especially at marriage and death (Table 2).

Table 2. *The proportion of NoCRoSC students and Hungarians who consider religious services necessary at different events.*

Religious rituals are important at ...	NoCRoSC (%)	Hungarians (%)
Birth	82**	74
Marriage	96***	72
Death	93***	80

Data source for Hungarian population: EVS 2008. The EVS data is filtered to the age group of the NoCRoSC students

** Significance level: 0.01

*** Significance level: 0.001

While the students of the special Christian Roma colleges can be considered religious persons who feel the need for religious rituals at the important events in their life, this religiousness is less evident in their participation in religious services. Nevertheless, their data still indicates a significantly higher participation rate than that of their Hungarian counterparts among those who visit churches more regularly, i.e. at least monthly (Table 3). Consequently, the proportion of students who never go to a church is much lower. All of these might be explained by the fact that we are talking about students who received board in colleges run by the traditional Christian churches of Hungary.

Table 3. *The proportion of NoCRoSC students and Hungarians participating in the events of organised religion*

	NoCRoSC (%)	Hungarians (%)
Weekly	41***	9
Monthly	22***	7
At certain feasts	17	21
Yearly	9	5
Rarely	14	14
Never	7***	44

Data source for Hungarian population: EVS 2008. The EVS data is filtered to the age group of the NoCRoSC students

*** Significance level: 0.001

Significant differences can be observed between the students' and the Hungarians' views on the areas where the churches might be able to give competent answers and solutions (Table 4). While the differences – with the exception of spirituality – are significant even at the level of 0.001, it is nevertheless noteworthy that these students consider the churches capable of providing feasible answers both to the social problems and the difficulties of family life. Possible explanations for this high confidence include again the fact that these students are religious and living in church-run colleges where they can learn about the teachings of the Christian churches on both social issues and family life in the spiritual modules of NoCRoSC.

Table 4: *The proportion of NoCRoSC students and Hungarians who think that the churches can give appropriate answers to different problems*

	NoCRoSC (%)	Hungarians (%)
Moral	59***	41
Family	63***	34
Spiritual	78**	61
Social	53***	19

Data source for Hungarian population: EVS 2008 The EVS data is filtered to the age group of the NoCRoSC students

** Significance level: 0.01

*** Significance level: 0.001

The Opinion of Students in NoCRoSC on Responsibility

The EVS offers several possibilities to examine the views on accepting responsibility. One area is the attitude towards work; another is the position on parent-child duties, including the values that parents should teach to their children. Finally, the frequency of membership in different civil organizations and voluntary work as indicators of fulfilling social responsibilities can also be tested.

As we can see in Table 5, the students' attitude towards work differs significantly from that of their non-Gypsy counterparts. Work is not always in first place, especially not if it means less free time. In comparison, these students are less likely to find it humiliating to receive money without working for it. Similarly, they do not regard work as necessary for self-realisation or development. All in all, while they consider work as an important component of their life, their attitude towards it differs significantly from that of their non-Gypsy peers. It does not occupy such a central and dominant place in their life as it does in the Hungarians' case.

Table 5. *The proportion of NoCRoSC students and Non-Gypsy/Roma Hungarians agreeing with statements regarding work.*

	Proportion of Agreement (%)	
	NoCRoSC	Hungarians
Work is always in first place, even if it jeopardises free time	24***	61
It is humiliating to get money if one does not work for it	42***	56
Work is necessary for development, self-realisation	57***	86

Data source for Hungarian population: EVS 2008. The EVS data is filtered to the age group of the NoCRoSC students

*** Significance level: 0.001

However, if we ask how important work is in their life, just like the Hungarians, Roma/Gypsy students considered work as the second most important item in their life after their families. Furthermore, it was considered more important by them than by their Hungarian counterparts.¹⁸

¹⁸ A detailed discussion of this difference and the Gypsies' general attitude towards work is beyond the limits of this paper. For a possible explanation, see for example Stewart (1997, especially Chapter 2, and pp. 37-9 in Chapter 3).

Regarding parent-child responsibilities (Table 6) students in NoCRoSC feel more responsibilities towards both parents and children than their non-Gypsy counterparts. They also feel more responsibility towards unborn children. Their views on children's reliance on parents, child-raising as social responsibility and the moral imperative that we must love and honour our parents do not differ significantly from the views of society in general. However, their views on what values children should and can be taught at home are rather telling. Unlike non-Gypsy Hungarians, these students consider responsibility along with tolerance and respect the most important values children should acquire at home. Their non-Gypsy peers view responsibility only as the third most important quality – after manners and diligence – children can be taught at home.

Table 6. *The proportion of NoCRoSC students and Non-Gypsy/Roma Hungarians agreeing with statements regarding parent-child duties*

	Proportion of Agreement (%)	
	NoCRoSC	Hungarians
Parents must do everything for children, even if it jeopardises their comfort and prosperity	92***	77
Children need both father and mother	93	94
Child-raising is social responsibility	36	36
Abortion is acceptable if the woman is unmarried	24***	59
Abortion is acceptable if they do not want more children	40***	70
Parents must be honoured and loved always	79	75
Grown-up children must take care of their sick parents	86***	58

Data source for Hungarian population: EVS 2008. The EVS data is filtered to the age group of the NoCRoSC students.

*** Significance level: 0.001

It can also be said that NoCRoSC students participate in greater proportion in public life than their non-Gypsy Hungarian peers. While almost 90 percent of these students are members of different organizations, their non-Gypsy counterparts make up only about 30 percent. Similarly, the proportion of students doing voluntary work is between 60 and 80 percent¹⁹, the figure for non-Gypsy peers is only 25 percent. However, the students' high participation in public life is not

¹⁹ Depending on the year of investigation.

surprising in itself, especially if we recall that one of the modules of NoCRoSC is preparation for public life.

General and Religious Characteristics of Members of the Roma/Gypsy Missionary Movement²⁰

Almost two thirds of the congregations (61 %) within the missionary movement consist of less than 50 people; and the membership of another quarter (24 %) is between 50 and 99. In other words, we are talking about relatively small congregations. Similarly, almost two thirds (60%) are ethnically homogenous, i.e. the membership consists entirely of Roma/Gypsy people. Again, almost two thirds (62%) of the membership do not speak any Gypsy language, while a quarter (27%) speak Romani dialect. The distribution of sexes is even, although there is a difference between the charismatic and non-charismatic movements. While the proportion of men and women in the former is rather even (48% vs 52%), in the non-charismatic congregations, men are overrepresented (65% vs. 35%).

Twenty percent of the respondents joined the congregation alone, while almost half of them (46%) entered the congregation with their family. It also means that the majority (70%) are married and live with their spouse. Almost two thirds of the respondents (61%) live in households with five or more members. More than half (54%) are middle-aged, i.e. they are between the age of 31 and 50. The proportion of unmarried people is rather low, less than 14 percent. The so-called 'unethical relationships' – from a Christian point of view – make up only 7.2 percent of which 6 percent are common-law relationships. The average number of children is 2.91.

Regarding their educational level, more than half (57%) have only primary education, and another 15 percent did not even finish it. Seven percent graduated from secondary school; and 1.5 percent have a college or university degree. In the light of the educational level, perhaps it is less surprising that a quarter of the respondents (26%) are unemployed. More than half of those who have a job work in governmental budgetary institutions, while 29 percent are self-employed, and another 8 percent work in different ecclesiastical institutions.

Their religious characteristics are determined by the dominantly charismatic, neo-Pentecostal and Protestant nature of the missionary movement. Nine out of ten people consider faith, Bible knowledge and reading, religious experience, the community, and prayer as rather important in their life. Only 80 percent judged dogmas, religious feelings and emotions important; and even fewer, half of the respondents viewed rituals as essential in their life.

Three quarters of the respondents (73%) listen to religious music daily. 92 percent pray on a daily basis, and only 3 percent pray occasionally. These numbers are rather telling if we consider that 53 percent of men and 30 percent of women in Hungary never pray. Four out of five (85%) go to the house of prayer on a

²⁰ In the description of general characteristics I rely on Gyetvai – Rajki (2014) while in the religious characterization I follow Gyetvai (2018).

weekly basis, 6 percent frequent it monthly, while the rest of the respondents visit it biweekly.

Measuring the so-called 'religious distance', respondents were asked how close they let God to themselves. As Table 7 indicates, about 90 percent of them could be considered deeply religious in so far as their everyday life can be determined by a religious agent – God.

Table 7. *The extent of closeness to which God can get to a Roma/Gypsy person, according to the respondents*

The extent of closeness	%
Can observe only from the outside	0.4
Can influence only the religious aspects of my life	1.5
Can influence the non- religious aspects of my life as well	18.6
Can ask the greatest sacrifice as well	71.1
Uncertain about the answer	8.4

Religious distance was probed by another question, which was somewhat similar to the NoCRoSC students' question on the issue of whether the churches can give appropriate answers in different spheres of life.²¹ Here, however, respondents were asked whether it is acceptable if the church tries to have a say in different personal issues (Table 8). The results indicate that about two thirds of them find it acceptable if the church tries to influence them in their private life.

Table 8. *Proportion of Respondents Who Consider It Acceptable that the Church Have a Say in Different Areas of Life*

Areas of Life	Acceptable (%)
Moral question	66
Mate selection	59
Life style	69
Sexual life before marriage	73

However, the question remains whether this religious influence manifests itself in the life of the believers. In other words, the question is whether the faithful take the teaching of the church to heart and feel a responsibility to observe it. This will be discussed in the following part.

21 C.f. Table 4.

Religious Influence in Everyday Life: The Issue of Responsibility

In the questionnaire respondents had the option of listing three areas where in their opinion the life of believers had changed. The results are presented in Table 9. The high proportions of changing life style, recovery from addictions, and moral improvement are eye-catching. We might conclude that it is not unreasonable to think that church teaching had an influence on the life of the believers. It is also reasonable to assume that the feeling of personal responsibility in observing the rules recommended by the church was also at work.

Table 9. *The Proportion of Different Changes in the Life of Believers*

Type of Change	Proportion (%)
Changing ethnicity	1.5
Recovery from addiction	23.5
Physical healing	1.0
Improvement in family relations	4.7
Moral improvement	19.7
Changing life style	48.9
No change, or worsening	0.7
Total	100.0

Conclusion

We have seen two religious frameworks in which the value of accepting responsibility was analysed. In this concluding part, it is worthwhile to compare the two settings with a focus on the value of responsibility (Table 10). While the missionary movement started at the grass root level, NoCRoSC was established by the hierarchy of the traditional Hungarian Christian churches. The origins of the missionary movement go back to the Communist era in the late 1970s, whereas the network of Roma colleges was established in 2011. The former counts at least thousands in its membership in Hungary, the latter involves ‘only’ a few hundred students.

Table 10. *Summary of the Aspects of Responsibility in the Two Religious Settings*

	NoCRoSC	Roma Missionary Movement
Initiator	Church hierarchy	Grass root
Beginning	2011	1970s
Volume	A few hundreds	(Tens of) thousands
Type of responsibility	For the Roma people	Among the Roma people
Communal benefit(s)	Prolonged	Immediate
Relationship with host society	Mixed environment	Somewhat segregated
Family/Community ties	To be preserved	Strong

In the case of NoCRoSC, the responsibility felt is *for* the Roma/Gypsy by non-Roma people while in the missionary movement it is experienced *among* the Roma/Gypsy people by and for themselves. Apart from the individual benefits which can be felt immediately in both settings, there are also communal benefits. In the case of the network of colleges where students are expected to keep in touch with their Roma/Gypsy communities, the benefit can only be materialized after the students' graduation, if ever. However, in the case of the missionary movement, the congregation itself is already a communal benefit not only in its organizational form, but also in the beneficial changes produced in the member's life.

While the colleges intentionally mix Roma/Gypsy students with their non-Gypsy peers, the congregations of the missionary movement experience a certain level of segregation in so far as their membership is ethnically rather homogenous. And finally, whereas the colleges 'uproot' the students from their families and communities – at least temporarily with the intention of 'sending them back' – the congregations are themselves creating a community for the membership. What is more, they strengthen the families both of those which join the congregations as a unit and of the individual persons through whom other family members also benefit from the changes in the lives of the converted.

In both cases, it is to be seen whether the changes are for the long run. It also means that we have to keep researching these initiatives, not only their existence, functioning and activities, but also the values that motivate them. It also necessitates a comparative value research in the hope of highlighting the differences between the value systems of the Gypsy/Roma people and their non-Gypsy counterparts.

LITERATURE

FORRAY, R. K.

2004 *Életutak, iskolai pályák. Interjúk cigány, roma fiatalokkal* [Life Stories, School Careers. Interviews with Gypsy, Roma Students]. Pécs: PTE BTK Neveléstudományi Intézet Romológia és Nevelésszociológia Tanszék.

FORRAY, R. K. – MARTON, M.

2012 Egyházi szakkollégiumok [Special Church-Run Colleges]. *Iskolakultúra*, 22(7-8), 35 – 44.

Gyetvai, Gellért – Rajki, Zoltán

2014 *Cigánymissziós mozgalmak hatása Magyarországon.* (The Effects of Roma Missionary Movements in Hungary.) Cigány Módszertani és Kutató Központ, Békés.

GYETVAI, Gellért

2018 *A romák vallásossága – a „mimikri vallásosságtól” a cigány ébredési mozgalmig.* [The Romas' Religiosity – From “mimicry religiosity” to the Roma Awakening Movement] PhD Dissertation. Semmelweis University, Budapest.

HALMAN, L., SIEBEN, I. & van ZUNDERT, M. (Eds.)

2011 *Atlas of European Values. Trends and Traditions at the turn of the Century.* Leiden: Brill.

HUSZTI, É., DÁVID, B. & VAJDA, K.

2013 Strong Tie, Weak Tie and In-Betweens: A Continuous Measure of Tie Strength Based on Contact Diary Datasets. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 79, 38–61.

KÁLLAI, E. – TÖRZSÖK, E. (Eds.)

2006 *Átszervezések kora: cigánynak lenni Magyarországon : jelentés 2002-2006* [A Period of Reorganizations: Being a Gypsy in Hungary – Report 2002 - 2006]. Budapest: Európai Összehasonlító Kisebbségkutatások Közalapítvány.

KEMÉNY, I., JANKY, B. & LENGYEL, G.

2004 *A magyarországi cigányság 1971-2003* [Romani/Gypsy People of Hungary 1971-2003]. Budapest: Gondolat.

KERTESI, G.

(2005). *A társadalom peremén* [On the Edge of Society]. Budapest: Osiris.

Morel, Julius

1986 *Ordnung und Freiheit. Die Soziologische Perspektive*. Tyrolia.

PÉCELI, Melinda – LUKÁCS, Ágnes

2009 A vallás szerepe a cigányság integrációjában [The Role of Religion in the Integration of Gypsies]. *Embertárs* 7. évf. 3. sz. 262-284.

PÉCELI, Melinda

2013 A vallási közösség mint a cigány-integráció egyik lehetséges terepe [Religious Community as One of the Possible Areas of Roma Integration]. In. GERESEN Ferenc-LUKÁCS Ágnes (eds.) *Fogom a kezét, és együtt emelkedünk. Tanulmányok a roma integrációról*. [Holding His/Her Hand We Are Lifted Up Together. Studies on Roma Integration] Budapest, Faludi Ferenc Akadémia.

PÉTERFI, Rita – SZŰCS, Hajnalka

2004 A beilleszkedés egyik lehetséges útja: Az uszakai cigányság találkozása a kereszténységgel [One of the Possible Ways of Integration: How the Roma/Gypsy People of Uszka Meet Christianity] In. NAGY Attila-PÉTERFI Rita *A feladatra készülni kell*. [We Must Prepare for the Task] Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó. 137-151.

PUSZTAI, Gabriella

2004 Kapcsolatban a jövővel. [In Contact with the Future]. *Valóság*, 47 (5), 69 – 84.

ROSTA, G. – TOMKA, M. (Eds.)

2010 *Mit értékelnek a magyarok? Az Európai Értékrend Vizsgálat 2008. évi magyar eredményei* [What do the Hungarians value? Results of the European Value Surveys conducted in 2008]. Budapest: Agóra IX. OCIPE Magyarország – Faludi Ferenc Akadémia.

STEWART, Michael

1997 *The Time of the Gypsies*. Westview Press.

TÖRÖK, Péter

2013 What Should We Pay Attention To? Some Preliminary Information on the Value System of the Students in the Network of Church-Run Roma Special Colleges, *Hungarian Educational Research Journal* (HERJ) 3: (4) pp. 64 - 77.

WACHSMUTH, Melody J.

2017 Movements in Mission. Christianity among the Roma Gypsies. *Mission Frontiers*. July-August: 6 - 11.